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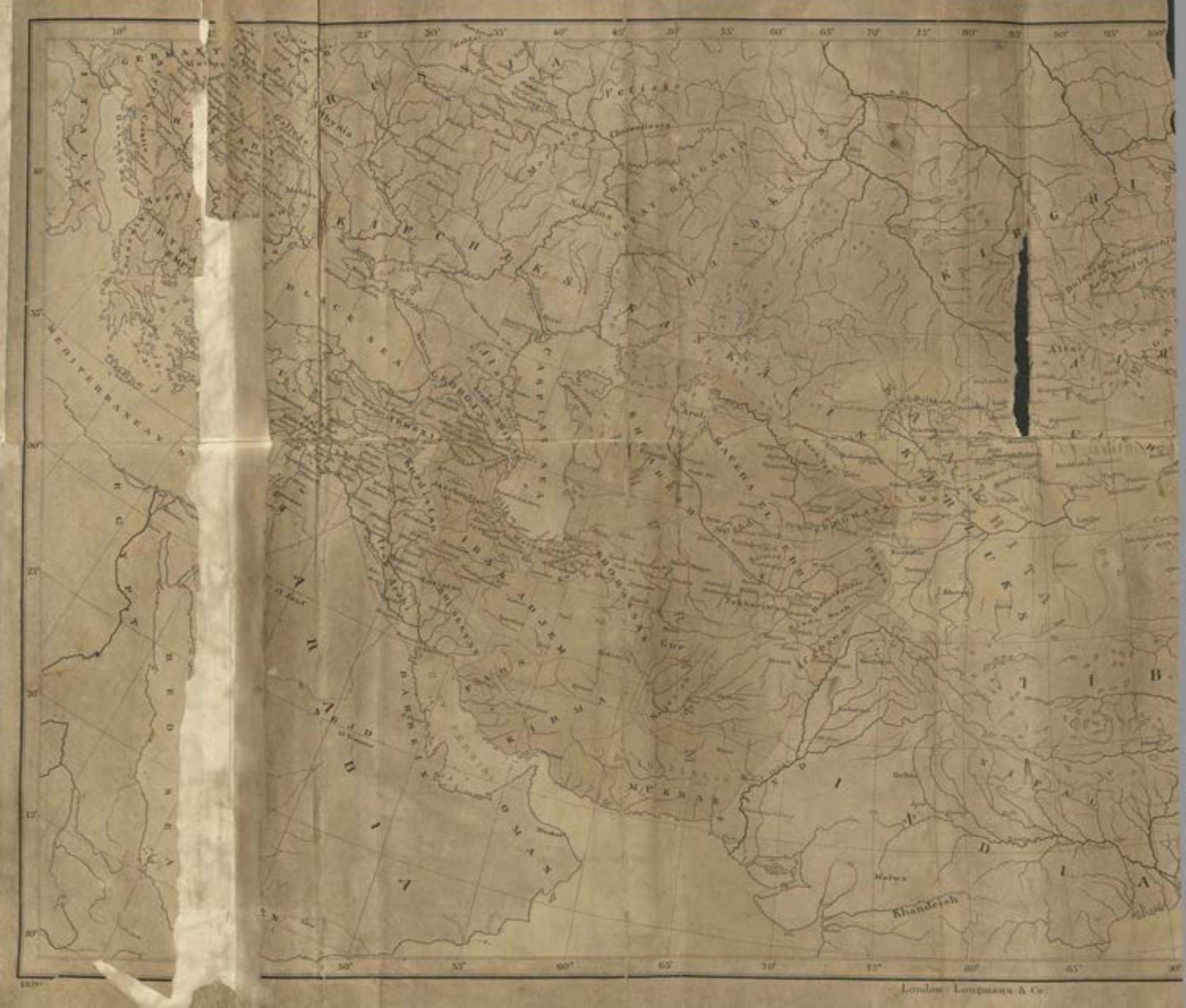

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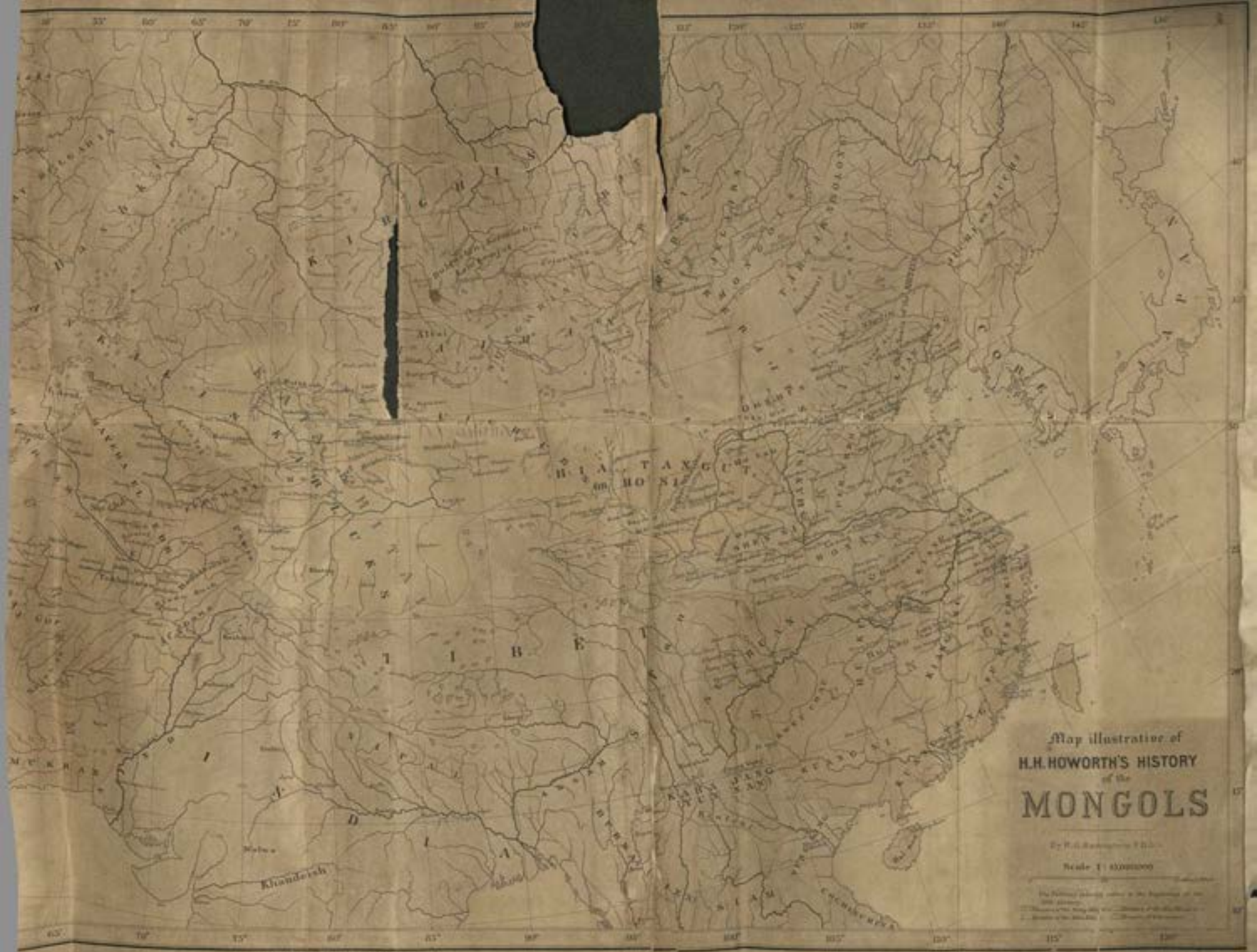
Map illustrative of
H.H. HOWORTH'S HISTORY
of the
MONGOLS
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HISTORY *of the* MONGOLS

FROM THE 9th TO THE 19th CENTURY.

PART I.

THE MONGOLS PROPER AND THE KALMUKS.

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BY

HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

WITH

TWO MAPS BY E. G. RAVENSTEIN, F.R.G.S.

LONDON:
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TO

SIR HENRY C. RAWLINSON, K.C.B., F.R.S.

It was once the fashion for authors to dedicate their works to patrons from whose bounty some advantage was expected, and few things are more humbling in literary history than the servile addresses which sycophancy under these circumstances has produced. We now live in more dignified times; and may place on the threshold of our work the name of some friend whom we reverence and respect without degrading our pens to such mercenary uses.

I feel it a privilege to be permitted to dedicate this the first-fruits of not inconsiderable toil and exertion, to one who has raised very high the reputation of England for wide and cultured scholarship, and for brilliant fertility in discovery. Your kind and considerate notice of my efforts when a boy encouraged me to persevere in an arduous task, of which this is the outcome. It is probable that you will find something to object to and much to correct, besides the errors inevitable in such a work; but I shall feel gratified if you conclude that I have in some measure thrown light on a difficult and perplexing subject.

PREFACE.

ONE can conceive few things more melancholy than an author reading his own work. A man may easily overrate the virtues and be blind to the vices of his children, but unless he be singularly isolated and unaccustomed to the searching breezes of criticism, he cannot avoid feeling sober and sad as he turns over the pages of his own book. One can school oneself into treating mankind, the world, the critics, contemporary opinion, or even posterity with cynical disregard, but it is hardly possible to be cynical with one's own product; and yet, unless steeped to the finger-ends in vanity, even the most accurate and careful author must feel that many sentences might have been better written, that mistakes, the results of careless writing and careless correcting—some due to the author, some to his unsuspecting friend the printer—feeble logic, slovenly English, and other faults mar the product at every turn; and although the book itself, has worried him and caused him endless anxiety and trouble, he will see the blemishes more distinctly than all the rest. If this be true of most authors, it is assuredly true of those who have to deal with a vast mass of facts and inferences, to thread their way through tortuous quagmires in which authorities are at variance, and to march over some of those arid tracts of human literature in which the heaps of shingle have few rhetorical flowers to grace them, and yet every pebble of which has a separate and individual existence, and marks a truth or an error. It is in such a wilderness that we have been wandering, and we know that what we have done is very imperfect, and is as remote from our ideal as the rude efforts of Theodoros from the marbled flesh of Phidias.

We know too well that those who wish to use a critical lash upon us may find a knot of scorpions in every page. We are not afraid of those, however, who have traversed the same path. They will know how the thorns prick and how hard it is to come out with a whole skin; and if they are as candid to us as they would be to their own work, they will at least do justice to the difficulty of the way. But let that pass. The book is writ, and who will care to read it? It is hard to say. What excuse then for writing it? Are there not books enough and to spare in the huge lumber-room of the world? Does not the future groan by anticipation at the burden we are piling upon it? Most true; and yet it is not merely the *cacoethes scribendi*, the mania for writing that has stirred us. Like others, many others whom we know, we have looked along

that fascinating road which leads back towards the cradle of human progress. Looked with longing eyes at those great banks of cloud and mist and darkness behind which the sun of human history first rose, to try and dispel some of them, and help to solve the riddle of whence it came, why it came, and whither it hastens. It is a romantic and a stirring problem, only to be solved, if it ever can be solved, by a dreary process, namely, that of mapping out accurately the nearer vistas of the landscape, and from that vantage making a further conquest of the land beyond. Taking up the intertangled and crooked skein, the thousand twisted threads into which the story has been ravelled, and following each one up to the beginning to reach at last, may be, the fountain source whence Bushman and Englishman, Fetishman and Pope, black and red and white all came. Like others who have gone before, we too started ambitiously, our object having been to give a conspectus of ethnological facts, to write a treatise in which the human race and its various varieties should figure as it does in Pritchard's great work, with such additions as fresh discoveries have necessitated. But our purpose fell through; the work was too great. We next essayed a narrower field, in which our early reading had delighted, namely, to treat of the nomade races of Asia, a field very much unexplored and very confused, upon which we have written and printed sundry papers, some worthless and some otherwise may be. But our hobby grew bigger as we tended it, it outgrew our resources, and we had once more to restrain our coat within the limits of our cloth; our last resolve has resulted in these 800 pages, and more which may follow. And now as to our fitness for the work, a question often a stumblingblock to a vain man, who dreams he is exceptionally qualified to do what he has done, and that none could have done it better, but no stumblingblock to us, who know how much better it might have been done by friends whom we could name. The field was singularly unoccupied. Amidst the myriad volumes which the press turns out, few indeed touched even the skirts of our question. Like the Sahara in Africa, or like the Saharas which occur in large libraries where ancient folios lie asleep amidst dust and cobweb, our subject has a forbidding aspect, a dry and arid look which might well frighten any traveller who looked across it, and will doubtless scare many readers who are not aware that even the Sahara has some oasês, and almost every elephant folio some few paragraphs to lighten up the rest. Dry and repulsive a good deal of Mongolian history undoubtedly is, but it forms a vast chapter in human annals, which we may not evade without seriously marring our historic knowledge. In the absence of better guides, an inferior traveller may find a great work to his hand, which he may do in the hope that when he has reduced it somewhat to order, and traced out its topography rudely, others may follow who shall have the lighter task of correcting his mistakes, of filling in the canvas with more attractive

detail, and of completing the work which the pioneer can only begin. It is because the field was vacant that we took up the mattock, and if it be beyond our power frequently, to do well, we may justify our conscience by doing our best.

I approach the problem as an ethnologist and historian, and not as a linguist, and I have to state at once that I have had no access to the authorities in their original language, and only to translations and commentaries. Here, therefore, at the very threshold, I have to break not a lance but only a bodkin with my friend Sir Henry Rawlinson. At the meeting of the Oriental Congress in London he laid it down that a man ought not to write history who cannot read the original script in which the narrative was put down, in other words, that those only who can reach the flowers have a right to use the honey. This view, I humbly submit, is not a reasonable one. His own brother, my old friend the Canon of Canterbury, who has done so much for Eastern history, is an instance to the contrary, and so are many others; but I go deeper than this. Take the history of the Mongols as a crucial example, and consider the various languages in which the original story is enshrined. To be a profound Chinese, Persian, Armenian, Russian, German, French, and Latin scholar is in itself an impossibility; several of these languages are so difficult and complicated that a lifetime is required for their mastery, and no time is left for the other portion of the work, the comparing and sifting of the evidence; and of course the argument requires that a man shall have a profound and not a superficial knowledge, or else his reading of the original is very inferior in value to a reading taken second-hand from a profound master of the language. I hold the two works to be entirely apart. One man carves the stone from the quarry, and another shapes it into a figure; one man digs out the gold, and another makes the embossed bowl out of it. It would be as unfair and unreasonable to forbid the painter to paint his picture unless he knew how to make his colours, or the architect to design his palace unless he were the master of every handicraft necessary to supply the building with materials, as to deny the historian the right to build up his story, to fill in his canvas, unless he can quarry his own materials out of the rock for himself. It is not only unreasonable, but it is in fact securing very inferior work; it is the case of the western farmer whittling his own chairs and tables with his pocket knife, instead of furnishing his house with objects made by men specially skilled in their various crafts. How very engrossing even one language may be, may best be illustrated by a story. When making inquiries once about some of the tribes of Cashmere, I was introduced by a friend of mine, a very distinguished Eastern scholar, to a German gentleman who had long lived on the borders of Cashmere. I put my question to him, and he answered that he knew nothing about

these tribes, for he was a pure Sanskritist. I was almost appalled by the reply. The difficulty of Sanscrit was a matter with which I was more or less familiar, but that it should so engross a man's whole life as to leave him no time or inclination for an inquiry into a not remotely connected subject, which was at his very elbow, was startling. If this be true of Sanscrit, it is surely doubly true of Chinese, a language so difficult that the quarrels of Chinese linguists as to the meaning of Chinese words and phrases form a not inconsiderable literature. It is only once in a thousand years that men of the gigantic powers of Klaproth, at once a profound linguist and a most acute ethnologist, come to the surface. For these reasons, therefore, I do not deem it an objection that one who is writing an Eastern history should collect his materials from secondary sources, but rather an advantage. The only thing in which he should be careful is to consult the translations of scholars and of men of repute, and I trust that in the following pages I have done so, and to the best of my ability have ransacked the literature of Germany, France, and England to bring together my materials. A more detailed criticism of them will appear in the introduction.

There is one pitfall into which I am aware that I have frequently fallen, and for which my distinguished correspondent Major Raverty will take me to task, and that is in the orthography of the proper names. Here I confess to have been met by a difficulty of singular moment, and one which appears to be almost insuperable until some uniform scheme of spelling shall have been devised.

There are hardly two authors whom I have consulted who spell the names in the same way, and very often their spelling is so different that it is nearly impossible to recognise the name under its various aspects; I am aware that I have in consequence in several cases failed to spell the same name consistently. The difficulty is a profound one. Thus in Erdmann's history of Jingis Khan, an admirable work, the letter g is used constantly where other writers put k, and a friend of mine, a distinguished linguist, assures me that with many Germans known to him the difference between the pronunciation of the two letters is not an appreciable one. Again, the Chinese orthography of names so disguises them that it is not always possible to recognise them. Major Raverty, in his capital edition of the Tabakat i Nasiri, lays down certain methods of spelling, and is very severe on those who differ from him; but we must remember that in adopting the Persian orthography for Turkish and Mongolian names, we are applying an Arian orthography to Turanian names, and that such a solution is really an arbitrary one. The way in which Mongol names are pronounced at Shiraz or Teheran is no doubt to be gathered from Persian authors, but hardly the way in which Mongol names are pronounced in Mongolia. As a rule, I have followed the spelling of Schmidt in his edition of Ssanang

Setzen, the native chronicler. In other cases I have followed Erdmann, who was a professor at Kazan and a good scholar; in the absence of these authorities I have been guided by what seemed to me the best authority, but in doing so I have, I am aware, made some mistakes, and can only do the kow-tow humbly to my readers for them. After all, the spelling of the names, so long as we are not misled by it, is not a very grave error, and we can only hope that in due time some settled system may make the path of my successors a more easy one.

Having said so much about the difficulties of the author, I must now turn to the work. If we wish to enter upon a branch of inquiry which seems utterly wanting in unity, to be as disintegrated as sand, and defying any orderly or rational treatment, we can hardly choose a better one than the history of the Asiatic nomades. These tribes which, under a variety of names, occupy the vast steppe lands, the deserts, mountains, and river valleys which stretch from the frontiers of Hungary to the Yellow Sea, seem at first sight to be quite unconnected with one another in history and traditions, and unless we can find some common element around which to group the story, we cannot hope to make much headway. In looking round to find a girdle with which to bind these disconnected threads, I have chosen what seems to be the most convenient one. In the early part of the thirteenth century the Mongols, an obscure tribe of Eastern Asia, headed by their chief Jingis Khan, succeeded in conquering the greater portion of the nomades of Asia. Not all of them, but the greater portion; destroyed or displaced the many ruling families which controlled them, and integrated under one government and one law a multitude of independent tribes. Jingis Khan left the empire which he had conquered to his son Ogotai, while he left to his other sons dependent appanages. They were subject in a kind of feudal fashion to their more fortunate brother. And thus matters continued for generations, until, as is almost inevitable in vast unwieldy empires, where intercommunication is difficult and interests are different, the various appanages broke away and became independent, each one, however, ruled over by descendants of Jingis Khan. These appanages in turn were broken into lesser fragments, still, however, ruled by princes of the same royal stock, until the vast empire was shattered into the many fragments which make the political geography of Asia so confusing.

The empire of Jingis was anything but homogeneous in its elements. It consisted of tribes of various languages and origins, the Turks predominating largely in numbers, while the Mongols, who lived mainly in their old homes in Eastern Asia, formed but a ruling caste elsewhere. What the empire was, its fragments became, very heterogeneous,—some Turkish, some Mongol, &c., but all having one common bond in that they were ruled by princes of the same stock, the descendants of the Mongol Jingis Khan. It is this common bond which I have chosen as

my sheet-anchor, on which to hook on the histories of the various tribes, and thus give unity and coherence to the story. The history of the Mongols in this sense, therefore, includes not only the history of the Mongols proper of Mongolia, but of all the tribes whose ruling house was Mongol, and who could trace descent from the royal stock of Jingis Khan. In the present volume I shall confine myself to the history of the Mongols proper, and leave the various Turkish tribes which obey princes of the Mongol royal stock for another volume. The Mongols may be divided into two sections; the Eastern Mongols, to whom the name more properly belongs, and the Western Mongols or Kalmuks. The former occupy the first eight chapters of the volume, and the latter the last four.

The history of the Mongols is necessarily a "drum and trumpet history." It deals chiefly with the conquests of great kings and the struggles of rival tribes, and many of its pages are crowded with incidents of butchery, and a terrible story of ravage and destruction. It is in the main the story of one of those hardy, brawny races cradled amidst want and hard circumstances, in whose blood there is a good mixture of iron, which are sent periodically to destroy the luxurious and the wealthy, to lay in ashes the arts and culture which only grow under the shelter of wealth and easy circumstances, and to convert into a desert the paradise which man has painfully cultivated. Like the pestilence and the famine, the Mongols were essentially an engine of destruction; and if it be a painful, harassing story to read, it is nevertheless a necessary one if we are to understand the great course of human progress. Nor is the story wholly one of bloodshed and destruction; far from it. I would commend those who wish to see the other side of the shield to the concluding pages of the lives of Jingis Khan, and Ogotai, his son, and to the lives of Khubilai and his successors. Political philosophy has much to learn from institutions which were founded by a race of nomades, and were found capable of reducing to order and to good government the disintegrated robbers of Asia, and for a while to make the desert as safe as the Queen's highway. It is assuredly a valuable lesson to learn what wise and beneficent laws and institutions could be devised by the ingenuous shepherds of the Mongolian desert, and what worldly wisdom and shrewd insight into human character they were masters of. And it may be that while we deplore the terrible destruction that we shall conclude that what was swept away had seen its heyday that like the apple which ripens and then becomes overripe till it rots, human society reaches a term at last, when there is no longer progress, when there is nothing but stagnation, and with it the products of stagnation, vice, and mental disease. If we cannot forget that Byzantium was the daughter of Rome, and the rival factions of the Circus, in some measure, the heirs of the old parties in the Forum, we shall not be cynical enough to affirm that the child was as

good as the parent, that the scrofulous and utterly base and degraded moral atmosphere of the mistress of the Bosphorus, with its decrepitude in the arts, in literature, in everything save vice, was not ready for the destroyer, nor affect to deplore the revolution which swept it away. Greece had been dwarfed in every sense, and become a poor shadow of its former self when the Romans trampled it under. The Saxons had, for nearly two centuries, been almost stagnant in literature and the arts when the Norman heel crushed them and restored new life to the decaying carcase ; and it was so, to a large extent with the victims of the Mongol arms; their prosperity was hollow and pretentious, their grandeur very largely but outward glitter, and the diseased body needed a sharp remedy ; the apoplexy that was impending could probably only be staved off by much blood letting, the demoralised cities must be sown with salt, and their inhabitants inoculated with fresh streams of vigorous blood from the uncontaminated desert. And then there came, as there always comes, a Renaissance—a new life. When the wave of destruction was spent, the relics and fragments of the old arts and culture became the seeds of a more vigorous growth. The virgin soil was speedily covered with fresh green. From China, Persia, Europe, from all sides, where the hoofs of Mongol horses had tramped, there was furnished a quota of ideas to the common hive, whence it was distributed. Europe, which had sunk into lethargy under the influence of feudal institutions and of intestine wars, gradually awoke. An afflatus of architectural energy, as Colonel Yule has remarked, spread over the world almost directly after the Mongol conquests. Poetry and the arts began rapidly to revive. The same thing occurred in Persia under the Ilkhans, the heirs and successors of Khulagu, and in Southern Russia at Serai, under the successors of Batu Khan. While in China it would be difficult to point to any epoch of Asiatic history which could rival the vigorous life and rejuvenescence which marks the reign of the great Khubilai Khan, whose history I have described in the fifth chapter. As the Mongols controlled the communications between these various centres, and protected them effectually so long as they remained powerful, Eastern and Western nations were brought together, and reacted on one another. I have no doubt myself, as I have pointed out in the following pages that the art of printing, the mariner's compass, firearms, and a great many details of social life, were not discovered in Europe, but imported by means of Mongol influence from the furthest East.

I must now give a short abstract of the contents of this volume. The first chapter contains a description of the most important tribes and nations which the Mongols came in contact with in their early days. I have remitted the controversial questions to the notes at the end of the volume, to which I would commend my ethnological friends for a good deal of new matter upon the ethnography of many of the nomades. Let me

call attention especially to the note on the Keraits. The second chapter is devoted to an examination of the Origines of the Mongols and a criticism of their traditions, and the accounts we have of them in the Persian and Chinese authors down to the time of Jingis Khan. This is dry enough, but will, I hope, be found to be a considerable advance on any previous venture in the same field. The third chapter deals with Jingis Khan, and traces his history from his early days to his death, with an account, as far as I have met with it, of his various laws and institutions. This is more or less well trodden ground. Erdmann, D'Ohsson, and De la Croix have written largely upon it. I have added several Sagas from Ssanang Setzen, the native chronicler, and have tried to make the narrative more correct. I must beg my readers, however, to consult the notes in reading it, for it is a difficult part of the subject, and I have modified my views about certain portions of it. The fourth chapter is devoted to Ogotai, the son and successor of Jingis Khan, and his descendants. Ogotai consolidated the empire his father had won, and largely widened its borders. The account of the campaign undertaken during his reign into Central Europe has been carefully elucidated by Wolff, and his results will be found condensed in this chapter. Ogotai was succeeded by his son Kuyuk Khan, to whom the Franciscan missionary Carpini went. On the death of Kuyuk there was a revolution in Mongolia. The family of Ogotai was displaced by that of Tului, but Ogotai's descendants kept up a struggle for the throne for a long time, and were *de facto* sovereigns of a large territory in Central Asia. I have given their history until they finally submitted to the rival house. In the fifth chapter I have given the history of the two brothers Mangu Khan and Khubilai Khan, whose reigns coincide with the apogee of Mongol power and greatness. During the reign of the former, the Khaliphate and the Assassins were conquered by his brother Khulagu, who founded a line of Mongol sovereigns in Persia known as the Ilkhans. The court of Mangu was visited by the Franciscan Rubruquis, who has left a graphic picture of it. Khubilai was the patron of Marco Polo. He moved the seat of government from Mongolia to China, subjected the southern half of that empire, and became the virtual founder of the Mongol dynasty of Chinese Wang tis or emperors known as the Yuen dynasty. His reign is a brilliant one, not merely in Mongol history, but in the annals of Asia. The sixth chapter is devoted to the history of the Yuen dynasty, the successors of Khubilai down to their expulsion from China, and continues their history through the period of depression, when the Kalmuks and Mongols separated and formed two distinct nations, and down to the final conquest of the Chakhars, the tribe ruled over by the senior line of Mongol chiefs representing the old supreme Khans of the Mongols. The seventh chapter contains an account of the topography and history

of the Chakhars and of the various tribes constituting the so-called Forty-nine Banners, that is, of the various Mongol tribes who migrated to the south of the desert of Gobi and became subjects of the Manchus in the early days of the latter's prosperity. In this chapter will be found considerable details about the conversion of the Mongols to Lamaism. The eighth chapter contains the history of the Khalkhas, whose several divisions constitute the Mongols who live north of the desert of Gobi, and who did not become subject to China until much later. As in the case of the former tribe, my account of them closes with their conquest by China. In this chapter will be found many details about the early intercourse of the Russians with the Mongols. In the ninth chapter I commence the history of the Kalmuks, and begin with the Khoshotes or Kalmuks of Thibet. There will be found, collected from various sources, an account of the influence of the Lamas upon the Mongols, and of the rise and growth of the now dominant sect of the Yellow Lamas, who are presided over by the well-known Dalai Lama. I believe this is the first account of this interesting story which has appeared in English. The tenth chapter contains the history of the Keraits. When I wrote it I believed the Keraits to have been the ancestors of the Torguts, following in this respect the very able lead of Abel Remusat. As I have said in the note on the Keraits at the end of the volume, I no longer think so, and I have given my reasons there for my change of opinion. In this chapter will be found a detailed account of that hero of so much romance and fable, Prester John, with a criticism of the latest views in regard to him, as well as an account of the most important tribe among the European Kalmuks, namely, the Torguts. The tenth chapter is devoted to the Sungars, Derbets, &c., whom I class under the generic name Choros. In this will be found the history of the rise of the Sungar royal family, which for a while built up a power in Central Asia that promised to rival that of the older Mongols, and to fight upon equal terms with the Manchu conquerors of China. The twelfth and last chapter deals with the Buriats, the least sophisticated of the Mongol tribes, and the one about whose history we have the least information. While nearly all the other Mongols are subject to China, the Buriats live under the authority of Russia. In the notes and corrections, &c., I have added such new information as has become accessible to me since the book was written, and corrected the errors which I have found, and others which have been pointed out to me by my very kind friend Colonel Yule. Many still remain, and I shall be exceedingly grateful to any critics who may notice my work, for pointing out to me where I have gone astray, that I may add their hints to an appendix, for I hardly expect that in this generation there will be found another English student who will venture over the same ground.

It now remains to thank those who have assisted me. In the introduction I have given a list of the authorities upon which the work is founded—I hope a fair and tolerably complete one. To that list I must commend my readers for the sources of my matter. These I have had very largely to consult in my own library, away in the Bœotian fields of Lancashire, far from the pleasant book shelves of the Great National Library; far, too, from the companionship of those who could have helped me in many a crooked corner. I may say, without exaggeration, that it has been written alone. After it was written and printed off, the sheets were posted to Palermo to Colonel Yule, *facile princeps* in questions relating to Central Asia, and not more widely known for his great stores of learning and his accuracy than for his urbanity and kindness. Most of the suggestions he has made I have incorporated in the notes, and I only repeat myself when I return him grateful thanks for them. To Dr. Rost, of the India Library, I am specially indebted for loans of books in any number, and still more for the confidence with which I have been allowed to retain them as long as I pleased. He also is widely known for his profound scholarship, and his willingness to assist the humblest student; and I am very proud to be allowed to call him my friend. The Librarians of the Asiatic Society of the Anthropological Institute and of the Geographical Society have also earned my thanks for their ready loan of books. Lastly there are three names which I cannot leave out without grave injustice. First, my dear old mother, who was the first to teach, and who has never ceased to encourage me, who was always prodigal in every favour, and who will, of all my critics, I know, be the most tender to my failings. Secondly, my friend George Hector Croad, now the honoured Secretary of the London School Board, my old master, whose enthusiasm, whose thoroughness, and whose integrity I feel it a privilege to have tested in a hundred ways, and who first gave me a taste for historical inquiries. I hope he will not deem I have disgraced him. Lastly, my wife, my ever patient wife, who has sat out many hundred lonely hours while I have turned over the dusty pages, who has resisted the importunities of many kind friends to burn the heaps of dry-as-dust—which I call my library. She has done what no amount of gratitude can repay; but there is one thing she will not dare to do, and that is to read my book. I have now finished. It is a cold shivering world that such a work as this goes into; the hard names and the dry sentences are not tempting to the casual reader. Some few, may be, will read it; others turn to it to verify a fact, or to find materials for a pedantic sentence; others may busy themselves with tearing it to pieces. All are welcome; and to all I say—

"Vive, vale! si quid novisti rectius istis,
Candidus imperti, si non, his utere mecum."

INTRODUCTION.

THERE can be no greater mistake than to write history as if our views were immaculate and not subject to revision. The fact is, that nearly all history is tentative, and subject to be modified by fresh discoveries. We can only raise our ladder to a certain height, and then look round and describe the narrow horizon which we see from its summit. Those who come after us will profit by our work, will start where we ended, will raise the vantage higher, and will without doubt secure a wider view, and be able to improve upon our position, and so on till the whole story is secured. This is not a very encouraging conclusion. It has one moral, however, which is too frequently forgotten.

If we see further than those who went before, it is because we are raised higher from the ground by their efforts, we in fact stand on their shoulders. Where we should have been had they not preceded us is not easy to say. To throw stones, to cast jibes at them for their mistakes, is surely very like parricide. We who move the coach an ell, where they perhaps moved it a mile, are but poor creatures if we cannot gauge their work, the vast mass of new matter they brought together, without a perpetual snarl at their small mistakes, or a perpetual cackle over our own superior wisdom. I hold that the value of a man's work is to be measured, not by the fewness of his mistakes, but by the number of new facts and ideas he has brought together. He who never opens his mouth will not speak much folly, nor will he add much to the world's resources. Orientalists are proverbial for being testy, and for having many quarrels. They too often crucify a victim who has dug knee-deep in new matter but who has failed to accept some shibboleth which has been ear-marked as essential; nor do they easily pardon a writer who has not quite reached their stand-point, and a large portion of writing on Oriental matters is not only polemical but bitterly so. I feel too much gratitude for the great dead who have cleared my path to imitate this example. I am not going to throw any stones at my father Parmenides, or at the many old giants whose work has made mine possible. I would rather greet them cap in hand on my knees, as I would my ancestors, if they could be summoned and made

to go trooping by. If I have corrected some of their mistakes, it is because I have had advantages which they had not; and I am well aware that the digging into historic quagmires is a mere lottery, in which by some good chance a student may discover a nugget, while his far superior master close by will find only barren earth.

I now propose to give a short account of the sources from which the history of the Mongols in this volume has been collected, and the authorities to which I have been indebted. I will begin with the native chronicler Ssanang Setzen.

SSANANG SETZEN was a prince of the Ordus tribe of the Mongols. He was born in 1604. His original name was Ssanang Taidshi, and he was surnamed Ssanang Setzen Khungtaidshi after his grandfather.* He wrote a work entitled "Mongol Khadun Toghudji, or a History of the Mongol Khans," which was completed in 1662.† This work was translated into German, and published with elaborate notes at St. Petersburgh in 1829, by Isaac Jacob Schmidt, who, I believe, was a missionary of the Moravian brotherhood among the Mongols, and who was a very distinguished Mongol scholar. This is the only indigenous Mongol chronicle which has been made accessible. It treats of the history of the Eastern Mongols, from the earliest times to the date when it was written. The Mongol royal family is traced up to that of Thibet, and the earlier portion of the work is in fact a history of Thibet, and derived from Lama sources. That portion which deals with the origines of the Mongols and their history down to the reign of Toghon Timur Khan is a mutilated translation from the Chinese, and where it differs from the Chinese authority is, as has been shown by Remusat and Klaproth in their criticisms in the Journal Asiatique, not reliable. I have extracted a few Sagas from this portion of the work, rather as illustrative of Mongol habits of thought than as being convinced of their reliability. From the reign of Toghon Timur to the date of its completion, the work of Ssanang Setzen is an independent and first-rate authority, and during this period I have made it the basis of my narrative. I have also to express my great indebtedness to Schmidt's notes, which are exceedingly valuable and interesting, although not always to be implicitly followed. Schmidt had a long duel with Klaproth and Remusat on various points of Mongol history. The controversy may be read in the earlier volumes of the two first series of the Journal Asiatique, and in it Schmidt was generally discomfited. I have carefully examined these polemical writings, and used them in my text and notes.

SCHMIDT also published in the Memoirs of the St. Petersburgh Academy for 1834, a translation of a Manchu description of the various Mongol tribes (exclusive of the Kalmuks), which were subject to China,

* Ssanang Setzen, 265. † *Id.*, 299, and Journ. Asiat., ii. 193.

with the history of their chiefs and of their final struggle with the Manchu empire. It is almost the only authority we possess for the subject it treats of. This has been much used in writing the seventh and eighth chapters of this work. Another of Schmidt's works, to which I have been slightly indebted is entitled "Forschungen im Gebiete der alteren Religiosen Politischen und Literarischen Bildungsgeschichte der Volker Mittel-Asiens vozuglich der Mongolen und Tibeter." St. Petersburgh, 1824.

We will now turn to the Chinese authorities for Mongol history, no doubt the most important and valuable authorities we possess.

DE MAILLA.—Joseph-Anne Marie de Moyriac de Mailla was a French Jesuit, belonging to the Peking mission, one of a noble band of scholars to whom we are under very great obligations. He translated an epitome of Chinese history, known as the Tong-Kieng-Kang-Mu, which was published in Paris in 1779, in thirteen quarto volumes, and is the only general history of China we possess. It has constantly been at my elbow during the progress of this work, and will be found quoted on almost every page. The volumes which contain references to the Mongols are the eighth to the twelfth. The ninth is devoted almost entirely to them. The translation of De Mailla was edited under the superintendence of M. Deshautesrayes and the Abbe Grosier. As I have said, the work professes to be a translation of the Kang Mu, and is evidently very carefully done. We are told by the editor that for the period covered [by the dynasties of the Liau, Kin, and Yuen or Mongols, the Kang Mu was singularly deficient in details about the foreign dynasties, and that consequently De Mailla had recourse to other sources. The Emperor Shun shi, father of Kang hi, caused the history of these three dynasties to be translated into Manchu by Charbukai, Nantu, Hokiton, Liau hong yu, and many other skilled literates. This history, which was written with the most critical care, has equal authority with the Kang Mu, and it was translated and incorporated by De Mailla in his work.*

GAUBIL.—According to M. Remusat, Gaubil was the greatest of the French Jesuit scholars who investigated the antiquities of China. He was born at Gaillac in Languedoc in 1689, became a Jesuit in 1704, and went to China in 1723, where he greatly distinguished himself as a scholar. His most celebrated work was the translation of the Shu king into French. He also translated from the Chinese an epitome of the history of the Mongols, which was published in 1739 at Paris, under the title of "Histoire de Gentchiscan et de toute la dynastie des Mongous."† It is a capital work, and contains many facts not mentioned by De Mailla, and is quite an independent authority. I have used it constantly in the following work.

* De Mailla, ix. 1. Note. † Remusat, Nouveaux Melanges, ii. 277, &c.

VISDELOU.—We owe to a third member of the Jesuit mission at Paris a very valuable series of translations from the Chinese, relating to the history of the various nomades who lived in the desert north of China and its borderland, namely, Visdelou. He was born in Brittany in 1656, and went to China in 1685.. His translations are mainly derived from Matuanlin, the great encyclopædist, who lived in the thirteenth century, but he also consulted later authors. His translations are praised for their faithfulness by M. Remusat. They were published in the supplementary volume to D'Herbelot's Bibliotheque Orientale, of which work they form the most valuable portion. I have frequently used them in the subsequent chapters.

DE GUIGNES.—The author of the history of the Huns wrote a history of the Mongols as a part of his great work. This is largely taken from Chinese sources, but I have found nothing in it which is not to be found elsewhere; nor is this portion of De Guignes's work very satisfactory. We have considerably advanced in our knowledge of the period since his day.

PAUTHIER.—In his edition of Marco Polo and elsewhere, M. Pauthier has quoted largely from the Yuen Si, or the annals of the Yuen dynasty. His translations are not always trusted by Chinese scholars, but in the main are no doubt correct. I have used all the materials he has published which I could reach and which elucidate my subject. These chiefly illustrate the reign of Khubilai Khan.

DE LA MARRE.—In the year 1865, M. l'Abbe De la Marre, attached to the French missions, published a translation of a work composed by the Emperor Kien lung, entitled "Histoire de la Dynastie des Ming." It contains many references to the later Mongol history which I have abstracted. Unfortunately the translation is only a fragment, and I am assured it will not be completed. It covers the ground from 1368 to 1505. I have frequently used it, and occasionally quoted it as "the Ming annals," which is a somewhat misleading title.

AMIOT.—Father Amiot, another member of the Peking mission, published in 1776, in the grand collection of materials for Chinese history known as the "Memoires Concernant l'Histoire des Sciences, &c., des Chinois," Volume I., a translation of the inscription put on the monument erected to commemorate his conquest of the Eleuths or Sungars by the Emperor Kien lung. This lengthy document, with the notes upon it, has been largely used in the following history. In the same volume is a similar document relating the wonderful march of the Torguts from China back to their old homes on the borders of China. This document was also engraved on stone, and we owe its translation to Father Amiot. Its contents have been used in writing the ninth chapter.

HYACINTHE, a member of the Russian mission at Peking, and a very profound Chinese scholar, translated several important works from the

Chinese, but unfortunately he translated them into Russian, a language almost if not quite as inaccessible. *Inter alia*, he translated a history of the first four Mongol Khans. This, I gather from D'Ohsson, is taken from the same epitomes which were consulted by De Mailla and Gaubil. The value of the work consists in the variants he gives us for the proper names. It has been collated by both Erdmann and D'Ohsson, and in their works we probably have all the facts which are of any use in it. A second of his works, namely, a history of the Kalmuks from Mongol sources, I have not been able to meet with, although I have sent to Russia for it. I believe it is not to be had. A third work, namely, an epitome of Chinese history, with an account of his travels in Mongolia, was translated by M. Borg, under the title of "Denkwurdigkeiten ueber die Mongolei." It was published at Berlin in 1832, and I have occasionally used it.

TIMKOWSKI.—M. Timkowski was a savant who was appointed to accompany the Russian mission to China in 1820 and the following years. He wrote an account of his journey, which was edited with notes by Klaproth, and was translated into English in 1827. It is the best topographical account of Mongolia we possess. To the account of his travels has been appended a very valuable translation from the Chinese by Father Hyacinthe, consisting of an historical, geographical, and ethnographical description of Mongolia. I have used it very largely in composing the seventh and eighth chapters of this work.

SCHOTT.—Professor Schott, of Berlin, one of my honoured correspondents, has published a number of very valuable papers on the history, &c., of the Altaic peoples, in the Transactions of the Berlin Academy. Among these is one I have frequently used in the second chapter of this work, in which he has examined the question of the Origines of the Mongols as given by Chinese authors. It is entitled "Ælteste Nach richten von Mongolen und Tataren."

BERGMANN.—M. Bergmann was the author of a capital descriptive work upon the Kalmuks, published at Riga in 1804, under the title of "Nomadische Streifereien unter den Kalmuken in den Jahren 1802 und 1803." I have used it a good deal in treating of the Kalmuks.

The next authorities to which I shall refer are unfortunately not so accessible as the Chinese; they still remain largely locked up in their original language, and in fact inedited. I refer to the Persian historians of the Mongols. They have, however, been diligently and carefully sifted by such experienced Eastern scholars as De la Croix, D'Ohsson, Von Hammer, Erdmann, &c., who have distilled for us the essence of the story in nearly all its details, and criticised in a very skilful way its inconsistencies and errors. Before I describe their works it will be well to give a short conspectus of the authorities upon which they are based,

and which form the basis, although at secondhand, of a large portion of our work. The first in date of them was

IBN AL ATHIR, who was born at Djezireh, on the borders of the Tigris, in the year 1160, and died at Mosul in 1233. He was thus a contemporary of Jingis Khan and of his son Ogotai, and wrote a work entitled "Kamil ut Tewarikh," *i.e.*, "complete history," which begins with the creation and terminates in 1231; under the year 1220 and those that follow he gives a description of the Mongol invasion of Transoxiana, Persia, the borders of the Tigris and Euphrates, Georgia, and the north of the Caucasus. As he lived at Mosul he had special opportunities for learning what occurred at this time in Western Persia.*

NESSAVI.—The next author in date is Shihab ud din Muhammed, son of Ahmed, styled el Nessavi. He is often spoken of as Nessavi, from the place of which he was a native, namely, Nessa. He was of princely family, and his castle was the well known fort of Karendar, between Nessa and Nishapoor. The work he wrote is known as the "Siret us Sultan, Jelal ud din Muhammed," and is a biography of the celebrated Khuarezm chief, Jelal ud din, son of Muhammed, whose secretary he was. He was incited to write this book from having casually met with the work of Ibn al Athir, and there read an account of the end of Muhammed and of the youth of his son. The book is contained in 108 chapters, and was written in 1241, and gives the history of Jelal ud din until his death in 1231. His narrative, we are told, is singularly ingenuous and interesting, and he was also singularly well-placed for acquiring correct notions on what he wrote. He only mentions the Mongols occasionally.†

ALAI UD DIN ATA MALIK JUVEINI.—This author was a native of Juvein in Khorassan, and his work is called "Tarikh Jihankushai, or History of the Conqueror of the World." In 1252 he accompanied his father, who was in the Mongol service, to the grand Kuriltai held at the accession of Mangu Khan. He accompanied Khulagu in his expedition, and was by him appointed governor of Baghdad, Irak Arab, and Khuzistan, a post which he occupied until his death in 1283. His work is divided into two parts. The first one contains an account of the last ten years of the reign of Jingis Khan and of the reigns of Ogotai and Kuyuk, with chapters on the Uighurs and the Khans of Kara Khitai, a detailed history of the Khuarezm Shahs, and of the doings of the Mongols in Persia until the arrival of Khulagu there. The second part describes Khulagu's western campaign, and also contains a detailed account of the Ismailites or Assassins. It terminates in 1257. His position prevented Juveini from being anything but a panegyrist of the Mongols, whose conquests he excuses, and whose western campaign he argues was

* D'Ohsson, i. x. Abel Remusat, Nouveaux Melanges Asiatique, i. 434.
† D'Ohsson, i. xiii. Remusat, op. cit., 435.

providentially arranged, so that by their means the religion of Islam might be widely disseminated. He praises their tolerance and the way in which they exempted from taxes the ministers of religion and others; but he breaks out occasionally in a different strain. "The revolution," he says, "which has overwhelmed the world, has destroyed the colleges, and slaughtered the learned, especially in Khorassan, which was the focus of light, the rendezvous of the learned, as is shown by the words of the prophet: 'Science is a tree whose roots are at Mecca while it bears fruit in Khorassan.' All the learned men there have falle by the sword. The nobodies who have replaced them know only the Uighur language and writing. The highest offices are filled by the meanest people, many contemptible folk have been enriched. Every intriguer has become an emir or vizier. Every braggart has become powerful. The slave is become the patron; anyone who wears a doctor's turban deems himself a doctor, and obscure people consider themselves gentry. In such times, which are a period of famine for science and virtue, and of a full market for ignorance and corruption, where all honesty is degraded, where everything bad is held in honour, it may be guessed what encouragement there is for science and letters."*

VASSAF.—Abdullah, son of Fazel ullah, styled Vassaf ul Hazret, or the Panegyrist of his majesty, wrote in Persian a work entitled "Kitab Tedjziyet ul emssar ve tezdjiyet ul a'ssar" (*i.e.*, Division of countries and transition of centuries). It contains a history of the Mongols from 1257 to 1327, and forms a sort of continuation to the Jihankushai. It is divided into five parts, and describes the doings of the Mongols in Persia, in Turkestan, and Transoxiana, with the contemporary history of Egypt, Fars, Kerman, and India. He was a protegé of the vizier Raschid ud din, to whom I shall presently refer, by whom he was presented to the Ilkhan Uldjaitu, who gave him the soubriquet of Vassaf ul Hazret as a reward for an ode he wrote in his honour.

RASCHID.—The most valuable Western authority on the history of the Mongols is the "Jami ut Tewarikh," or collection of annals written by Fadhl allah or Fazel ullah Raschid, son of Abulkhair of Hamadan. Raschid was a doctor in the service of the Ilkhan Gazan, and was in the year 1300 made governor of Persia. He continued in the office of vizier during the reign of Uldjaitu, to whom he presented his work in 1307, and was put to death by his successor Abusaid on the 13th of September, 1318. This most valuable history commences with a conspectus of the various tribes of Asia at the accession of Jingis Khan, with an account of their origin and the topography of the districts they inhabited, &c. This portion of his work has been translated by Erdmann, and appeared at Kazan in the year 1841. It is a very rare work, and I have been happy in having

* D'Ohsson, i. xvii. to xxviii. Remusat, op. cit., i. 436.

had it beside me. The same part of Raschid's history is extracted almost verbatim in Erdmann's life of Temudjin, 172-248. Raschid then gives an account of the traditions which he had been able to collect on the early history of the Mongols, and continues his story by relating the events that happened under Mongol rule until the period when he wrote. He tells us that in the archives of the Persian Mongols were many authentic papers, written in Mongol, which had been entrusted to him by the Ilkhan Uldjaitu, in order that he might draw up a history, and that to assist him there had been assigned a number of Chinese, Indian, Uighur, and Kipchak learned men, and especially the great Noyan Pulad Ching sang, who was generalissimo and administrator of the kingdom, and was well versed in the traditions and history of the Turkish nations, and especially of that of the Mongols. His work is largely based on the Jihankushai and other works already mentioned, but contains a great deal of additional matter.* It is a great pity that it is still inaccessible. M. Quatremere commenced a translation of it on a very large scale, with ample notes, but it did not go beyond one volume. The work of Raschid forms the main authority used by Erdmann in his life of Temudjin, of D'Ohsson's history of the Mongols, and of Von Hammer's Ilkhans, and we have it abridged in the well known work of Abulghazi.

ABULGHAZI.—He was the son of Arab Muhammed Khan, and a descendant of Juji, the son of Jingis, was born in 1605, became chief of Khuarezm in 1643, and died in 1663-64. He wrote a work entitled "Shedjeri i Turki," the genealogical tree of the Turks. It is written in Turki, and has been recently edited and translated by M. Des-maisons. The earlier portion of it is an abridgment of Raschid, the latter is founded on original documents otherwise inaccessible. It will be found quoted frequently in the following work.

ABULFARADJ.—Gregory Abulfaradj, also known as Bar Hebræus, was born in 1226, at Malattia or Melitene, and was the son of a doctor named Aaron. He became a cleric, and at the age of twenty was appointed bishop of Gobos. He was afterwards translated to Aleppo, and became in 1264 Maphriam or primate of the Jacobites. He wrote a meagre chronicle in Syriac, known as the "Abridgment of Universal History." What it contains in regard to the Mongols is chiefly derived from Juveini, but he gives us a good many details about the eastern Christians not otherwise to be met with.†

These are the chief Eastern authorities for Mongol history.

We will now turn to European authors who have dealt with the same subject. First in point of date are the narratives of the missionary friars.

CARPINI.—John of Plano Carpini was so called from a place in the

* D'Ohsson, i. xxxiii. to xliv. Remusat, op. cit., 438. † D'Ohsson, i. 46, &c.

territory of Perugia. He was a Franciscan friar who was sent by Pope Innocent on a mission to the Mongol Khan. He set out in April, 1245, and returned in the autumn of 1247. His narrative has been edited by M. D'Avezac, in the 4th volume of the Receueil de Voyages et Memoires, 399. It is of great interest and value for the reign of Kuyuk Khan.*

RUBRUQUIS.—It has been supposed that this traveller, who was also a Franciscan, was a native of Ruysbrok in Brabant, and I have called him more than once William of Ruysbrok, but Colonel Yule says there is a place called Rubrouck in French Flanders, and its name occurs frequently in old documents published by M. Coussemaker, of Lille, in which we read of a Thierry de Rubrouc in 1190, a Gauthier du Rubrouc in 1202 and 1221, a Jean du Rubrouc in 1250, and a Woutermaun de Rubrouc in 1258; and M. D'Avezac and Colonel Yule argue that our traveller was one of the same stock.† He was sent on a similar mission to Carpini's by St. Louis, and arrived at the Mongol camp in the reign of Mangu Khan. He entered the Black Sea on the 7th of May, 1253. His narrative has also been published, with valuable notes by M. D'Avezac, in the work above named. Rubruquis supplies us with many facts about the reign of Mangu.

HAYTHON, the king of Little Armenia, also went to the court of Mangu Khan, and has left us a short account of his journey, which has been translated by Klaproth.‡

MARCO POLO.—The most valuable of all Western authorities, however, from the means he had of acquiring information, from the long time he lived among the Mongols, and from the length and accuracy of his work, was Marco Polo. Andrea Polo, of St. Felice at Venice, says Colonel Yule, had three sons, Marco, Nicolo, and Maffeo. The three brothers were merchants, and had houses at Constantinople and Soldaia in the Crimea. In 1260 the two younger of these brothers started on a trading venture, first to the Crimea, then by way of the Volga to Bokhara, and thus on to the court of the Great Khan Khubilai. Khubilai received them kindly, made many inquiries about Europe, and eventually sent them back on an embassy to the Pope. They arrived at Acre in April, 1269, and found the Pope dead, Clement IV. having died the year before. They then went to Venice. Nicolo had two sons, the eldest of whom was named Marco. He was the subject of this notice. When his father returned to Venice Marco was fifteen years old. In 1271 the two brothers set out on their return to the East, taking young Marco with them. They travelled by way of Baghdad to Hormuz on the Persian Gulf, then turning northwards traversed Kerman and Khorassan, Balkh and Badakshan, and reached the Pamir steppe. This they crossed, and

* Cathay and the Way Thither, cxxiii.
† Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., ii. 536. ‡ Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 273, &c.

then continued by way of Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotan, by lake Lob and Tangut, until they reached Khubilai's court in 1275. Khubilai was very kind to the young Polo, whom he took into his service. His first mission was one to Yunnan, and he filled various offices. For three years he was governor of the important city of Yang chau, on one occasion he passed a year at Kanchau with his uncle Maffeo, at another time he was at Karakorum, at a third at Champa or Southern Cochin China, and even in the Indian seas. The Venetians now wished to return home, but Khubilai did not like to part with them. In 1286 the Ilkhan Argun sent to China for a wife of the Imperial stock. His envoys, who rather dreaded the return journey by sea alone, asked that the three Feringhis might accompany them, and Khubilai at length consented. They set sail in 1292, and after many mishaps in the Indian seas, arrived in two years at the Persian court, and having been handsomely entertained there, at length reached Venice in 1295, and with the wealth which they had accumulated proceeded to either purchase or build themselves a palace there, known as the Corte del Millioni, of which there are still some remains. A year or two later Marco appears as the captain of a galley fighting for Venice against Genoa; and in the great fight which took place in 1298, near the Island of Curzola, the Venetians were defeated and Marco was taken prisoner. While in prison he met a learned Pisan named Rusticiano or Rustichello, who wrote down from his dictation an account of the marvellous and unique adventures of the traveller. In July 1299 a truce was agreed to between the two republics, and Marco once more regained his liberty. He lived many years afterwards at Venice, and died in 1324. Such is a bald epitome of the most romantic life of probably any traveller, as I have taken it from Colonel Yule's great work. It will be seen into how many strange lands he went, and considering that in all probability he had taken few notes, it is marvellous how exceeding accurate his narrative is. It is in every way very valuable, and I have used it freely. Two recent editions of it have been before me—one by M. Pauthier, which is accompanied by many erudite notes from Chinese authors; and the other by my friend Colonel Yule, a complete encyclopædia of mediæval lore about Asia, a wonderful collection of illustrative matter from various sources, and a very pattern of how a book should be edited. I may add that during the progress of this work Colonel Yule has brought out a second edition. The new matter will be found incorporated, but it must be noted that the references are to the first edition, except when the second edition is mentioned. Besides Marco Polo, Colonel Yule has brought together a very interesting series of small notices of China in his work, published by the Hakluyt Society, entitled "Cathay and the Way Thither." Among these are the letters of Odoric of Pordenone, a town in the district of Friuli, who was born in 1286, and became a missionary friar. He travelled in

the earlier part of the fourteenth century in India and China, and died in 1331. I have extracted what he says of the Mongols. Besides Odoric, there may be found in the same work the letters of John of Monte Corvino, the founder of the Catholic missions in China. He was born in 1247, and probably reached Khanbalig in 1294, and about 1307 was created archbishop of that city. His letters are interesting, and I have used them as well as those of other missionaries in the same collection. I must not forget to say that Colonel Yule's notes have been as valuable to me as the text they illustrate. We will now turn to more modern authorities.

PETIS DE LA CROIX.—De la Croix was born in 1622, and died in 1695, and was a distinguished Eastern scholar, having filled the post of interpreter to the French king in the Turkish and Arabic languages. He was the author of several learned works, such as a history of France, written in Turkish; an edition of the travels of the younger Thevenot; a catalogue of the Turkish and Persian books in the French library, &c.; but the two works with which his name is chiefly associated were his history of Jingis Khan and his successors, and of Timur. The former work he undertook at the instance of the minister Colbert. It cost him, we are told, ten years' labour, and it was published after his death. It is a wonderfully able work considering the period when it was written, and many portions of it may still be read profitably. It is founded on the Persian and Arabic authorities, and on the narratives of the European travellers. He gives a list of his sources, which range over nearly the whole field of Eastern literature, and prove him to have been a very diligent writer. I have frequently used his work.

VON HAMMER.—Von Hammer's name is known wherever Eastern studies are prosecuted. His history of the Ottomans is a gigantic work, which probably equals the very greatest efforts that have ever been put forth by a historian in the way of diligent research and of consulting an immense mass of authorities. We are indebted to him for two other works which throw great light on Mongol history, and which have been constantly at my elbow, namely, his history of the Golden Horde of Kipchak, an elaborate examination of the history of the Mongol Khanate founded by Batu, the grandson of Jingis, in Southern Russia and the Kirghiz Kazak country, which is the standard and only work on the subject, and which I shall use largely in the second volume; and a history of the Ilkhans of Persia, published at Darmstadt in 1842, and from which I have drawn largely for my account of Khulagu's campaign, and shall draw still more in the second volume.

D'OHSSON.—The name of D'Ohsson occurs on very many pages of this work. The Baron D'Ohsson was the author of a history of the Mongols from the time of Jingis Khan to that of Timur, in four volumes, which was published at Amsterdam in 1852. M. D'Ohsson was a

skilful Eastern scholar, and his work is a very able one. He has ransacked almost every authority for his facts, and his book forms the main pillar upon which I have relied in large sections of the present work.

ERDMANN.—M. Erdmann, a professor at Kazan, to whom I have already referred, published in 1862, at Leipzig, a very able and profound work on the life of Jingis Khan, under the title of "Temudschin der Unerschutterliche," with an ample introduction on the ethnography of Asia, and a great crowd of most useful notes. It is a very perfect and detailed monograph on the subject, and I have made ample use of it, as may be seen from my references.

WOLFF.—M. Wolff, a professor at Vienna, has recently published a history of the Mongols from the earliest times to the death of Ogotai Khan, in which he has examined with great care and skill the various accounts extant of the campaign of Batu Khan and his companions in Russia and Central Europe. He has specially availed himself of the contemporary narratives of European writers, many of which he has first brought to bear upon the subject. I have frequently used his work.

MULLER.—M. Muller, in 1732 and the following years, published, under the auspices of the Imperial Russian Academy, a great collection of materials on Russian history, in eight volumes. This contains many of the original narratives of the early discoveries of the Cossacks in Siberia. I have used it largely in writing the history of the Kalmuks.

FISCHER.—Johann Eberhard Fischer, a professor at Gottingen, published in 1768 a history of Siberia in two volumes, which unfortunately does not come down below the third quarter of the seventeenth century. I have frequently used his work.

PALLAS.—Pallas was one of the most distinguished scholars the Russians have produced. The narrative of his travels through Siberia and Southern Russia are well known. Besides these he published a great work on the history, ethnology, religion, &c., of the Mongols. This is entitled "Samlungen Historischer Nachrichten ueber die Mongolischen Volkerschaften," and it was published in two quarto volumes at St. Petersburgh in 1776. It contains large materials for the history of the Kalmuks, which I have freely used.

KLAPROTH.—Among those to whom I bow the most deeply, who, with all his faults of temper and some few mistakes (and who has made so few), I hold to have been the greatest giant among the writers on Eastern subjects, is Julius Klaproth. The vast range of his linguistic acquirements, his instinct and ingenuity and fertility are astounding. He was the first to reduce the chaos of Asiatic history to something like order, and it is astonishing how little real advance has been made in many of the subjects he treated since he wrote. I am immensely indebted to him. I shall never cease to reverence his memory. His

various papers and essays are so numerous that it is not convenient to enumerate them. Many of them may be seen in the Journal Asiatique, others in various collections, while his travels to the Caucasus and his Asia Polyglotta are universally known; but there is hardly a point of Eastern history which he has not illuminated.

REMUSAT.—Abel Remusat, the distinguished French Sinologue, the author of the great work unfortunately incomplete, entitled "Les Langues Tartares," of many essays on Eastern subjects, and of the three series of "Melanges Asiatiques," is another author from whom I have learnt much. In the present work I have chiefly to thank him for the translated biographies in the first series of the "Melanges Asiatiques."

I have now given a cursory survey of my main authorities. There are many others, such as Isbrand Ides, d'Auteroche, Gmelin, Georgi, Du Halde (whom I have quoted from the English edition of 1739, in four volumes octavo), Gregorief, Madame de Hell, Ritter, Petermann, Karamzin, Oppert, Bruun, Porter Smith, Vambery, Huc, Raverty, &c., whom I have laid under contribution, and to whom I have given references. I may say that in every instance, save perhaps one, these references have been taken from the works quoted, and not at secondhand, and they have been generally verified three or four times over; and I hope that I have not appropriated credit for anything which has not been duly acknowledged.

It is permissible here to express a regret that so much of the original matter relating to the history of the Mongols is still buried in MS. or otherwise inaccessible. That the annals of the Yuen dynasty, otherwise called the Yuen si, should remain untranslated is perhaps pardonable, since they are of considerable length and in some parts intolerably dry, but that the great history of Raschid, perhaps the noblest historical work in the Persian language, and one also of the most critical and valuable, should still remain in manuscript is deplorable; and one cannot help feeling it a reproach to French scholars, who have done so much for the history of the East, that they have not completed the task so nobly begun by Quatremere. It is to be hoped that the school of Persian scholars presided over by M. Schefer will not only give us this work but also Juveini and Muhammed of Nessa.

It is another matter of regret that so much that is valuable in the researches of Russian scientific men, and especially of the Russian mission at Peking, should be lost to nine-tenths of the world by being written only in Russian. It is perhaps natural that it should be so written, and that the patriotism of Russian scholars should rebel against making a foreign language the medium of publishing their researches to the world, but it is nevertheless very unfortunate, for it inevitably buries a great deal of matter which would otherwise fructify, and it inevitably makes Russia a very much smaller figure in the scientific

world than it merits. Russian is an exceedingly difficult language, and it is hardly to be expected that Western students who are interested in Eastern subjects should master Russian as well as German and French as a preliminary to their inquiries. Russian scholars, on the other hand, are skilful linguists, and it is not very long ago that most of their scientific papers were either written in German or French, or appeared in duplicate. We are all very grateful for such publications as the Melanges Russes and the Melanges Asiatiques, published by the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg, and their value prompts me (and I know I speak the sentiments of the great majority of Western scholars) to desire that the same kind of work was done on a larger scale, and that the results of the profound researches of Hyacinthe, Palladius, Gregorief, &c., were not entirely buried from us. How much buried one anecdote will suffice to show. Among the Chinese annals probably the most valuable and interesting, and also the oldest, are the well-known annals of the elder Han, of which a small fragment has recently been translated by my friend Mr. Wylie. Some time ago it was proposed at the International Congress of Orientalists that these annals should be translated, and that the work of translation should be distributed among the Chinese scholars of Europe. One of the foremost Russian scientific men was approached on the subject, and the answer given was, that the matter was of small interest to them since the annals had long ago been translated into Russian by Hyacinthe. This answer was literally true, and yet how disappointing. Not only are the annals as much buried as they were before to Western scholars, but I don't know of any Russian who has made use of them. I hope sincerely that it may be seen that the vast work which is annually done by Russian scientific men deserves to be widely known, and that if it be patriotism to write in Russian, it is surely also patriotism to make Russia take the very high place it ought to do in the scientific world, instead of isolating and burying from foreign eyes the vast wealth of matter which its scholars have accumulated.

The maps accompanying this volume have been drawn by the practised hand of my friend Mr. Ravenstein, and incorporate the latest discoveries. One of them gives a view of that portion of Europe and Asia which was trodden under by the Mongols in the thirteenth century, the other is a special map of Mongolia as it is now constituted.

DERBY HOUSE, ECCLES, 12TH APRIL, 1876.

CHAPTER I.

BEFORE entering upon the proper subject of this work, I have deemed it convenient to give in the following chapter a general survey of the various nations and tribes of Asia with which the Mongols came in contact in the beginning of the thirteenth century. And I have included in it all the tribes mentioned by Raschid which there is reason for believing were other than Mongol.

CHINA.—The most powerful and important neighbour of the Mongols in their early days was no doubt the Chinese Empire, which had been for a long time divided into two sections. On the fall of the great dynasty of the Thang, which reigned from 616 to 907, and which controlled the whole of China proper, it broke into ten fragments, ruled over by the governors of the various provinces. This division gave rise naturally to a great deal of internal dissention, and favoured the ambitious views of the tribes on the northern frontier. At this period the south-eastern part of Mongolia and the districts of Liau si and Liau tung were occupied by a number of tribes known collectively as Khitan. The exact affinities of these tribes are among the most puzzling riddles in Eastern ethnology. Mr. Wylie, of Shanghai, a very much esteemed Chinese scholar, has favoured me with a list of Khitan words, considerably more extended than that collected by Klaproth, and from an examination of these, and from other considerations I am disposed to think that the Khitans (as is natural perhaps in a frontier race), were very much mixed and had affinities with Mongols, Coreans, and Tunguses. I am quite satisfied, at all events, that it is a mistake to make them a Tunguisic tribe in the same sense that the Manchus and their ancestors the Juchi Tartars are Tunguses. The principal tribe among the Khitans was that of the Shé liu or Thie la, pronounced Yé liu by the Chinese, which lived in the district where is situated the ruined town of Barin in Mongolia. About the year 907 the chief of this tribe, named Juliji Apaoki, having subdued the other Khitan tribes, made himself master of the greater part of the borderers on the great desert of Shamo, and in 916 had himself proclaimed Wangti or Emperor. With an astonishing rapidity he conquered the country from Kashgar in the west to the mountains Thsun ling in the east. Lake Baikal bounded his empire on the north, while

on the south he conquered considerable districts in the north-east of China and the greater part of Corea. He established his court at Liau yang in Liau tung, and afterwards moved it to Yan in Pehchehli, the modern Peking.* He died in 927 A.D. His son and successor Tai tsun assisted a Chinese general who had rebelled and helped him to mount the throne. In return for this service the new Emperor, who held his court at Pien, now Kai fong fu, on the southern bank of the Yellow River, ceded sixteen districts in the provinces of Pehchehli, Shansi, and Liautung to him, and undertook to pay him annually a subsidy of 300,000 pieces of silk, and even acknowledged himself his vassal in the letters which he addressed to him, by styling himself his grandson and subject. The successor of this Emperor having endeavoured to break these engagements, Tai tsun marched against him, conquered the provinces north of the Yellow River, captured Pien, siezed the Emperor and carried him off into Tartary. In the year 937 the Khitan Emperor gave his dynasty the title of Liau, which means iron.† After the fall of the Thang, five small dynasties successively occupied the metropolitan throne of Kai fong fou. On their ruins there arose in 960 the dynasty of the Sung, which once more reunited the greater part of China under its sceptre. The Sung Emperors fought against the Khitans, but could not wrest from them the sixteen districts which had been ceded, as I have mentioned, and at length, in 1004, the Sung Emperor undertook to pay the Khitan ruler an annual tribute in silver and silken goods.‡ The power and influence of the Khitans must have been both very great and very wide spread. They seem to have been obeyed by all the tribes of Mongols, Turks, and Tunguses who inhabited the country from lake Balkhash to the Yellow Sea, and a very good proof of their influence may be cited in the fact that they gave a name to China, by which it became familiar to the Arabs, Persians, and Turks, and through them to the mediæval writers of Europe, namely, Cathay. The contact of the Khitans and the Chinese was followed, as seems to be universally the case there, by the gradual weaning of the race of soldiers from their old habits and the acquirement of the effeminate manners which prevail in Eastern courts. This change enabled another and more vigorous race to supplant them. This was the race of the Juchi or Niuchi, the ancestors of the present Manchu dynasty in China. The Juchi lived in that part of Manchuria bounded on the north by the Amur, on the east by the ocean, on the south by Corea, and on the west by the river Sungari, which separated their country from that of the Khitans. The leader of this revolt was named Aguta. He rebelled in 1114, won several victories over the Khitans, and the following year adopted the title of Wangti, and gave his new empire the name of Aijin kurun, in Chinese Kin kuê, *i.e.*,

* Klaproth, Tableaux Historiques, &c., 88, 89. † D'Ohsson, i. 115. ‡ *Id.*, 115.

golden realm, whence its Mongol name Altan or Altun, "golden." He then commenced a vigorous campaign against the Khitans, whom he rapidly conquered. He died in 1123. His successor U ki nai followed up his victories, subdued the empire of Hia, and captured the Khitan Emperor Yelü Yen hi, who had fled in that direction, the ninth and last of his race who ruled in China. A prince of the fallen house and some of his followers escaped westwards and founded another empire, namely, that of the Kara Khitai, to which I shall presently refer.

The invasion of the Juchi was abetted by the Sung Emperor, who doubtless hoped by their means to recover possession of the lost provinces in Northern China, but he soon found reason to repent of his policy. In 1125 the Juchi invaded Southern China. The year following they advanced as far as the river Hoang ho, and laid siege to Kai fong fu, the capital of the Sung empire. The Sung Emperor went to the camp of the invaders to ask for terms, but was sent off to Tartary with his family. His brother escaped and was proclaimed Emperor by the Chinese. The Juchi proceeded to conquer the northern portion of China, penetrated beyond the river Yang tsi, captured Lin ngan, the chief city of the province of Che kiang, and, after securing many victories, made peace with the Sung Emperor in 1142, by which the conquests they had made were ceded to them, and they were to receive an annual tribute of 250,000 ounces of silver and 250,000 pieces of silk, while the Sung Emperor declared himself their vassal. The rivers Hoai and Han became the boundaries of the two empires, the Kin Emperor ruling over the provinces of Pehchehli, Shan si, Shang tung, Honan, and the northern part of Shen si, which were collectively known as Khan zi to the Chinese, while the southern empire was known to them and to Marco Polo as Manzi. The Mongols called it Nangkias. The capital of the former was the city anciently known as Yen king or Chun king. When the Kin Emperor in 1153 moved the seat of empire there he gave it the name of Ta hing fu, and the title of Chung tu, or Imperial city of the centre. It is now widely celebrated as Peking, *i.e.*, "the northern capital." The Mongols called it Khanbalig. The Sung Emperor's capital was Lin ngan, called also Hang chau in Ché kiang. In the northern section, subject to the Kin dynasty, there were five cities distinguished as Imperial residences: 1. Liau yang chau in Liau tung, called the eastern court; in Chinese Tung-king. 2. Tai-tung-fu in Shansi, the western court, or Si-king. 3. The present city of Peking, then called Chung tu or Chung king, or central court. 4. Pien leang or Kai fong fu, on the southern bank of the Yellow River in Honan, which was the southern court, or Nan king. And lastly, 5. Ta ning fu, on the river Loha in Northern China, then called the northern court, or Peking,* which

* D'Ohsson, 120, 121. Notes.

must of course be carefully distinguished from the Peking or northern court of our day. Besides their authority in China, the Kin Emperors were lords paramount in the steppes and deserts beyond, but their influence there was very much more limited than that of the Khitans. It probably extended little beyond the immediate borders of China. We know that Sungaria and the towns on either side of the Thian Shan mountains, which were apparently subject to the Khitans, were controlled by the enemies and rivals of the Kin, the Kara Khitai, while the Mongols, as we shall see, began to act a very independent part almost immediately after the Kin conquest of Northern China. Even in Manchuria we find Juchi tribes acting independently of the central authority in China under their own princes. These independent tribes were probably the ancestors of the modern Solons. We may take it, therefore, that although they were no doubt dependent, their dependence was largely nominal. Having briefly pointed out the condition of China, we will now turn to the adjoining and subordinate empire of Hia, which was so terribly desolated by Jingis Khan, and where, as one learns from Mr. Morgan, the groans and shrieks of the spirits of those whom he so ruthlessly slaughtered still haunt the place, and add to the horrors of the surrounding wilderness.*

HIA, OR TANGUT.—This empire was known in early times to the Mongols as Kashin or Kashi, which is a corruption of the Chinese word Ho-si. This means "west of the river," and designated the great province of Shen si, which lay west of the Yellow River. While Jingis was undertaking the conquest of Kashi, Ogotai had a son to whom the name of Kashi was given, but he died young from excessive drinking, upon which the name was changed.† At first it was changed to Kurik, and afterwards to Tangut.‡ A Chinese Uighur vocabulary, cited by Klaproth, gives Cho si as the synonym of Tangut, and another of Chinese and Bukharian words gives it as Tanghut.§ The Thibetans called it Nimak.‖ The name of Tangut is derived from the tribe Thang hiang, who according to Ma tuan lin, were descended from the primitive inhabitants of China, namely, the San Miao, and were driven by the Chinese into Kokonur and Eastern Thibet. They lived in early times in the country of Si chi, west of the department of Liu thao, in the modern Chinese province of Kan suh; their country was traversed by the very sinuous channel of the Yellow River. In the third and fourth centuries of our era the Emperors of the Chinese dynasties Wei and Tsin began to abate the power of the Eastern Thibetans called Khiang. In the sixth century the Emperors of the Chau dynasty destroyed the power of the tribe Thang chang. Afterwards other

*Geographical Magazine, ii. 306. † D'Ohsson, i. 95. Note.
‡ Erdmann's Temujin, 155. Note 2. § Klaproth, Beleuchtung, &c., 64.
‖ Schmidt's Ssanang Setzen, Passim.

Thibetans named Teng chi became powerful. They were in turn displaced by the Thang hiang or Tangut.* Li ki tsien, the chief of this tribe, who was ruler of Hia chan and a feudatory of the empire, took advantage of the anarchy which existed in China at the end of the tenth century, refused to acknowledge the Chinese ruler, and submitted to the Khitans; but in 1043 his grandson Chao yuen hao submitted to the Sung Emperor, who granted him the title of Emperor of Hia. At first their country was very limited in extent, but they conquered a large area in Shensi.† At the beginning of the twelfth century they were in possession of Hia chau, In chau, Sui chau, Yan chau, Tsing chau, Ling chau, Yan chau, Hoei chau, Ching chau, Kou chau, and Liang chau, towns situated on the north of the modern provinces of Kansu and Shensi, and the country of the Ordus. They had conquered the towns of Sha chau, Kua chau, and Su chau from the Uighurs, and were also possessed of the fortified posts of Hung, Ting, Wei, and Lung.‡ The topography of Tangut is very confused, as may be seen from Colonel Yule's narrative.§ Klaproth says that Hing chau, now called Ninghia, was the capital of the kingdom. It was situated at a small distance from the left bank of the Yellow River, where this river leaves the province of Kansuh and enters Mongolia. This town, according to Raschid, was called in the Tangutan language Eyirkai, and by the Mongols Eyirkaya. By Ssanang Setzen it is called Irghai.‖ Ssanang Setzen distinguishes between Turmegei or Termegetu, which he calls the capital of Tangut, and Irghai, but he is an authority of no value for this period.¶ Irghai seems to be the city called Wuhlahai by the Chinese, and is to be identified with the Egrigaia of Marco Polo, the Erequir of De la Croix, and was captured by Jingis in his second expedition. It and its district are tentatively identified by Colonel Yule with the principality of Alashan.** Raschid tells us the name of the Emperor of Hia in the time of Jingis was Lung Shidirghu, the Shidurgo of Ssanang Setzen; he adds, there were many kings in the country. Among the great cities which were royal residences he names Kendjan fu, Kamdjiu, Azerdi, Khaladjan, and An Balik; besides these there were twenty-four other large towns in the empire. The greater portion of their inhabitants, he says, were Mussulmans, but the villagers and their chiefs were mainly Buddhists.††

KARA KHITAI.—Having surveyed the chief powers encountered by the Mongols on the south, we will now do the same for the west. When the Khitan empire was overthrown by the Kin Tatars in 1122 or 1123, as I have described, a member of the Imperial family of the Liau or Khitan dynasty escaped westwards with a following of about 2,000 men. His name was Yeliu Tashi, or, according to western writers, Tushi Talgun, and also

* Klaproth, Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xi. 462. † D'Ohsson, i. 96. ‡ Klaproth, op. cit., 462.
§ Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., i. 273. ‖ Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xi. 463. ¶ Op. cit., 101 and 243.
** Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., 273. †† Klaproth, Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xi. 464. Note.

Tushi Taifu.* He was well received by the chiefs of the various Turkish tribes who had been dependent on his dynasty, and by means of the contingents they supplied him with, he succeeded in getting together a very considerable army. He first settled in the valley of the Imil, and, according to Carpini, built the town there which afterwards became the capital of the Khanate of Ogotai, and which was situated not far from the modern Khuguchak, otherwise called Tarbagatai. At this time the Turkish Khans of Turkestan, who claimed descent from the mythical Afrasiab, had become very feeble, and were constantly threatened by the Karluks, Kankalis, and other nomades in their neighbourhood, and we are told that Yeliu Tashi was called in to the rescue. He speedily occupied Balasaghun, their capital, and then deposed the descendant of Afrasiab from his dignity of Khan, leaving him only the title of Ilk Turkan, or chief of the Turks. He then proceeded to conquer the Karluks, whose chiefs, the Arslan Khans, apparently dominated over Kashgar and Khotan, and the country of Little Bukharia. He was acknowledged as their suzerain by the Idikut or chief of the Uighurs of Bishbalig; he defeated the Kankalis and Kirghises, and made himself master of Ferghanah and Transoxiana, and then ravaged the country of Khuarezm and made its ruler tributary. He then took the title of Gurkhan, or great Khan. I have discussed the site of his capital, Balasaghun, in some letters in the Geographical Magazine, and have endeavoured to fix it at the ruinheaps of It Kichu, on the river Chu, which I believe represent the Equius of Rubruquis. Thence he governed a vast territory. The country immediately subject to him was that watered by the Chu, the Jaxartes, and the great plains that border the Balkhash sea on the south-east, but, as I have said, the Turkish tribes to the east were dependent on him. Among these the most important no doubt were the Karluks, whose capital was Almaligh, the modern Kuldja, and who ruled over a considerable territory on both sides of the Thian Shan range, and the Uighurs, who lived at Bishbalig, *i.e.*, Urumtsi. He doubtless also was more or less dominant over the Naimans, about whom I shall have more to say presently. He was no doubt the most powerful sovereign of Central Asia, and his career of rapid conquest was a prototype on a smaller scale of that of Jingis Khan in later days, while the integration of the various Turkish tribes of Sungaria and Turkestan under his sceptre made the path of the succeeding conqueror much more easy, for when he defeated the usurper of the throne of Kara Khitai named Kushluk, he became at once the master of a regulated and tolerably orderly empire, and not of a mere congeries of broken tribes, and an empire which stretched from the Oxus to the great desert of Shamo, and from Thibet to the Altai.

* Tushi in Chinese means commander-in-chief. D'Ohsson, i. 163. Note.

KHUAREZM.—West, or rather south-west of Kara Khitai, and bordering upon it, was the empire of Khuarezm, with which the Mongols had a most bloody and prolonged struggle. This empire, like several others in South-western Asia, was founded by a Turk who had been originally a slave. The sovereigns of Persia were in the habit of purchasing young Turks, who were captured by the various frontier tribes in their mutual struggles, and employing them in their service. They generally had a body guard formed of them, and many of them were enfranchised and rose to posts of high influence, and in many cases supplanted their masters. The founder of the Khuarezmian power was such a slave, named Nushtekin, in the service of the Seljuk Sultan Malik Shah. He rose to the position of a Teshtedar or chamberlain, which carried with it the government of the province of Khuarezm, that is of the fertile valley of the Oxus and the wide steppes on either side of it, bounded on the west by the Caspian and on the east by Bukharia. He was succeeded by his son Kutb-ud-din Muhammed, whose services to the Seljuk rulers, Barkiarok and Sandjar, obtained for him the title of Khuarezm Shah, a title which was borne by the rulers of that province before the Arab invasion. He was succeeded by his son Atsiz, who several times took up arms against his sovereign Sandjar, and became virtually independent of him. He was ruler of Khuarezm when Yeliu Tashi, the founder of Kara Khitai, entered his dominion, and having been defeated by him he was obliged to become his tributary. He was succeeded in 1156 by his son Iyal Arslan, who, on Sandjar's death in 1157, conquered the western part of Khorassan. He left two sons named Takish and Sultan Shah, between whom a long struggle ensued.* Takish was eventually victorious. He also conquered the Seljuk ruler Togrul, and sent his head to the Khalif at Bagdad. By this conquest Irak Adjem was added to his dominions. With the deaths of Togrul and Sandjar, the Seljuk dynasty in Persia came to an end, and Takish obtained the investiture of their states from the Khalif. Takish was succeeded in 1200 by his son Alai ud din Muhammed, who by the conquest of Balkh and Herat completed the subjection of Khorassan to the Khuarezmian empire. Shortly after Mazanderan and Kirman were reduced to obedience. He then broke off his allegiance to the ruler of Kara Khitai, whose dependent in Transoxiana, named Osman, became his man. He also conquered a portion of Turkestan as far as Uzkend, where he placed a garrison. Some time after, having quarrelled with Osman, the ruler of Transoxiana, who had become his son-in-law, he attacked and took him prisoner, and afterwards put him to death. He then appropriated his dominions and made Samarkand his capital. In 1212-13 he annexed the principality of Gur, and three years later attacked

* Erdmann's Temujin, 158 and 160.

and subdued the country of Ghazni. When he captured its chief town he discovered proofs that the Khalif had been intriguing against him. He accordingly determined to depose him. He marched a large army westwards. On his way he received the submission of the rulers of Azerbaidjan and Fars, and at length entered the dominions of the Khalif, which at this time were limited to the provinces of Irak Arab and Khuzistan. Muhammed occupied the former province, and proceeded to divide it into various military fiefs; but this was the extent of his aggression in this direction. A terrible snowstorm overtook his troops on the mountains of Essed abad, and after losing many of them the rest were attacked by the Turkish and Kurdish tribes and suffered terribly, a fate which popular superstition naturally assigned as the result of so unholy a war. Muhammed deemed it prudent to retire, and his retreat was probably hastened by the approach of the Mongols. He gave Irak Ajem as an appanage to his son Rokn ud din. The provinces of Kirman, Kesh, and Mukran were assigned to Ghiaz ud din; Ghazni, Basinan, Gur, Bort, &c., which formed the old Gur empire, were assigned to Jelal ud din; while his youngest son, whom he had fixed upon as his heir, was assigned Khuarezm, Khorasan, and Mazanderan. From this enumeration it may be gathered that Muhammed was a very powerful sovereign. He controlled an army of 400,000 men, and his dominions at the invasion of the Mongols stretched from the Jaxartes to the Persian Gulf, and from the Indus to Irak Arab and Azerbaidjan. Here also, as in the case of Kara Khitai, we can see how the work was prepared for the hands of Jingis by the consolidation of a great number of small states into one powerful one, on whose fall a vast empire was at once added to the Mongol dominions.

AZERBAIDJAN.—I have mentioned that Azerbaidjan and Fars were not actually subject to the Khuarezm Shah but only tributary. The former was ruled at the time of the Mongol invasion by the Atabeg Uzbeg. He was descended from Ildéguiz, who, like the founder of many of the petty dynasties of Southern Asia, was a Turkish slave, and belonged to the Seljuk Sultan of Irak Ajem. He was a native of Kipchak, and having been freed rose successively to the highest dignities in the kingdom, and in 1146 received as a fief the provinces of Azerbaidjan and Arran, which were separated from one another by the river Kur. When about forty years later the Seljuk dynasty of Irak came to an end, Azerbaidjan remained subject to the family of Ildéguiz. His fifth successor was the Uzbeg I have mentioned. He had succeeded to power in 1197, and had about 1216 acknowledged himself as the vassal of the Khuarezm Shah. At the time of the Mongol invasion he was an old man. His capital was Tébriz.*

* D'Ohsson, i. 191 and 325.

FARS was ruled over by the dynasty of the Salgarids, so named from its founder Salgar, who was the chief of a Turkish tribe and a vassal of the Seljuki. Sankor, the grandson of Salgar, had profited by the decay of the Seljuki to take possession of Fars. This was in 1148. Sankor's grandson was named Sád. It was to him the Sheikh Saáde dedicated his Gulistan. He became a vassal of the Khuarezm Shah Muhammed, and it was he who subsequently submitted to the Mongols.* The capital of Fars, which was the kernel of the old Persian monarchy, and whose name still points to its having been so, was Shiraz. A small portion of Fars, with its capital at Darabsherd, was subject to the dynasty of the Shebankyare of the family Fasluye, but they were of small interest. An account of them may be seen in Von Hammer's history of the Ilkhans, i. 68, 69.

LURISTAN.—Luristan, according to Von Hammer, derives its name from two brothers of the name of Lur or Lor, who in the third century of the Hejira ruled over certain nomade Kurdish tribes, which two centuries later migrated from the mountain Saumal in Northern Syria, and settled in Luristan.† Luristan was divided into two principalities, known as Great and Little Luristan. The rulers of the former were known as the Great Atabegs, and those of the latter as the Little Atabegs. Hazerasp was the Atabeg of Great Luristan at the invasion of Jingis Khan. He was a trusted friend of the Khuarezm Shah Muhammed. At the time of Khulagu's invasion of Western Persia his son Tikle or Téguéle was the ruler of Great Luristan. He joined the Mongols with a contingent when they marched upon Baghdad, but they afterwards grew suspicious of him, and he was put to death, and Khulagu put Shems ud din Alp Argun on the throne in his place. At the same period Little Luristan was ruled by Bedr ud din Massud, who conciliated and was supported by the Mongols.‡

INDIA.—At the date of the Mongol invasion the metropolitan throne of Delhi was occupied by a dynasty descended from Sultan Kutb ud din Ibak i Shil, who was a Turkish slave in the service of the Sultan i Ghazi, Muizz ud din Muhammed, son of Sam, whence the dynasty was known as that of the Muizziah Sultans. He became the deputy of the Sultans of Ghazni in India, where he gained many victories. He was at length made free and granted the title of Sultan. This was about the year 603 of the Hejira. On his death, four years later, he was succeeded by Aram Shah, who after a very short reign was displaced by a usurper named Shams ud din Iyal timish, a former slave of Kutb ud din's, and also his son-in-law. The Indian empire was then divided into four sections. Shams ud din possessed himself of Delhi and the country around; Nasir ud din kaba jah, another son-in-law of Kutb ud din, appropriated

* D'Ohsson, i. 191. Note. iii. 261. † Von Hammer's Ilkhans, i. 70.
‡ D'Ohsson, iii. 259-261. Von Hammer's Ilkhans, i. 71, 72.

Sind and Multan, Bhakar and Siwastan, and subsequently the territory to the north-east as far as Sursuti and Kuhram. The chiefs of the Kalladjes or Turks assumed independence in Bengal, while Lahore became the prey of its several neighbours.* Such was the position of affairs when the Mongols appeared on the Indus. Let us now travel considerably westwards beyond the limits of the Khuarezmian empire.

BAGHDAD.—Irak Arab and a large portion of Khuzestan were directly subject to the Khalifs. Besides this local authority they were the supreme heads of the Moslem faith, and held the highest post in the hierarchy of Islam, in direct descent from the prophet himself. They were acknowledged as their suzerains by the various chiefs of Asia who had been converted, and when they succeeded to their several dignities of Sultan, or Malik, or Atabeg, they sent to notify the fact to the Khalifs, who in turn invested them with authority and sent them the diploma of office and the various emblems of royal dignity.† They held their court at Baghdad. For six centuries the Khalifate had been in the possession of the family of the Abbasides, so named because they were descended from Abbas, the uncle of Muhammed. They displaced the Ommiades. "From an obscure residence in Syria," says Gibbon, "they secretly dispatched their agents and missionaries, who preached in the eastern provinces their hereditary indefeasible right, and Muhammed, the son of Ali, the son of Abdallah, the son of Abbas, the uncle of the prophet, gave audience to the deputies of Khorassan, and accepted their free gift of 400,000 pieces of gold."‡ The Ommiades were distinguished by their white garments, the Abassides by their black ones. It was Suffah, the son of Muhammed ben Ali, who finally vanquished Mervan, the fourteenth and last of the Ommiade Khalifs. This was in 750 A.D.§ Almansor, the brother of Salah, laid the foundations of Baghdad in 762 A.D., which became the capital of the Moslem world. The rule of the Abassides was a protracted one, and lasted until they were finally destroyed by the Mongols, as I shall describe in the following pages. but for a long period their authority was chiefly spiritual, and the reins of power were in the hands of the several dynasties who ruled in Persia, the Buyeds, the Sultans of Ghazni, the Seljukian Turks, and the Khuarezmians. More or less dependent upon the Khalifs were several small districts governed by various dynasties of Atabegs, a name which answers to Mayors of the Palace or Tutors, and which was granted in the early days of the Arabian prosperity to various provincial governors, who retained this title when they became independent princes. Among these the chief was

MOSUL.—At the time of Khulagu's invasion its ruler was Bedr ud din

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Tabakat i Nasiri and Raverty's note, 529, 560. † D'Ohsson, iii. 209. ‡ Op. cit., vi. 390.
§ *Id.*, vi., 392.

Lulu, who had been a slave of Nur ud din Arslan Shah, of the dynasty of the Sunkars, chiefs of Diar Bekr, who on his death appointed him Tutor (Atabeg) to his son Massud, with the government of the principality of Mosul. On the death of Massud in 1218, and of his two young sons who followed him to the grave within the next two years, Bedr ud din Lulu became independent sovereign of Mosul, and was sovereign of it thirty-seven years later when Khulagu invaded the country.* Besides Mosul there were other petty principalities feudally dependent on the Khalifs. At Diarbekr and Mardin were small dynasties of the family of the Beni Ortok, descended from a Turkoman chief named Ortok, who was in the service of the Seljuki, and under them had possession of Jerusalem.† Other small dynasties dependent on the Khalif ruled at Erbil and Sindshar.

We will now go farther west again towards Egypt and Syria.

EGYPT was at the time of the Mongol invasion subject to the Beni Ayub or Ayubits, who were made famous in history by the exploits of their great chief Saladin. They were descended from the Malek Ayub, son of Shadi, who was a Kurdish chief. Shadi left two sons, Najm ud din Ayub and Asad ud din Sher i koh. Ayub's third son was the famous Salah ud din, generally known as, Saladin, who, having been appointed Vizier to Nur ud din, the ruler of Egypt, succeeded on the death of that prince in usurping the throne of Egypt.‡ In the sonorous words of Gibbon, "He despoiled the Christians of Jerusalem, and the Atabegs of Damascus, Aleppo, and Diarbekr. Mecca and Medina acknowledged him for their temporal protection. His brother subdued the distant regions of Yemen, or the happy Arabia; and at the time of his death his empire was spread from the African Tripoli to the Tigris, and from the Indian Ocean to the mountains of Armenia."§ On his death, in 1193, he was succeeded in Egypt by his son Aziz. Aziz was succeeded by Adil, the brother of Saladin, about the year 1200. Adil was succeeded by his son Kamil, who was the greatest of the family after Saladin, and ruled over the greater part, if not all, the dominions of that conqueror. He died in 1239, and was succeeded by his son Salih. Saladin had a body guard of Kurdish slaves, who were known as Mameluks. Salih especially favoured these Mameluks, who from having their barracks on the river (Bahr) were known as Bahrits. Salih died in 1249 at Mansura, while St. Louis was at Damietta. His son Muazzam Turanshah was assassinated by his father's Mameluks. After which they swore allegiance to a widow of Salih's named Shejer ud din, and having raised one of their chiefs named Eibeg to the command of the army, he married the Sultana, who three months later resigned the

* D'Ohsson, iii. 258. † Von Hammer's Ilkhans, i. 73. Gibbon, vii. 177.
‡ The Tabakat in Nasiri, 207, &c. § Op. cit., vii. 255.

crown to him. He thus became the founder of the first Mameluk dynasty, namely, of that of the Bahrits. This was in 1250.*

SYRIA. — Saladin was succeeded in Syria, whose capital was Damascus, by his eldest son Afzal. He was displaced by his brother Aziz, the Sultan of Egypt, who appropriated his territory, and who was succeeded, as I have said, by his uncle Adil. On Adil's death Syria became the portion of his second son Muazzam. On whose death in 1230 the throne of Damascus fell to his son Nassir. Nassir was deprived the following year by his uncle Kamil, the ruler of Egypt, who appointed his own brother Ashraf to the government of Syria. Ashraf was the ruler of Syria when the Mongols appeared on its borders in pursuit of the Khuarezm Shah Jelal ud din Muhammed. After some years the throne of Damascus was appropriated by Ashraf's nephew Salih, the Sultan of Egypt. On the assassination of Salih's son Turanshah by the Mameluks, Nassir Saladin Yusuf, the prince of Aleppo, seized the throne. Although he was master of Syria from the Euphrates to the borders of Egypt, there were several petty princes within its borders who before his aggrandisement were doubtless his peers, and who belonged to the Ayubit family. Among these was first, the prince of Hims, who at the time of Khulagu's invasion was named Ashraf, he was the grandson of the Melik Esed ud din Shirkuh. He had been deprived of his principality by Nassir about 1248, and had been given in exchange the district of Telbashir.† Ashraf was reinstated by the Mongols, and became their deputy in Syria. Secondly, The princes of Hamath, who were descended from Tayeddin, the grandson of Ayub and the nephew of the great Saladin, by whom he was appointed Lord of Hamath. His son Melik Mansur the First gained considerable renown in the war with the Crusaders, and by his patronage of the learned. He was succeeded by his son Mansur the Second, who when Khulagu approached Syria fled to Egypt.‡ Thirdly, The princes of Karak and Shubek. They were descended from the Melik Aadil Seifeddin Ebubekr, who was given this appanage by his brother the great Saladin. His great grandson Melik Moghis Fetheddin Omar ruled over it at the invasion of Khulagu.§ Besides their possessions in Syria, the Ayubits still retained a small portion of Saladin's dominions in Mesopotamia. This consisted of the principality of Mayafarkin. It was governed by a dynasty descended from Melikol Aadil, the brother of Saladin. At the time of Khulagu's invasion it was subject to the Melik Kamil, who was its fifth ruler. He was killed by the Mongols.‖

* D'Ohsson, iii. 287-290.
† D'Ohsson, iii. 326. Von Hammer's Ilkhans, i. 74, 75.
‡ Von Hammer's Ilkhans, i. 74. D'Ohsson, iii. 322.
§ Von Hammer's Ilkhans, i. 75. D'Ohsson, iii. 292.
‖ Von Hammer, op. cit., i. 74. D'Ohsson, iii. 354-357.

THE CRUSADERS.—While the greater part of Syria was in the hands of the Ayubits the Christians retained a few places on the coast. Saladin had taken Jerusalem from them in 1187, but they held Acre or Polemais which had been conquered by Philip Augustus of France and Richard the First of England about 1191. They also held Tyre, Cæsarea, and Tripoli on the coast of Syria.*

RUM.—At the time of the great Mongol invasion the empire of the Seljuki in Persia and Khorassan had been extinguished and replaced by that of the Khuarezm Shahs. The Seljuki, however, still retained their hold upon Asia Minor. The dynasty of the Seljuki of Rum or Asia Minor was founded by Soliman Shah, a cousin of Malik Shah, the ruler of Persia, by whom he was sent westwards at the head of 80,000 tents of Ghuz Turks or Turkomans, from Transoxiana, to conquer the country He conquered the central part of Asia Minor from the Byzantines, and made Nicæa, the chief town of the ancient Bithynia, his capital. His dominions were called Rum by Eastern writers, and were bounded on the east by Great Armenia and a part of Georgia, on the north by the Black Sea, on the south by Little Armenia, a part of Cilicia, and the sea opposite Cyprus; and on the west extended as far as Attalia on the sea. It included the ancient Lycaonia, Cappadocia, Isauria, Phrygia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Lydia, and the country round Trebizond. Soliman died in 1086, after reducing Antioch and its dependent cities. It was these Seljukian Turks with whom the early Crusaders came in contact. In 1096 they captured their capital Nicæa, and so broke their power that the Greek Emperor recovered much ground which had been lost, and occupied the cities of Ephesus, Smyrna, Sardis, Nicæa, &c., and cut the Turks off from the sea. It was then that they chose the remote and almost inaccessible Iconium as their capital. The seventh successor of Soliman, named Kai Kobad, occupied the throne of Iconium when the Mongols in 1235-7 made their first raid upon the kingdom of Rum; but it was in the reign of his successor, Ghiath ud din Kai Khosru, and in 1242, that they made a vigorous effort, under the command of Baijur to conquer it, and in fact succeeded in making it tributary.†

LITTLE ARMENIA.—To the south of the Seljukian kingdom of Rum, and protected by the Taurus mountains, was a small state which had considerable intercourse with the Mongols. This was known as Little Armenia. It comprehended the ancient districts of Cilicia and Comagene, with many towns of Cappadocia and Isauria. Its capital was Sis. It originated with Rupen, a relative of Kakig the Second, the last king of Armenia proper, of the race of the Bagratids. When their power was finally destroyed, he in 1080 occupied some districts in Cilicia, where many Armenians had sought refuge from the sword of the

* Petis de la Croix, Jingis Khan, 157. † D'Ohsson, iii. 78-82.

Seljuki. The descendants of Rupen enlarged their dominions at the expense of the Greek empire, and were closely allied with the early Crusaders in their struggle with the Seljuks of Rum. Leo, the ninth successor of Rupen, having increased his kingdom, obtained in 1197 the title of king from Pope Celestin the Third and the Emperor Henry the Sixth. When the Mongol general Baiju defeated Kai Kosru, the Sultan of Rum, Haithon, the third successor of Leo, sent in his submission and became a vassal of the Mongols.

TREBIZOND.—In the north of Asia Minor, protected by mountains and the sea, was a small state which was founded by an offshoot of the Greek Imperial dynasty of Constantinople, descended from Andronicus Comnenus. This was the obscure state of Trebizond, which took its name from the city of Trebizond, the ancient Trapezus. When the Latins took Constantinople the continuity of the Greek empire was kept up there. It also survived the great inroad of the Seljuki upon Asia Minor, and by skilful diplomacy escaped the Mongol arms also, but it seems to have acknowledged their supremacy.*

GEORGIA.—Like its neighbours, Georgia was terribly ravaged by the Seljukian Turks, who captured Tiflis and made its king tributary. The disputes of the various Seljukian princes at length enabled David the Second, the Restorer, who reigned from 1089 to 1130, who was supported by the powerful family of the Orpelians, his deputies in Southern Georgia, to recapture his capital and to drive the Turks beyond the Araxes. His successors, Demetrius the First, David the Third, and George the Third, gained considerable successes over the Seljuki Sultans, the Atabegs of Ajerbaidjan, the Turkish Emirs of Asia, and the chiefs of Kelat. In 1174 Ani, the capital of Armenia, fell into their hands. During the reigns of the famous Queen Thamar, her son George Fourth, surnamed Lasha, and his sister, the beautiful Rhuzudan, the Georgian power continued to increase. A great number of small Armenian chiefs who held the fortresses north of the Araxes became dependent on the Georgian kings, and assisted them in their wars with the Mussulmans. And thus all Armenia north of the Araxes became more or less subject to them. Ani and the surrounding district, from the Araxes to the Kur, north of lake Sevan, was subject to Ivan or John, the Constable of Georgia, who was sprung from an Armenian family long subject to the Georgians; another family held Cham k'hor and the districts on the Kur; another the country of Khatchen, situated west of that river among the mountains south of Cham k'hor; the family of the Orpelians held the country between Sevan, the Kur and the Araxes, a district conquered from the Mussulmans, and which was granted to the Opelians in lieu of their ancient patrimony in Southern Georgia. The Georgian kings were

* Gibbon, vi. 131; vii. 169; viii. 13. Note.

in fact masters of the country from the borders of the Black Sea between the Crimea and Trebizond, as far as Derbend and the junction of the Kur and the Araxes, that is to say, Abkhazia, Colchis, Mingrelia, Georgia, properly so called, Northern Armenia, and many surrounding districts. When the Mongols made their first invasion of Georgia in 1226, it was ruled over by the George Lasha above named. He was succeeded by his sister Rhuzudan, who ruled it at the time of the great invasion under Charmaghun ten years later. At the great Kuriltai held on the accession of Kuyuk Khan, Georgia was divided into two portions; one was given to David, the natural son of George Lasha, and the other to a second David, the son of Rhuzudan. The latter was made subordinate to the former.*

South and south-west of the Caspian were the small districts of Shirvan, Ghilan, and Mazanderan, whose isolated situation preserved them for a long time independent under their own princes. Their history is of local interest, and does not affect that of the Mongols. Very different is that of their neighbours the Ismailites or Assassins.

THE ISMAILITES.—In the mountain district of Kuhistan, south of the Caspian, there was at the time of the Mongol invasion a thriving power, namely, that of the Ismailites, known in the west as that of the Assassins, or that of the old man of the mountain. It was the Assassins whom Khulagu was especially commissioned to attack and root out. The Ismailites were a sect of the Shias or followers of Ali. In the early ages of Muhammedanism the influence of Greek philosophy, of the magicians, &c., created a great number of mystical sects, among these were several which held the doctrine of metempsychosis, and believed in a modified system of Lamaism, holding that the spirit of Ali was transmitted to a line of descendants known as the Imams. When the fifth Imam Jafer Sadik, having nominated his eldest son Ismail as his successor, afterwards deposed him on account of his excesses, and nominated Mussa in his place, many of the Shias, who held that the appointment was irrevocable, refused to recognise Mussa, and declared the Imamate had passed to Muhammed, the son of Ismail, whom they considered to be the eighth and last visible Imam. The Shias succeeded for a while in raising up a rival dynasty to that of the Abassides, namely, the Fatimites, with their seat of empire in Egypt. The followers of Ismail, who were merely a sect of the Shias, then had their head, known as the Da'yi ud Da'yat or chief missionary, lived at Cairo. They rapidly developed a secret and mystical cult.† Many of their sect existed in Persia. Among these one of the principal was named Hassan Sábbahi, son of an Arab named Ali, who had settled at Rei or Ray, where Hassan was born. Hassan, who lived at Kazvin, gained great repute and had many disciples, and about 1090

*Klaproth, Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xii. 193 &c. D'Ohsson, ii. 206. † D'Ohsson, iii. 149-156.

captured the fortress of Alamut from the Seljuki. He afterwards conquered the surrounding district, which was named Rudbar, and planted several fortresses there as well as in Kuhistan. The weakness of the later Seljuki enabled the Ismailites to increase their power, which was much augmented by the terrible secret assassinations which Hassan secured. Hassan died in 1124, after living for thirty-four years at Alamut, which he only left twice, spending his time there in meditation, &c. He was followed by Kia Buzurk Umid, whom he nominated as his successor. The power of the Assassins continued to increase, and two of the Abassidan Khalifs were victims of their fanaticism. Kia Burzurk was succeeded by his son Muhammed, and he by his son Hassan. Hitherto the Ismailite chiefs had merely called themselves the missionaries or champions of the Imams, that is, of the Fatimite Khalifs. Hassan in 1164 proclaimed himself the vicar of the Invisible Imam, and broke away entirely from his allegiance to the traditions of the Shias. Thenceforward the Ismailites were known as Molahids (*i.e.*, the lost). He introduced a great deal of new mystical teaching. Having been assassinated by his brother, he was succeeded by his son Muhammed, who, on the destruction of the Fatimites in Egypt by Saladin, acquired fresh renown, and terribly punished the orthodox Mussulmans who dared to denounce his followers as heretics. Muhammed was succeeded by his son Jelal ud din Hassan, who professed the orthodox faith and submitted to the Khalif. When Jingis Khan passed the Oxus he sent him his submission. Jelal ud din was succeeded in 1221 by his son Alai ud din Muhammud, who was only nine years old when he succeeded. He was himself assassinated in 1255, and was succeeded by his son Rokn ud din Khurshah, with whom Khulagu fought, and who eventually destroyed him. Among the chief fortresses of the Ismailites were Alamut, Lemsher (also written Lemhesser), Guirdkuh Lal, and Meimun-diz.*

THE KIPCHAKS.—Having glanced at the various kingdoms with which Jingis Khan and his successors came into conflict in Asia, we may now take a rapid survey of the nomadic tribes whom they conquered and who formed such an important element in their armies, and we may begin with the most western. The Kipchaks, according to Raschid and Abulghazi, were one of the five sections into which the Turkish nation subject to Oghuz Khan was divided. Abulghazi tells us a curious story about the origin of their name. He says that at the time when Oghuz Khan lived it was customary for great chiefs and some of their greater followers to take their wives with them on their expeditions. On one occasion one of these chiefs having been killed in a combat, his wife escaped and joined the camp of Oghuz Khan. She was then great with child, and being suddenly taken ill where there was no hut, and when the weather

* D'Ohsson, iii. 141-203.

was very severe, she took refuge in a hole in a tree, where she gave birth to a son. Oghuz Khan adopted the boy, his father having died in his service, and gave him the name of Kiptchak, which he says in the old Turk language meant a hollow tree. When the boy reached the age of maturity Oghuz Khan sent him with a considerable force towards the Don and Volga. He subdued the country, and from him were descended the Kipchaks who inhabited the steppes there and who gave them their name of Desht Kipchak, or the Plains of Kipchak.* I am disposed to attach credit to the principal features of this story. Kipchak is a personal name among the Turks, and it is a very common practice for Turkish tribes to be named after noted chiefs, *ex. gr.*, the Uzbegs, Nogays, &c. The Kipchaks were called Comans by European writers. This we know not only from a comparison of the statements we have about both races, and from the fact that both races occupied the same area at the same time, but we are expressly told that the Comans called themselves Capchat. The name Coman is derived no doubt from the river Kuma, the country about which was known to the Persians as Kumestan, and to the Nubian geographer Edrisi in the eleventh century as Al Komania; he adds, "which gives their name to the Komanians."† Klaproth has published a Comanian vocabulary and other evidence showing the Comanians to have spoken a very pure Turk language. A part of their old country on the Kuma is still called Desht Kipchak, and the Kumuks, who have been pushed somewhat south by the Nogays, are, I believe, their lineal descendants. Others of their descendants no doubt remain also among the Krim Tatars. To the early Arab writers the Kipchaks were known as Gusses, a name by which we also meet with them in the Byzantine annals.‡ This shows that they belonged to the great section of the Turks known as the Gusses or Oghuz Turks, whose eponymous hero was Oghuz Khan. They first invaded the country west of the Volga at the end of the ninth century, from which time till their final dispersal by the Mongols in the thirteenth century they were very persistent enemies of Russia. After the Mongol conquest it is very probable that they became an important element in the various tribes that made up the Golden Horde or Khanate of Kipchak. As I have said, they were called Gusses by the Arabs. This connects them very closely with the Turks who ravaged Persia so terribly in the eleventh century, and to whom the Seljuki and Ottomans affiliated themselves, both tribes deriving themselves from the Gusses. They also formed a large part of the nomades who are known as Turkomans. The original homeland of all these tribes was doubtless the land where the Middle Horde of the Kirghiz Kazaks now lived. The Kazaks were also Gusses, and in fact remain a type of what the other Gusses probably were

* Abulghazi, Ed. Desm., 18, 19.

† *Vide* Author's Paper on the Comans and Petchenegs, Trans. Ethnolog. Soc., ii. 84. ‡ *Id.*

before they were sophisticated by contact with the Persians. One of the main divisions of the Middle Horde and a tribe of the Uzbegs are still called Kipchak, and in the country of the Middle Horde may be found a town Kapchak and a lake Kapchi.*

THE KANKALIS.—East of the Yaik, in the wide steppe lands now occupied by the Kirghiz Kazaks of the Little Horde, lived the Kankalis. Like their western neighbours, the Kipchaks, they also formed one of the five sections into which the subjects of Ughuz Khan were divided. In later times they were very closely connected with the Kipchaks, as may be collected from the fact that one of the four main divisions of the Uzbegs is called Kankli-Kipchak. But at an earlier date their histories ran in separate channels. They are called Kangli by Rubruquis, who tells us he crossed their country after passing the Volga, or rather the Yaik. Carpini calls them Kangites, and Constantine Porphyrogenitus Kangar. According to Raschid and Abulghazi their name is derived from the use of wheeled carriages or arabas, kanek meaning wheels.† The Emperor Constantine identifies them with the Pechenegs,‡ and this is confirmed by the statement of Abulfeda, who, citing Ebn Said, says that eastward of Comania were the mountains, the lake, and the capital of the Begjnak, who were Turks.§ Now the country of the Pechenegs and Kankalis was until the seventeenth century the camping ground of the Nogays, who seem from the researches of Levchine to have extended as far as the river Sarisu, which divided them from the Kazaks. We are not surprised to find, therefore, the name Kangli surviving among the Nogays, who are still distinguished as their ancestors were by the use of wheeled cars or arabas, and there are few things more certain than that the Kankalis are now represented by the Nogays. Besides the Nogays there are no doubt many Turkomans also descended from them. According to Abulghazi the Kankalis at the accession of Jingis occupied the country as far east as the valleys of the Chu and the Taras.‖ In the time of Jingis the Kankalis were very closely connected with Khuarezm. The Khuarezm Shah Takish, the father of Muhammed, the great rival of Jingis, married Turkan Khatun, the daughter of Jinkeshi Khan, of the tribe Bayaut, which, according to Muhammed of Nessa, was a branch of the Yémeks, who D'Ohsson says were comprised in the general name of Kankalis.¶ He was apparently a person of very great consequence, and probably the paramount chief among them.** In the wake of Turkan Khatun many Kankalis embraced Islamism and entered the service of Muhammed. Abulghazi says all her nearest relatives thus went. Among

* The Comans and the Petchenegs, op. cit. 88. † Abulghazi, Ed. Desm., 17.
‡ Essay on Comans and Petchenegs, op. cit., 92. § Davezac, 500. Note.
‖ Op. cit., Ed. Desm., 38. ¶ Op. cit., i. 196, 197.
** In the Tabakat i Nasiri he is called in one place Ikran or Akran Khan of Kipchak, and in another Kadr Khan of Kipchak, a confusion of names and of titles which makes one discard its authority.

these there are named her eldest brother Khumar Tekin, who was appointed Darugha, *i.e.*, governor of Urgendj. There also went Inaljek, the son of her father's younger brother; he became a Mussulman, and was appointed governor of Turkestan, and Muhammed ordered that he was in future to be no longer styled Inaljek but Ghair Khan (? a form of Gur Khan). Another chief named Kuk, one of the principal men among the Kankalis, also joined him and was appointed governor of Bokharah, with the title of Khan; he was styled Kuk Khan. Altogether, says Abulghazi, there were 50,000 or 60,000 Kankalis who entered the service of the Khuarezm Shah; 10,000 families of them remained on the Chui and Telash (? Taras), but on the arrival of Jingis Khan those who lived on the Telash were dispersed,* while those in the service of the Khuarezm Shah were terribly punished in the ensuing campaign. As I have said, their descendants still constitute the main portion of the Nogay Hordes.

THE KARLUKS.—Like the Kankalis, the Karluks were dependents of the Gur Khans of Kara Khitai. They also formed a section of the subjects of Oghuz Khan. Their name, according to Raschid, means the men of the snows or snow lords.† Abulghazi says they inhabited the mountains of Mongolia, and that they were not a numerous race, and adds that the number of their families did not, at the most flourishing period of their history, exceed 2,000 families. The accounts of the Karluks, as given by Juveni and Raschid, are not quite consistent. According to one account Almaligh was their chief town,‡ while Juveni makes it the seat of another Turkish prince. I have small doubt that Juveni is right, and he is confirmed by Abulghazi. According to his account, when Jingis Khan returned from his campaign against Tangut in 1211, Arslan Khan of the Karluks, who was also Prince of Kayalik or Kabalik, and who had broken off his allegiance to the Gur Khan of Kara Khitai, submitted to him, and he gave him a Mongol princess in marriage.§ It was ordered also that Arslan should no longer be styled Arslan Khan but Arslan Siriaki, or Arslan the Syrian, that is, the Muhammedan.‖ He accompanied Jingis Khan in his campaign against the Khuarezm Shah.¶

ALMALIGH.—In the tenth and eleventh centuries the Turks of Turkestan were dominated over by a Grand Khan, who had his seat of empire at Kashgar, and who ruled from the borders of China to those of the Jaxartes. His power seems to have decayed and to have been much invaded by the Kankalis and Karluks, and he at last submitted to the Gur Khan of Kara Khitai, whose dependent he became. When Gushluk usurped the throne of Kara Khitai the Khan of Almaligh and Fulad was

* Abulghazi, Ed. Desm., 37, 38. † Erdmann's Extracts, 16.
‡ Erdmann's Temujin, 246. § D'Ohsson, i. 111. ‖ D'Ohsson, i. 218. Note.
¶ *Id.*, 212. Abulghazi, Ed. Desm., 108.

called Ozar.* Erdmann, who confuses this dynasty with that in the last paragraph, calls him Kunas, and says he was known as Merdi Shudsha (*i.e.*, lion heart or lion man). This latter statement is probably well founded, for the Khans of Almaligh are doubtless to be identified with the Lion Khans of Kashgar mentioned by Visdelou.† It would seem that Ozar Khan of Almaligh, having refused to acknowledge Gushluk, the latter marched against him, and having surprised him when hunting put him to death. Ozar had acknowledged the supremacy of Jingis Khan, and on his death his son Siknak Tikin was named his successor by the Mongol Khan, who gave him a daughter of Juji's in marriage. He also accompanied Jingis in his Eastern campaign.‡

THE NAIMANS.—That the Naimans were Turks, as both Klaproth and D'Ohsson affirm, I have shown in the notes at the end of this work. According to Raschid they were nomades. Some of them were settled in the district of Sehets. (?) The places where they lived included Egeh Altai (? Yeke Altai or Great Altai); Karakorum, where Ogotai fixed his residence; the mountains Alwi Sepras (called Elui Seras by D'Ohsson), and Gul Irtish, where the Kankalis also lived; the Irtish Muran, a branch of the Irtish (by which probably the Black Irtish is meant); the surrounding mountains and districts as far as the country of the Kirghises on one side, and that of the Uighurs on the other.§ That is, it included the whole of Northern Sungaria from near lake Saissan to Karakorum. It is important to remember that Raschid makes Karakorum, which afterwards became the capital of Ogotai, a chief camping ground of the Naimans. The reading is confirmed by Abulghazi, who says that they had their chief camping ground in the district called Karakorum in Mongolia;‖ and in a very independent authority, namely, a map of the north-western frontiers of China at the Mongol period, contained in the Hai kue thu chi, a Chinese work on universal historical geography, we are told Holin (*i.e.*, the Chinese name for Karakorum) was situated between the Orkhon and the Timur, and it is added that the Naimans had formerly their principal camp there.¶ Abulghazi says he knew nothing of the former history of the Naimans except that they had a king named Karkish, who left his dominions to his son Inat.** At a later date they were ruled over by Iandj Belgeh Buka Khan, who divided his kingdom between his sons Taibuka and Buyuruk Khan. Taibuka retained possession of his father's residence, *i.e.*, Karakorum, while Buyuruk went to live at Kizilbashi (? the Kizilbash lake), near the Altai.†† At the end of his description of the Naimans, Raschid mentions a people whom he calls Tigin, whose chief was called Kader

* D'Ohsson, i, 170.
† Supplement to D'Herbelot's Bib. Orien., 305. ‡ D'Ohsson, i. 212. Abulghazi, Ed. Desm., 108.
§ Erdmann's Extracts from Raschid, 142. Temujin, 239.
‖ Op. cit., Ed. Desm., 47. ¶ Pauthier's Marco Polo, i. xxxviii.
** Op. cit., Ed. Desm., 47. †† Erdmann, Temujin, 271, and Note 80.

Buyuruk Khan, and who lived in close alliance with the Naimans. In regard to these names, Tigin seems to be a form of the Turkish title Tikin, while Kader is explained by Raschid as meaning mighty or strong. It is clearly the Kadr which occurs so frequently as the title of the Turkish Khans of Turkestan. It is a Turkish title, and Raschid expressly says it was a name not used by the Mongols, who pronounced it Kadsher.* He also mentions another tribe, which he names Tebgi. D'Ohsson writes the name Sikin biki, he says it was closely connected with the Onguts although it lived with the Naimans. The women of the Naimans and of this latter tribe were famed for their beauty.† I know nothing of these two tribes beyond the facts mentioned by Raschid.

THE UIGHURS.—The Uighurs were undoubtedly Turks.‡ They were known to the Chinese as Hoei-hu. In the second half of the eighth century and beginning of the ninth the Uighurs were all-powerful in Eastern Asia, and had their capital at Karakorum. Their princes entered into matrimonial alliances with the Chinese Emperor, and they seem to have occupied all the western part of Mongolia, from Karakorum to the country of the Ortus. Like the power of most Turkish confederacies, however, theirs was not very long lived. Their possessions in the south were overrun and occupied by the Thibetans, and in the north they were much harrassed by their western neighbours the Hakas, a name which I have elsewhere connected with Oghuz.§ The latter at length, in 840, marched against them at the head of 100,000 horsemen, defeated and captured their Khan Khaisa, whose head they cut off. After this defeat a large number of the Uighurs dispersed, many of them seeking refuge on the borders of Shensi, where they nominated Uhi as their Khan. At length in the year 848 they were finally dispersed, many of their hordes fled to the countries of Sha Chau and Kua chau.‖ The Hakas, who supplanted them and occupied their capital Karakorum, were, as I believe, the direct ancestors of the Naimans, who were encamped there at the accession of Jingis.¶ It was these disasters which led to the Uighurs migrating and settling largely in an old Turk land, namely, on the eastern spurs of the Thian Shan mountains. Their principal seat was Bishbalik (the five towns), which Klaproth has shown to be identical with Urumtzi. On the north they extended as far as the river Achu, on the south they had the Chinese principality of Thsiau thsiuan kiun (the present country of Su chau), on the east they bordered upon Gundun Gachikia (Visdelou reads it Yuen tun Kia cha), and on the west upon the Sifans or Thibetans.¶ Nestorian Christianity was widely spread among them, as we learn from many Eastern travellers. And it

* Erdmann's Extracts from Raschid, 147. Note.
† *Id.* 147, D'Ohsson, I. 56 Note
‡ See Notes at the end of this Volume.
§ Geographical Magazine, ii. 150.
‖ Klaproth, Tableaux Historiques, 128, 129.
¶ D'Ohsson, i. 440.

was from the Nestorians they doubtless derived their alphabet, which is founded on the Syriac. They taught letters to the Mongols, and were in early times the most cultivated race of Eastern Asia. Like the other Turks of the Thian Shan range, the Uighurs submitted to the Gur Khans of Kara Khitai. Their ruler was entitled Idikut, and he became their tributary, having a deputy of the Gur Khans in his territory. When the star of Jingis rose the Idikut broke off his allegiance to the Kara Khitai and became the *protegé* of Jingis, who gave him his daughter in marriage. At this time he was named Baurchik, and the Uighurs continued to be ruled by his family until the Mongols were driven away from China. The eastern neighbours of the Uighurs were the Keraits.

THE KERAITS.—In regard to the Keraits I hold very heretical views. They have been almost, if not quite, universally treated as Mongols. I believe, on the contrary, that they were Turks, and have given my reasons at some length in the notes at the end of this volume. The history of the Keraits and of Prester John, their celebrated sovereign, is given in detail in the tenth chapter, where the question as to their habitat has been fully discussed, and it has been shown to correspond to the frontier districts of the Ordus country and the neighbourhood of Koko Khotan.

THE MERKITS.—The country of the Merkits or Mecrits is well defined by more than one author. Thus Marco Polo says, when you leave Karakorum and the Altai, and you go north for forty days, you reach the country called the plain of Bargu. The people there are called Mescript.* Raschid tells us the Merkits were called Mekrits by one section of the Mongols. He says they were also known by the common name of Udut or Uduyut. In another place he says one of their tribes was called the Udut Merkits. This name of Udut Klaproth connects with great probability with the river Uda, a western feeder of the Selinga.† In 1197 Jingis Khan marched against the Merkits, and we are told he encountered and defeated the Udut Merkits near the river Mondja, in the canton Karas Muren, beyond the Kerulon and Selinga. Klaproth adds that this river still bears the name Mandzia. It springs to the north of the sources of the Onon and Kerulon, in the angle formed between those rivers by the Bakha Kentei and the Iké Kentei. It crosses the frontier of Siberia at the post Obur khadain ussu, passes near the fort of Mandzinskoi, called Manzanskoi in Kozniakof's map, and joins the Chikoi (one of the main feeders of the Selinga) opposite the village of Manghir Chuiska.‡ The following year Wang Khan, the Kerait chief, defeated the Merkits at a place called Buker kehreh, when their chief Tukta bigi took refuge in the country of Barkuchin.§ Kehreh no doubt

* Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., i.
† Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xi. 452.
‡ *Id.*, 453.
§ *Id.*, 453.

means plains, and Buker kehreh is doubtless the plains of Bargu of Marco Polo, and was situated near the outfall of the Selinga. After the defeat and death of the Naiman chief Tayang Khan, Jingis marched against the Merkits, and we are told that the chief of the Uhuz or Udut Merkits (Erdmann says the Uighur Merkits) submitted voluntarily to him at the river Bar. I notice a town called Borskaya on an eastern feeder of the lower Selinga. This tribe having afterwards revolted, Jingis attacked it in a place named Kurukchal, "near the Selinga."* These facts make it almost certain that the Merkits lived upon the lower Selinga and its feeders and in the country south-west of the Baikal Sea. The Merkits have generally been treated as Mongols. It is not improbable that as they were a frontier race they may have been somewhat mixed with Mongol blood. But I believe this to have been trifling, and that they were almost as typically Turks as the Uighurs. The proofs of this I must remit to the notes at the end of the volume. The ruler of the Merkits in the time of Jingis was Tukta Bigi, who will appear frequently in the following pages. He had six sons, namely, Tugun, Tuseh, Kudu, Jilaun (who married a daughter of Wang Khan of the Keraits), Jiyuk, and Kultukan Mergen. All six came to a violent end. Tugun was killed by Wang Khan; Tuseh, Jilaun, and Jiyuk fell in battle with Jingis Khan; Kudu was put to death when escaping, while Kultukan was a great archer and fled to Kipchak, where he was captured and put to death by order of Juji. Kulan the daughter of Dair Ussun, chief of the Merkits, was married to Jingis Khan, and she was the mother of his fifth son Kulkan.†

THE KIRGHISES AND KEMKEMJUKS.—The Kirghises and Kemkemjuks were two closely allied Turkish tribes, who lived in the time of Jingis on the upper waters of the Yenissei and on the Kemjik. A place at the embouchure of the Kemjik into the Yenissei, is still known as Kemkemjik Boru. Boru is merely equivalent to stony mountain or fell.‡ Raschid tells they formed two neighbouring nations, their country was thickly settled, and their kings were called Inal.§ The Chinese authors who wrote during the Mongol supremacy place them in the same district, between the Iyus, the Ob, and the Yenissei.‖ They remained in the same district down to the seventeenth century, when, as reported by Strahlenberg and other Swedish exiles, they left their old country and migrated towards lake Saissan and the mountainous country to the south. Here they are still found, and are known as Buruts, Black Kirghises, or Rock Kirghises. They are in fact the Kirghises proper, those frequently so called being in reality Kazaks and not Kirghises.

THE URASUTS, TELENKUTS, AND KESTIMIS.—These tribes, Raschid says, were also called the wood-folk, and he tells that they

* *Id.*, 454. † Erdmann, 186. ‡ Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta, 231.
§ D'Ohsson, I. 103. Note. ‖ Klaproth, op. cit., 233.

lived in the woods in the country of the Kirghises and Kemkemjuks.* They were closely bound up with the Kirghises, and were apparently three sections of one race, as Abulghazi says,† and doubtless also their descendants are the well-known Telenguts, or white Kalmuks of recent travellers, who are found scattered in the high country of Northern Sungaria. They are otherwise called Teleuts, and their original seat was apparently the Altan, or Golden lake, otherwise called Telezkoi. Their physique and looks are very like those of the Mongols, but their speech is Turkish. Klaproth suggests that they have changed in the latter respect, and that originally they were Mongols.‡ It is curious that Abulghazi classes the Telenguts among the Uirads, that Ssanang Setzen speaks of them as the Telengud Uirad, while they are known to the Russians as White Kalmuks. In regard to the Kestimis, I may add that several tribes of Siberian Turks are still styled Kitshi, as Kitshi Taidkge, Kitshi Kurmachi, Kitshi Argun, Kitshi Pushku.§

THE UIRADS, KURIS, TULAS, TUMATS, BARGUTS, AND KURLUTS were various tribes who lived on the east and west of the Baikal Sea, about the feeders of the Angara, and in the district known as Barguchin Tugrum. I have now little doubt that they were Mongols, and were the ancestors of the Western Mongols or Kalmuks. I have entered into the subject fully in the last chapter of this volume on the Buriats.

THE WILD URIANKUTS.—The name Uriankut, or Uriangkhan, has given rise to some difficulty. One of the six great divisions of the Mongols in the time of Dayan Khan was called Uriangkhan. The tribe which had charge of the burying-place of Jingis was called Uriankut. The Turks on the Chulim are called Uriangkhai,‖ and the same name is applied by the Chinese to the Southern Samoyedes, who live about the Kossgol lake. This variety of application is explained when we find that the name merely means woodmen.¶ Raschid mentions one tribe of Uriangkuts among the Darlegin Mongols, but he also names a second tribe, the Wild Uriangkuts. He describes them as dressing themselves in deerskins; as keeping neither oxen nor sheep. He speaks of their living in birch huts; as using snow shoes, &c., and it is quite clear that he refers to the Uriangkhai of the Chinese authors—that is, to the Samoyedes, who still have their headquarters close to the Mongol country and about lake Kossagol.**

BULGACHINS AND KERMUCHINS.—Raschid merely names these tribes, and tells us they were neighbours of the Kirghises. They are probably to be identified with some of the broken tribes of Turks or Samoyedes who live on the northern flanks of the Sayanian mountains.

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* Erdmann's Temujin, 191. † Ed. Desm., 47. ‡ Asia Polyglotta.
§ Asia Polyglotta, 224. ‖ Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta, 224. ¶ *Id.*
** Petermann's Mittheilungen, vol. for 1860, p. 90.

THE JELAIRS.—We now approach a part of our subject which is unusually difficult. I have stated in a note at the end of this work my reasons for making the Jelairs a Turkish tribe and not a Mongol one. They were divided into ten sections, namely, the Jait, Tukraut (Takraun of D'Ohsson), Kengeksaut (Kungkassaun of D'Ohsson), Kumsaut, Uyat, Selkan (Bilkassan of D'Ohsson), Kugir, Tulangkit, Buri, and Shenegkut. During the reign of Jingis Khan the most important chief of the Jelairs was Mukuli Kiwang, of the section Jait. He commanded the left wing of the army of Jingis. Kiwang was a Chinese title, meaning great chief, it was given to him when the Mongols sought refuge at Karaun Shidun.* This title was inherited by his son Bughul, and his descendants.† Abulghazi reports of the Jelairs that they were an ancient tribe, and very numerous, and that on one occasion when they were at war with the Khitai, they all assembled in one place, and their tents formed seventy kurens (*i.e.*, rings). These rings have been aptly compared to the rings among the ancient Avars. The Jelair tribe consisted of many uvruks, which were formed into groups, each one with a separate chief. The greater part of the Jelairs were encamped on the Onon.‡

SUWEIT AND KABTERUN.—These tribes are called Sunit and Kairun by D'Ohsson. If the reading of the latter be the right one, we may have their descendants in the well-known tribe of the Sunids, which belongs to the forty-nine banners. These Sunids are probably a very old tribe, for they and their chief Kiluken Bahadur are named by Ssanang Setzen in his account of Jingis Khan. This makes the identification probable. But as the Suweit are not classed with either the Niruns and Darlegins, *i.e.*, with the two great sections of the Mongols proper, it is probable that if they were Mongols they had a distinct history and traditions, like the Uirads, &c. The Kabterun are named by Raschid as a section of the Suweit.§

THE TARTARS.—I shall remit the discussion of several matters which suggest themselves on reading the name Tartar to the notes at the end of the volume, and shall here content myself with a short resumé. The Chinese used the name in a general sense, to include the greater part of their northern neighbours, and it was in imitation of them probably that the Europeans applied the name to the various nomade hordes who controlled Central Asia after the Mongol invasion. But the name properly belonged, and is applied by Raschid and other Mongol historians, to certain tribes living in the north-eastern corner of Mongolia, who, as I believe, were partially, at least, of Tungusic race,‖ and whose descendants are probably to be found among the Solons of Northern Manchuria. Raschid tells us they consisted of 70,000 families, who lived

* *Vide* infra. † Erdmann's Temujin, 172-177. D'Ohsson, i. 424.
‡ Op. cit., Ed. Desm., 61. § Erdmann's Temujin, 177-179. D'Ohsson, i. 424.
‖ *Vide* note at the end of Volume.

on the borders of China, and had their principal camp at Buyur naur, that is the well-known lake Buyur. They were divided into six tribes, namely, the Tutukeliuts, Alj (called Antsi by the Chinese and Ssanang Setzen), Jaghan, Kuisin (called Kuyin by D'Ohsson), Nezait (the Terat of D'Ohsson), and Yerkui (the Berkui of D'Ohsson); of these the Tutukeliuts were the most important, whence a male Tartar was frequently called Tutukelina, and a female Tutukeljin.* They fought a good deal with one another, and as I shall show presently, had a long struggle with the Mongols, after which they were almost exterminated. Two of Jingis Khan's wives, namely, Bisulun and Bisugat were Tartars; they were sisters. A favourite general of his whom he had adopted as a boy, named Kutuku Noyan, and who will appear in the following pages, was also a Tartar.

THE ONGUTS.—The Onguts, of Raschid, were known to the Chinese as White Tartars. One section of the Tartars above described was called Jaghan Tartar, *i.e.*, White Tartars, and it seems pretty certain that the Onguts were a section of the Tartars proper. We are told that about the year 880 or 883, Chu ye che sin, otherwise called Li kue chang (who was of the Turkish race of the Sha to), and his son, Li ke yung, having been defeated by He lien tho and others, left China, afraid of being punished, and retired among the Tha che,† and that he re-entered China followed by the Tha che, and with their help defeated the rebel Hoam chao. After this he settled with the Tha che between Yun chau and Tai chau (two towns in the northern part of Shansi).‡ I have no doubt that these Tartars, who occur frequently in subsequent history, are the White Tartars of the days of Jingis. At that time they were in the service of the Kin Emperors, by whom they were employed to garrison a portion of the Great Wall, whence their name of Onguts, from Ongu a wall.§ Their chief, at the time of Jingis (according to Raschid), was called Alakush Tikin Kuri. Alakush is a Turkish proper name, which means a pied bird; Tikin is a title borne by chiefs of Turkish tribes.‖ Gaubil, who calls him Alausse, says he belonged to the ancient race of Kings of the Thu kiu,¶ which exactly agrees with the fact named above, that the leader who planted the colony of Onguts in Northern Shan si was of the race of the Sha to Turks, which accounts further for his close connection with the chief of the Naimans. I believe the Onguts, then, to have been a colony of Tartars from Manchuria, governed by a Turkish dynasty.

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* Erdmann, Extracts from Raschid, 41, 42.

† This is an alternative form of the name Tartar. ‡ Visdelou, op. cit., 328.

§ Raschid, quoted by D'Ohsson, 1, 84. Note. ‖ *Id.* ¶ Op. cit., 10.

CHAPTER II.

THE ORIGINES OF THE MONGOLS.

THE name Mongol (according to Schmidt) is derived from the word Mong, meaning brave, daring, bold,* an etymology which is acquiesced in by Dr. Schott.† Ssanang Setzen says it was first given to the race in the time of Jingis Khan,‡ but it is of much older date than his time, as we know from the Chinese accounts, in which we must be careful, however, to discriminate between it and a very similar name, Moho, by which the Tungusian tribes of Manchuria were known.§

The earliest mention of the Mongols *eo nomine* occurs in the official history of the Thang dynasty (618-907), which was probably written shortly after the latter date. The name, as there given, is Mongu, and it is mentioned under the heading Shi wei, as if the Mongu formed a section of the Shi wei ;‖ and on turning to the great Chinese Topographical Work, Hoan yu ki, written in the years 976-984,¶ we find Mongu made a qualifying adjective to Shi wei; the Mongu and their neighbours, the Lotan, being there respectively called the Mongu Shi wei and Lotan Shi wei.** The Thang dynasty was succeeded in Northern China by the Khitan, and in the history of that dynasty, written in 1180 by a Southern Chinese named Ye lung li, who lived at Kia-hing-fu, in the province of Che kiang, we have a short description of the tribes to the north-west of Manchuria, and among these he mentions the tribe of the Mongkuli. The Khitans were in turn dispossessed by the Kin, or Golden Tartars, and in a history of their dynasty, entitled Ta-Kin-kuo-chi, we find the Mongku mentioned with considerable details as to their intercourse with China.†† These various facts prove that the name Mongol is much older than the time of Jingis Khan, and was not a name first given to his subjects by that great conqueror. They point further, as the statements of Raschid do, to the Mongols having at first been merely one tribe of a great confederacy, whose name was probably extended to the whole when the prowess of the Imperial House which governed it gained at the supremacy. We learn lastly from them that the generic name by which the

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* Ssanang Setzen, 380. See also Journ. Asiat., 3, 109.

† Aeltste Nachrichten von Mongolen und Tataren, 5. Note. ‡ Op. cit., 71.

§ Schott, op. cit., 6, 7. ‖ Schott, op. cit., 18, 19. ¶ *Id.*, 10. ** *Id.*, 21. †† *Id.*, 17.

race was known in early times to the Chinese was Shi wei, the Mongols having, in fact, been a tribe of the Shi wei. For pointing this out in all its clearness we are indebted to Schott, in the paper already cited. Klaproth, in his Tableaux Historiques, makes the Shi wei a Tungusic race, but in this, I believe, he is mistaken. The Shi wei were known to the Chinese from the seventh century; they then consisted of various detached hordes, subject to the Thu kiu, or Turks. They were of the same origin as the Khitans; like them they shaved their heads, they used cattle to draw their carts, and lived in huts covered with mats. Like the Turks they used felt tents, which could be transported on carts. They used rafts of inflated skins upon which to cross rivers; instead of a felt they put a quantity of grass on their horses backs, which served them for a saddle, and they used cords for bridles. They slept on pigs' skins. They used bits of wood arranged in a certain order as a calendar. Their country was very cold. They had no sheep and few horses, but many pigs and cattle. They prepared a kind of spirit, with which they intoxicated themselves. The family of the bridegroom paid the family of the bride a sum of money on her marriage; widows were not allowed to re-marry. Mourning was worn for three years for the richer men. Having no corn in their country they got what they needed from Corea. The Southern Shi wei were divided into twenty-five hordes. Further north there lived the Northern Shi wei, who consisted of nine tribes; and whose chiefs bore the title of Ki-in-mo-ho-tu. This name may be a corruption of "Khan of the Mongols," and I am disposed to think that the nine tribes of the Northern Shi wei constituted the Mongol nation proper subject to the dynasty of the Bordshigs, who were divided in the time of Jingis into *nine* military divisions, each one led by one of the *nine* Orloks, whence the national standard of the race consisted of a Tuk with *nine* white Yak tails.* The country of the latter was exceedingly cold, and they used sledges there. In the winter the inhabitants retired to the caverns. They lived on fish, and made their clothes from fish skins. Sables and their kin were abundant among them. They wore caps made of the skins of foxes and badgers. One thousand li further north than the Northern Shi wei lived the Po Shi wei, near the mountain I hu pu. They were very numerous. Four days' journey further west lived the Shi wei of the river Shin mo tan. Several thousand li to the north-west lived the Great Shi wei, in a very mountainous country. Their language differed entirely from that of the other Shi wei.† Klaproth adds that in the ninth century, during the reign of the Thang dynasty, the nine hordes of the Northern Shi wei were called Shi wei west of the mountains (Khinggan), Northern Shi wei, Yellow-headed Shi wei, the great Yu chi Shi wei, the little

* Schmidt's notes to Ssanang Setzen, op. cit., 379. † Tableaux, &c., 91, 92.

Yu chi Shi wei, Shi wei of Nu pho wo, Shi wei of Ta mu, and the Camel Shi wei. These extracts seem to show that the Chinese, whose ethnography was sometimes very faulty, used the name Shi wei as they sometimes used the name Tartar, as a generic name for the tribes of Dauria and its neighbourhood, both Mongols and Manchus. As I have said, the earliest mention of the name Mongol is in the Thang shu, or official history of the Thang dynasty. In describing the Shi wei, it is there stated that the nearest tribes of this race lived 3,000, and the most distant 6,000 or more li to the north-east of Lieu ching, an old fortified town on the site of the modern Chao ien hien, in the country of the Eastern Tumeds.* The most westerly of the race was the tribe U su ku, which lived to the south-west of the Kiu lun lake, and bordered on the Uighurs (who had their capital at Karakorum).

"To the east of the Kiu lun lake were the I sai mu, and further east still, on the north bank of the Chuo, also called the Yen chi, lived the Sai-hu-chi, a very powerful race." "To the east of these lived the Hokiai, the Ulohu and the Noli." Directly north of the tribe Ling-si (Ling-si means merely "West of the Mountain pass"),† lived the No-pe-chi. And north of them, beyond a great mountain, were the Ta Shi wei, or Great Shi wei, who lived on the banks of the river Shi ki en. This river flowed from the Kiu lun lake, and flowed eastwards." The Chinese, whose topography of these parts is not very profound, confound the Shilka, or Onon, and the Argun, and make them both spring from the Kiu lun lake. I believe the Shi ki en of the above account to be, in fact, the Shilka, and the Ta Shi wei, the Taidshigods or Taidshuts. South of the Shi ki en (*i.e.*, of the Onon) lived the tribe Mongu, and north of it the tribe Lotan. This is not a bad approximation to the home land of the Mongols, which we know was on the Onon. Who the Lotan were I don't know.

The next work which mentions the Mongols is the Topographical Survey, called the Hoan yu ki, which was written in the interval 976-984.‡ In this account the Sai hu chi are placed to the south instead of the north of the river Chuo. The tribe Ulohu, which is also called Ulo, and Ulo hoen, is placed to the east of the Hokiai, as before, and we are further told that it lived north of the mountain Mo kai tu (*i.e.*, the Snake Mountain).§ This account adds that the Ulohu paid tribute from the fourth year of Tai ping, of the dynasty Yuan Wei (*i.e.*, 443 A.D.) to the ninth year of Tien pao, of the dynasty Thang, 720 A.D.‖

Two hundred li north-east of the Ulo, and on the banks of the No (*i.e.*, the Nonni), lived the remnants of the Uhuan, who had been dispersed by the Hiong nu. They paid tribute under the first two Emperors of the Thang dynasty. "North of them and on the north side of a great mountain

* Schott, op. cit., 19. Note. † Schott, 19. Note. ‡ Schott, op. cit., 10.
§ *Id.*, 20. Note 2. ‖ Not 750 as Schott says. See Wolff, 19. Note 22.

lived a tribe called Ta che Shi wei, on the banks of a river flowing out of the lake Kiu lun into the north-east of the land of the Thu kiu. This river, in its eastern course, watered the country of the Si and the Ta Shi wei (*i.e.*, of the Western and Great Shi wei). Then it divided the country of the Mongu Shi wei, who lived south of it, from that of the Lotan Shi wei, who lived to the north. Further east it took in the rivers No and Huhan, and separating the Northern and Southern Hechui, at length fell into the sea." By this river, whose description is so baffling, is doubtless meant the Amur, and its upper streams the Onon and Shilka. By Ta che Shi wei was meant, according to Schott, the Shi wei with great wagons.* It therefore answers somewhat to the He che tse of Visdilou, who lived in this neighbourhood, and whose name in Chinese meant Black Chariots.† Now Ta che is merely another form of Tata, or Tartar. So that it may be that we have in these Ta che Shi wei the Tartars who lived near Lake Buyur and its tributaries. They are perhaps the same people as the No pe chi of the Thang annals. It would seem from the confused account of the river, as above given, that the Chinese believed that the Argun was merely the head stream of the Onon and Shilka.

The next mention of the Mongols is in the history of the Liau dynasty, already cited. Having spoken of the Moho, this work goes on to describe the Thie li hi shi kien, a name which Schott splits in two. Thie li is a race name that occurs frequently,‡ and is applied to Turkish as well as to Manchu tribes. Schott identifies the Hi shi kien with the obscure Mongol tribe Kishikten, but it seems to me that it is another form of the name He che tse, mentioned by Visdelou, and that it represents the Tartars. We are told they lived 4,000 li north-north-east of Shang king, and that they paid no tribute, but only traded with the Chinese. Directly north of, and also about 4,000 li distant from Shang king (Shang king was probably situated near Boro Khotan, in the district of Barin)§ lived the people called Mong ku li, who lived entirely by hunting and cattle breeding, without any fixed pastures. They nomadized every year in search of water and grass. Their food consisted of flesh and sour milk (*i.e.*, kumis). They never did the Khitans any harm, and bartered with them the hides of their cattle, sheep, camels, and horses. Here we find the Mongols emerging from the obscurity of a subordinate tribe, and becoming much more important.

In this account their name no doubt connotes much more than it did before, and several of the other tribes are included under it. We are next told that further west than the Mong ku li, and 5,000 li from Shang king, lived the people Yukiu (no doubt the Usuku of the Thang official history), who resembled the Mong ku li in everything. In the thirty-second year of the Emperor Shing tsong (1014) the Yukiu made a raid upon China, but

* Op. cit., 21. Note. † Bibl Orien., 155.
‡ Schott, op. cit., 14. Note. § Schott, 15. Note.

were so beaten by the Imperial army that they had since only come to the Imperial court to trade. They dealt in the same articles as the Mong ku li. Further to the north-west (? south-west) one came to the people Pi-ku-li. Next to whom were the Ta ta (? the Onguts or White Tartars), then some Turkish tribes, and lastly Tangut. In the official history of the Kin dynasty the Mongols are called Mongu, and are described as living to the north-east of the Jurji. Dr. Schott says this is clearly a *lapsus penicilli* for north-west. Such is the account we can gather from Chinese writers as to the origin of the Mongol race, and it justifies us in tracing it up to the Shi wei.

I do not propose in this work to examine into the very crooked question of the affinities of the earlier tribes of Nomades, the Huns, and others, nor to encumber my already difficult subject with such perplexing questions; but I may say that on tracing the Mongols to the Shi wei, we connect them to some extent with the Khitans, who, according to Matuanlin, the Chinese Encyclopædist, were descended from the Shi wei, and if this be well grounded we connect them further with the Sian pi and Uhuan, who were of the same stock as the Khitans, and also with the Yuan-Yuan. This last name is singularly like the name adopted by the Mongols for their dynasty in China, namely, Yuen, and as their country was the same as that of the Uirads, it is more than probable that the Yuan-Yuan were the ancestors of the Uirads; but I must postpone these difficult questions for another work.

It is enough to say that between the sixth and the twelfth century the Mongols proper played a very limited rôle in the world's history. They were during that period confined to the northern part of Mongolia, that part still held by the Khalkas, and also to the country south-west of the Baikal Sea. After the fall of the Yuan-Yuan, the Turks, by whom they were overthrown, acquired the supreme control of Eastern Asia. They had, under the name of Hiong nu, been masters of the Mongolian desert and its border land from a very early period, and under their new name of Turks they merely re-conquered a position from which they had been driven some centuries before. Everywhere in Mongol history we find evidence of their presence, the titles Khakan, Khan, Bigui or Beg, Terkhan, &c., are common to both races, while the same names occur among Mongol and Turkish chiefs; but the most convincing proof, and at the same time the most embarrassing result of their presence to the student is the confusion induced in the names of tribes, so that in regard to many of them, such as the Kunkurats, Durbans, &c., it is very difficult to know whether they were Turks or Mongols, these names having been borne apparently in later times by tribes and confederacies both of Turks and of Mongols. This fact of the former predominance of Turkish influence in further Asia supports the traditions collected by Raschid, Abulghazi, &c., to which I shall presently refer, which trace the race of

Mongol Khans up to the old royal race of the Turks. It has a most important witness in a notice I have only recently met with. Dr. Bretschneider, at the end of his very valuable translation of the notices of Chinese travellers to the West in Mongol times, gives a letter which was sent by Jingis Khan to Chang chau. In this he refers to the Shan yu, or ruler of the Hiong nu, as "our Shan yu." The translator adds, this proves that he considered the ancient Hiong nu the ancestors of the Mongols.* It rather suggests to my mind that the royal stock to which he belonged was descended from that of the ancient Turkish Hiong nu.

Having considered the origin of the race, I will now turn to that of the royal family and examine the various traditions about it.

Ssanang Setzen makes the Mongol royal stock spring from that of Thibet, and through it from Hindostan. He tells us that Dalai Subin Aru Altan Shireghetu, the king of Thibet, was killed by treachery by his minister Longnam, who thereupon usurped the throne. The murdered Khan's three sons fled; the eldest, Shiwaghochi, to the land of Ngangbo, the middle one, Borachi, to the land of Bubo, and the youngest, Burtechino, to that of Gongbo. Burtechino did not stay with the people of Gongbo, but having taken the maiden Goa Maral to be his wife, and having settled for a while on the borders of the Tenggis, he set out once more and at length reached the shores of the Baikal Sea, near the mountain Burkhan Khalduna, where he met the people Bede. When they had interrogated him on the motives for his journey and discovered that he was sprung from the great Indian chief Olana ergukdeksen Khan and from the Thibetan Tul Esen, they said one to another, "This young man is of high lineage and we have no overchief, we will obey him." Upon which they ranged themselves as his subjects.† In this account we have a confusion of two legends, neither of which belongs properly to the Mongols. The story of the usurpation of Longnam we know from Thibetan sources. The Thibetan account was translated into Kalmuk, and is contained in a work entitled Nom gharkhoi todorkhoi Poli, whence Klaproth and Schmidt have abstracted it.‡ In the original Thibetan the three brothers are called Ja thi, Nia thi, and Sha za thi. Thi, which is written Khri, means throne, and is the surname of all the old Thibetan kings; Ja means bird or fowl, Nia means fish, and Sha za means the flesh eater. The former two are similar in meaning to the names of the two eldest sons of the dispossessed Khan in Ssanang Setzen's story, namely, Shiwaghochi and Borachi, which respectively mean the fowler and the fisherman, while the third brother, the flesh eater, has been converted into Burtechino, which, as I shall show presently, means the greyish blue or winter-coated wolf,

* Op. cit., 121. † Ssanang Setzen, 25 and 57.

‡ Klaproth, Tableaux Historiques de l'Asie, 157, 158. Schmidt, Forschungen, &c., 15, &c.

a very typical flesh eater. The Thibetan version takes Sha za as far as Gongbo (*i.e.*, the Thibetan province situated north of the upper Brahma putra), and leaves him there, and there is no mention of his journey to the Baikal, nor of the Bede people. We may safely conclude with Klaproth, Wolff, and others that the identifying of Burtechino with Sha za was the work of the Lamas, who, when the Mongols adopted their religion, desired to flatter them by tracing their reigning house to that of Thibet, and through it up to Sakiamuni himself. The name of Burtechino and the other incidents of the legend have been borrowed from other than Thibetan sources, and are common to Ssanang Setzen and the Chinese historians, to Raschid and Abulghazi, to the Western as well as the Eastern historians of the Mongols. The legend as it existed before the additions of the Lamas may be found in the Chinese accounts. One of these authors says, "That the ancestor of the Mongol royal house was a wolf of a skyeblue colour, named Burtechino," adding, "a name which means a wolf of the light colour which their fur wears in winter. This wolf married a white and savage bitch, that is to say, Goa Maral, for maral is a bitch, and goa in Mongol means lady. This first progenitor of the race led a wandering life, and having crossed the lake called Tenghiz, at length arrived at the mountain Burkhan at the sources of the river Onon."* As has been remarked by Klaproth and others, the legend in regard to this wolfish origin of the race is found in the Chinese annals at a much earlier period related of the origines of the Thu kiu or earliest Turks. This legend says that "The ancestors of the Thu kiu lived near the Si hai lake (probably the Issikul lake is meant). Their reigning house was destroyed by a neighbouring people, and all were massacred except a child ten years old, whose hands and feet, however, were cut off. This child was nourished by a wolf. The enemy having again threatened his life, a good genius transported him with the wolf to the east of the lake, whence they went to a mountainous country to the north-west of the country of Kao chang (or of the Uighurs), where they found a cavern bordering on a fertile plain which was only 200 li long. The female wolf there bore ten male young ones, who captured wives for themselves and gave their names to their families. As Asena was the bravest he became their chief, his descendants reigned over the people who lived there. They bore wolf's heads on their standards in memory of their origin. According to other accounts the name of their royal family was Sena, *i.e.*, wolf.† This account and that in Ssanang Setzèn in regard to the origin of the Mongols are assuredly identical. The wolf appears prominently in both. In both we have a great lake. In both the hero proceeds eastwards after leaving it.‡ In both he arrives in a mountainous country,

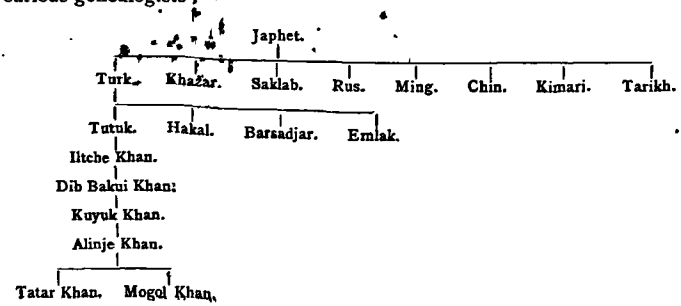
* Klaproth, Tableaux Historiques de l'Asie, 159. † Journal Asiatique, 1st Series, ii. 209.

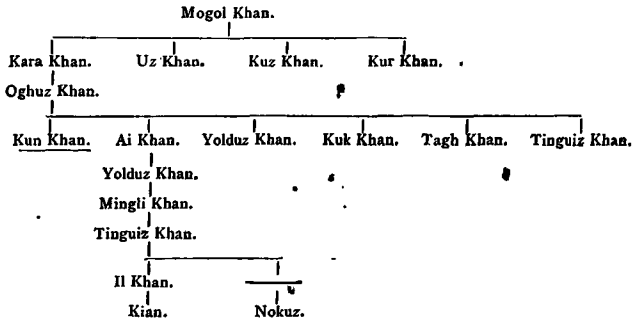
‡ Schmidt has wrongly translated north, as has been shown by Abel Remusat, Nouv. Journ. Asiat., ix. 136.

and he becomes the chief of the folk who lived there. There is another fact in the two stories which has not been hitherto noticed, so far as I know, and which might have saved a good deal of hard writing by those two somewhat vitriolic persons, Klaproth and Schmidt, anent the term Bede or Bida. Ssanang Setzen tells us Burtechino became the chief of the Beda people, who lived in the Burkhan Khaldun mountains. The Chinese narrative tells us he went to the north-west (? a *lapsus penicilli* for north-east) of the country of the Kao chang or Uighurs. Now, I have shown in the notes at the end of this book that the Uighurs were called Bede in early times by their Thibetan and other neighbours, that the Uighurs were a section of the Turkish race, and that until the middle of the ninth century they lived in the north-west of Mongolia, close to the Burkhan Khaldun mountains, with their capital at Karakorum. Abulghazi further tells us that when Burtechino went northwards he went from the country of Irgene kun, a valley surrounded with sharp crags. This I take to be the retired valley of the Issikul, called Timurtu gol, or the iron lake, by the Mongols, the seat of the earliest Turkish traditions. The name Irgene kun is probably identical with the Organum, mentioned by Rubruquis. This series of facts make it very clear that just as the Mongols borrowed their Thibetan genealogy from their Lama teachers, so they derived from the Uighurs, who first taught them letters in the thirteenth century, the story of the descent of their Imperial family from the old Turkish Khans. Notwithstanding this, it is more than probable, as I have said, that there was a considerable amount of truth in the latter legend.

Raschid, who had access to the Golden Register of the Mongols, and whose critical powers were very considerable, connects them with the old Turkish royal stock. Like a good Mussulman, he begins with the patriarchs who are such prominent figures both in the Old Testament and the Koran.

The following table shows the earlier descents according to these curious genealogists :—





In this genealogy we have a curious medley, in which Turks and Mongols are confounded. The table is in fact the legendary table of the ancestry of the Turkish tribes, and Kara Khan, Oghuz Khan, and Il Khan are famous names in Turkish history. The country where we are told these princes lived was lake Issikul, the Karakum desert, and the borders of the Jaxartes, that is, the old Turk land; and there can be small doubt that when the Mongols became famous, and the Turkish and Persian historians were at a loss, as the Lamas were at a later date, to find a suitably dignified ancestry for their princes, they boldly tacked them on to the line of old Turkish sovereigns.

We are told that the families descended from Tatar and Mogol Khan were at constant feud with one another, and at length the latter were nearly extirpated. The only remaining members of it being the Kian and Nokuz above mentioned, who with their people took refuge in the famous valley of Irgene kun. Here their descendants remained for 400 years. We are not told who the princes were who reigned during this interval and after its close the story really commences again, and the statement clearly hides one of the joints in the patchwork, and is of value only as showing how the incongruous materials of the genealogy have been pieced together. At length, after 400 years, the Mongols are said to have broken the yoke of the Tartars, and to have issued from the defiles of Irgene kun. Abulghazi says that their king at the time when they left was Burtechino, descended from Kian, and of the tribe of the Kurulas.* This Burtechino and the Burtechino of Ssanang Setzen are clearly the same person, proving further that we here have a fresh beginning of the story. The Kurulas were a section of the Turkish tribe of the Kunkurats, thus the connection with the Turks is still kept up in the legend.

According to the Chinese accounts Burtechino had a son Bedetse.† Ssanang Setzen, who has merely interpolated certain names in the older lists, gives Bedetse a brother Bedes, making the former the ancestor of

* Abulghazi, Ed. Desmaison's, 33. † Journ. Asiat., ii. 708; iii. 112, 113.

the Taidshuts and the latter of the Mongols, contrary to the much better authority of Raschid.

The following table shows the succession according to Ssanang Setzen and the Persian Raschid.*

Burtechino.	Burtechino.
Bedetse.	Bichin Kian.
Tamatsak.	Timaj.†
Khoritsar Mergen.	Kichi Merguen.
Aghojim Bughurul.	Kudjum Bughrul.
Sali Khaldshigo.‡	
Nige Nidun (*i.e.*, one-eyed).	Yeke Nidun (*i.e.*, large-eyed).§
Samsuji.	Sam Sauji.
Khali Khartshu.	Khali Khaju.

So far the two lists are practically identical and clearly derived from the same source, but at this point they diverge.

Ssanang Setzen makes Khali be succeeded by Bordshigetei Mergen, who seems to be merely an eponymos created to explain the family name Bordshig. His wife Mergen Mongholdshin Goa seems to be an equivalent of the Mongol name. Their son he calls Torghaldshin Bayan, who by his wife Borokchin Goa had two sons, named Doa Sokhor and Dobo Mergen. The former is given four sons, namely, Donoi, Dokshin, Emnek, and Erke, who are made the ancestors of the four Uirad tribes. All this except the mention of Dobo Mergen is an interpolation, and one which has been very ingeniously explained. Dobo or Dubun, as he is called by Raschid, has been identified with Topo Khan, the great chief of the Turks, who died in 581. He had a brother named Sekin or Sakui, who is no doubt the Doa Sochor of Ssanang Setzen. We are told that on the death of Topo Khan the Turks were divided into four sections, just as Ssanang Setzen makes Doa Sokhor's four sons be the heads of the four Uirad tribes. The whole is an ingenious adaptation of the Turk legend, and is of no value.‖ Raschid, who is a much better authority, makes Khali Khaju be immediately succeeded by Dubun Bayan, while Abulghazi interposes the names of Timur Tash, Mingli Khodja, and Yolduz Khan. M. Desmaisons says he does not know where he has got them from. With Dubun Bayan, or Dubun the Ox,¶ we get again on common ground. Ssanang Setzen tells us that Doa Sokhor was so called because (like Cyclops) he had only one eye, aud this in the midst of his forehead. One day as he and his brother were playing on

* The orthography of these names is taken from M. Berezine's Edition, as given in the notes in Desmaison's Edition of Abulghazi.

† Timaj had four other sons, who settled elsewhere and became the ancestors of the Durbans. Durban means four. Erdmann, 534.

‡ This is doubtless an interpolation. § Schmidt's Ssanang Setzen, 373.

‖ Wolff, 15. Schmidt's Ssanang Setzen, 374. ¶ Erdmann, 169.

the mountain Burkhan Khaldun, the elder brother said, there comes a caravan from the district of Toiring Garudi along the river Tunggelik. (This stream is still called the Tungglu. It springs on the west side of the mountains Burkhan Khaldun, and flows into the Karagol.)* In one of the wagons there is a girl supernaturally born. We will go and see her, and she shall be your wife.† After this they both set out and discovered that she was born of Baraghodshin Goa, the wife of Khoritai Mergen, of the Khoyar Tumed. Raschid says she belonged to the tribe of the Kurulas, (*i.e.*, she was a Turk),‡ and that she had a spirit for her father. Her name was Alung Goa, and Dobo Mergen made her his wife, and by her had two sons, Belgetei and Begontei, and then died. After her husband's death (Abulghazi says some years after) Alung Goa one night had a dream, during which a ray of light penetrated through a hole in the ceiling into her tent, and took the form of a fair-haired youth with blue eyes who lay by her; by him she had three sons, Bughu Khataki, Bughu Saldshigo, and Budantsar Mong Khan.

In reference to this legend, it may be remarked that it is a repetition of the original story of the incarnation of the Buddha Sakiamuni. A similar story is told about the birth of Apaokhi, the founder of the Liau dynasty, and also of Aishin Giyoro, the reputed founder of the Manchu dynasty. The existence of Alung Goa is attested by so many independent witnesses, that it may perhaps be believed. Raschid tells us that, according to the history of the house of Jingis Khan, deposited in the Imperial treasury (the same MS. elsewhere referred to by Raschid as the Altan Defter, or Golden Register), and according to the evidence of very old men, she probably lived four centuries before his time, *i.e.*, in the early years of the Abbassides and the Samanids.§ This would answer to the date when the name Mongol first appears in the Chinese histories. Her descendants were called Bordshig, probably in reference to the colour of the eyes of their supernatural father, for Abulghazi says that the Mongols called a person with light blue eyes Burjighin.‖ Schmidt tells us that Bordshig means with brownish grey eyes. Ssanang Setzen gives the Mongols the name of Koke Mongols or Blue Mongols, and the whole has reference, no doubt, to the heavenly or supernatural origin of the race.

The three sons who were supernaturally born and their posterity were named Niruns (children of light), to distinguish them from their older brothers and their descendants, who were styled Darlegins. According to Raschid, the Niruns were to the Darlegins as the pearl is to the oyster and the fruit to the tree. This distinction, which is largely insisted upon by the Persian historians, is one full of embarrassment to the student. The Orientals are very poor ethnologists, and their distinctions

* Wolff, 14. Note. † Ssanang Setzen, 59. ‡ *Vide* notes.
§ D'Ohsson, Hist. des Mongols, i. 24. Note. ‖ Op. cit., Ed., Desm., 72.

are rather political than ethnic. We constantly find in the accounts of Arabic and Persian geographers the greatest confusion in regard to race distinctions. In the present instance the confusion is profound. Thus the most important section of the Darlegins, namely, the Kunkurats, who formed a confederacy of six tribes, were, I am convinced, not Mongols at all but Turks, a view for whose justification I must refer to the notes at the end of the volume, where I have also tried to show that their country was not, as D'Ohsson argues, on the borders of Manchuria, but on the western part of the Shamo desert south of the river Onghin. Some of the Nirun tribes I also think were very probably Turks, namely, the Durbans, the Barins, and the Sukanuts, who lived in the central part of the desert, the name of one tribe still remaining attached to the district of Barin or Parin there. There is good reason for believing the Bayauts another Darlegin tribe, to have been also Turks. They lived on the western feeders of the Selinga. On the other hand, the Darlegin tribes of the Urnauts, Hushins, Suldus, Ildurkins, and Kingits were probably Mongols, but not subject to the Imperial family to which Jingis Khan belonged,* and not immediately governed by his relatives, but, like the Uirads, directly ruled over by another stock. The name Nirun was probably confined to those who obeyed immediately the royal family of the Bordshigs, and can perhaps best be explained by the use of the term "white bones" among the Kazaks of our day, a name they apply to those only who belong to the royal stock. Each of the three sons of Alung Goa who were miraculously born is made the epomymous hero of a distinguished stock. The eldest one of that of the Katakins, the second of the Saljuts, and the third of that of the Bordshigs or Imperial stock of the Mongols. The two former tribes were among the most inveterate enemies of Jingis Khan in his early days. They perhaps looked upon him as only representing the younger branch of the family, as he was descended from Alung Goa's third son. We are told that Budantsar had a distinguished presence, but that he was simple in his tastes, serious, and talked little, which made his relatives think he had but little spirit. His mother, however, reassured them, and told them he would have a numerous progeny. On her death a quarrel seemed imminent among the brothers in regard to the division of the heritage. "Why embarrass yourself with wealth?" said Bundantsar, "are not the plans of man scattered by the will of the gods?" He thereupon mounted his horse and went to the country of Palitun alan.† Ssanang Setzen says that when the heritage was divided nothing was assigned to Budantsar except a tawny horse named Uruk Sussuk. This he mounted and hied him along the river Onon.‡ At Palitun ala he found himself short of provisions. Meanwhile he saw a falcon devouring a quarry of the species

* See notes at the end of the volume. † De Mailla, ix, 4. ‡ Op. cit., 61.

called Khara Khuru. He caught it with a lasso and trained it to kill game for him, while he obtained drink from a small colony of people who lived close by, separated from their race and without any ruler. His nights he passed in a thatched hut. This account, with slight variations, is common to Ssanang Setzen and the Chinese author translated by De Mailla. But to continue. After a while Budantsar was joined by several families who had left their tribe in the country of Tonkili hulu and had settled around him. His brother Bughu Khataki went to find him and returned with him. On his return home Budantsar told his people that with a small force he could easily subdue the people of Tunkili hulu. Having accordingly got together a body of men he set out for that country, which he conquered.* Hyacinthe has corrected Tunkili hulu into Tenggeri-Khura,† *i.e.*, the celestial ramparts, by which the chain of Burkhan Khaldun is doubtless meant.

According to Raschid and the Chinese authorities Budantsar left one son.‡ I prefer to follow the orthography of Hyacinthe and to call him Bagaritai Khabitshi.§ According to Raschid he was succeeded by his son Dutum Menen, called Minen Dudum by Hyacinthe,‖ the Mahatudan of De Mailla,¶ and Makha Todan of Ssanang Setzen.** His wife was named Monalun, and by her, according to the Chinese authorities, he had seven sons.†† Raschid says nine. It is with her that we first meet with an incident to relieve the general monotony of the story, and which is so circumstantially told that we can hardly doubt its having some foundation in fact. The story goes that the Jelairs having been defeated near the river Kerulon by an army of Kin Tartars, seventy of their families took refuge on Mongol territory. These fugitives, to appease their hunger, proceeded to dig some wild roots that grew there. The root, according to Raschid, was called sudusum, and it has been identified with great probability by M. Berezine with a root still called sudu by the Mongols, the sanguisorba carnea of botanists, which is used as a substitute for tea.‡‡ Monalun, who was of a truculent and irritable disposition, inquired harshly how they dared to tear up the ground where her children exercised their horses, and without waiting for an answer, she ran over several of them with her chariot. The Jelairs resented this, made a raid upon the horses of her tribe and captured them. Her sons

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* De Mailla, ix. 4, 5. † Ssanang Setzen, Schmidt's note, 375.

‡ He is called Buka by the Persian authors, Capitsi culup Paturu by De Mailla, ix. 5, and Bagaritai Khabitshi by Hyacinthe. Out of the latter Ssanang Setzen has made two sons, whom he calls Bagharitai Khan isaghortu and Khabitshi Baghatur; he further adds, probably to flatter some of his friends, that he had a third illegitimate son named Wadshirtai, the ancestor of the family of the Wadshirtai. He has also gratuitously inserted another generation in the genealogy in the person of Biker Baghatur, whom he makes a son of Khabitshi, and whose name is doubtless a corruption of Bagharitai. Op. cit., 61.

§ Erdmann's Temujin, 530. Note. ‖ D'Ohsson, i. 26. Note. ¶ Op. cit., ix. 5.

** Op. cit., 61. †† De Mailla, ix. 5. Erdmann's Temujin, 540.

‡‡ Erdmann's Temujin, 541. Note.

went in pursuit without waiting to put on their armour. Their mother, fearing for the result, sent off their wives with carts loaded with armour, but they arrived too late. The chiefs had been killed, and the Jelairs returned and put Monalun and such of her family as they could lay hands upon to death.* According to the Chinese narrative, which I prefer to follow, there only escaped in this massacre Nachin, the youngest son of Monalun, who was then living in the country of Bargu, where he was married, and Kaidu, the infant child of her eldest son, and who was hid away by his nurse in a bundle of faggots. This Nachin, who no doubt succeeded in some measure to the chief authority among the Mongols, is clearly the Kachi Kuluk of Ssanang Setzen. On hearing of this disaster he returned to the horde, and plotted his revenge. Having disguised himself as a herdsman, he went towards the Jelair country On his way he met two men, father and son, who were hawking, and some distance apart. Seeing his brother's hawk on the younger Jelair's fist, he first told him he had seen some wild ducks and geese, and would conduct him to them. Having taken him some distance, he assassinated him, and returning, also killed his father. He soon after came across a herd of horses, which had also belonged to his brothers. Having killed the young people in charge, he returned with the herd, and with the hawk on his fist. He then removed his father's uluss and the young Kaidu to the country of Barguchin Tugrum, which from the latter took the name of Kaidu Chunlun.† When Kaidu grew up his uncle caused him to be recognised as their chief by the people of Bargu and Tsieku. He then marched against and subdued the Jelairs, and fixed his residence at the river Karakul.‡ Many tribes submitted to him. He became rich in wives and cattle. He built many towns and villages on the banks of the Onon, across which river he also built a bridge, and he was doubtless the real founder of the Mongol power. Kaidu Khan left three sons, Bai Sankur, who succeeded him, Jerke Linkum, who became the chief of the Taidshuts, and Jaujin Urdeki, who became the chief of the Sidshuts and Ertekins.§ Of these only the eldest is mentioned by Ssanang Setzen and De Mailla. He is called Shingkor Dokshin by the former and Paichongor by the latter. Ssanang Setzen's is probably the correct orthography, and I shall follow it.

Shingkor Dokshin had a son named Tumbaghai; the Tumene Khan of Raschid and Abulghazi. On his death Shingkor's widow married his next brother Jerkeh Lingkum, whose name, according to Raschid, is of Chinese etymology, Lingkum meaning great prince.‖ By her he had two sons, namely, Gendu Jineh and Ulgedshin Jineh, who became the chiefs of the clans Jines; and by another wife two others, named Surkul and

* D'Ohsson, i. 27, 28. † Erdmann's Temujin, 543. ‡ D'Ohsson, i. 29.
§ Abulghazi, Ed. Desm., 67, 68. Erdmann, 544. D'Ohsson, Genealogical Table, Vol. i.
‖ Erdmann's Temujin, 217.

Ludshineh. The son and successor of Surkul was Hemukai Khan, to whom I shall revert presently.

Tumbaghai left nine sons, who became the founders of very numerous tribes. So much did they increase that we are told that in A.D. 1300, but two centuries after this time, they numbered nearly 30,000 families.* These sons are thus named :—1. Jaksu, the father of Nuyakin, Urut, and Mingkut, the respective chiefs of the tribes bearing those names. 2. Barim Shiratu Khaiju, the chief of a tribe not named. 3. Kajuli, father of Erdemji Berulas, the chief of the Berulas, the tribe to which the great Timur belonged. 4. Sem kadjun, the chief of the Hederkins. 5. Baitkulki, the chief of the Budats. 6. Kabul Khan, the ancestor of Jingis Khan. 7. Udur Bayan, the chief of the Jadjerats or Juriats. 8. Budanjar Doghlan (*i.e.*, the cripple), the chief of the Doghlats. And 9. Jintai, the chief of the Yissuts (called Baisuts by Erdmann); he was also styled Utchugen, like the other youngest sons of the Mongol Khans. Utchugen, according to Abulghazi, means "the master of the hearth," and is derived from the fact that while the other sons were each settled elsewhere, the youngest remained at home and was the heir to his father's yurt.† Schmidt disagrees with this, and says it merely means the youngest or the child.‡

After the great exploits of Timur in the fourteenth century, it became the fashion of his flatterers to connect his ancestry very closely with that of the family of Jingis Khan, and he is made to descend from Karachar, who is styled the hereditary leader of his forces. The story is contained in several of the later writers. According to Mirkhond the origin of this hereditary position was as follows :—"One day Kajuli, the third son of Tumeneh or Tumbagai, dreamt that a star issued from the thigh of his brother Kabul, but the firmament remained dark; then a second one, and it became twilight; then a third, and it was dusk. Then there came out a very sparkling star, so that the whole sky was lit up with its rays, which imparted a greater lustre to the other stars. Kajuli awoke, and supposed that only a third of the night had passed. He meditated on his dream, and went to sleep again. Again a series of stars issued, but this time from his own thigh. This series consisted of eight stars, of which the last was again by far the most brilliant. When daylight came Kajuli betook himself to his father Tumeneh, and related his dream. He was much pleased with it, called his son Kabul Khan, and had it repeated to him. The grandees maintained that three princes descended from Kabul Khan would mount the throne; that another of his descendants would enjoy the Imperial authority, and would conquer the earth from one end to the other; and after his death his dominions would remain for a long time subject to his descendants. That from Kajuli would also

* D'Ohsson, I. 30. † Abulghazi; 70. ‡ Ssanang Setzen, 375

spring seven descendants, who would bear rule, and the eighth would far eclipse them, and also rule the earth. Tumeneh Khan was much struck by this dream, and with the concurrence of his other sons he named Kabul Khan his successor, and appointed Kajuli generalissimo of his forces, and left it in his will that these posts should be hereditary. This will was written in the Uighur character, was sealed with his Tamgha (or monogram), and it was kept in the Imperial treasury. Kabul Khan mounted the throne, and Kajuli Khan Baghatur faithfully performed his office."*

Kabul was apparently the first Mongol sovereign who had intercourse with the Chinese Imperial court. It is said that having been summoned to the court of the Kin Emperor, he astonished him by his immense appetite. One day, being very drunk, he so far forgot himself as to seize the Emperor's beard. When he became sober, he demanded to be punished, but the Emperor only laughed; and to show that he had overlooked the fault, presented him with a gold-embroidered silken garment suitable to his size, a crown, and a golden girdle. After his departure, instigated by his courtiers, the Emperor sent messengers to demand his return; and when these messengers tried to take him away forcibly, he had them put to death.

It is probably to this period that we must assign the events referred to in the history of the Kin dynasty styled the Ta kin kwo chi, where we read that during the reign of the Kin Emperor Tai tsung, whose Tungusie name was Ukimai, *i.e.*, in the interval between 1123-1137, a great number of the Mongols became subject to him, but in the next reign, 1138-1140, they were rebellious.† This surely points to the submission and the subsequent rebellion of Kabul Khan. At this period we also meet with the Mongols in the pages of De Mailla. He tells us that about 1135 they began to be very powerful and a menace to the empire, and that towards the end of this year the Kin Emperor sent his general Hushaku against them.‡ This general was not successful, and Hushaku was obliged to retire. His retreat was the signal for the advance of the Mongols, who captured many of his people and followed him as far as the district of Hai ling, where the Kin general ventured a general engagement, and his army was cut in pieces. Another and more formidable army was sent against them. This was apparently in 1139.§

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* Kajuli, we are told, was the father of Erdemji, and Erdemji of Karachar. Erskine doubts the story inasmuch as it is contained in late authorities such as Mirkhond, and thinks it was invented to flatter Timur. D'Ohsson says Karachar is not named by either Raschid or Juveni (op. cit., ii. 108. Note), but in this he is surely mistaken, for in the former's description of the apportionment of Jingis Khan's people he says the great chief assigned 4,000 to his son Jagati. These were divided into four Hezarehs, and Berlutai Karachar of the Berulas is made the commander of the first Hezareh. Erdmann, 453.

† Schott, op. cit., 17. ‡ De Mailla, viii. 518. § De Mailla, viii. 529.

It was in the reign of Kabul Khan that the long feud commenced between the Mongols and Tartars, which ended in the destruction of the latter by Jingis Khan. Kabul's wife was named Goa Kulkua, and she was of the tribe of the Kunkurats. It happened that her brother, named Sain Tikin, fell ill, and a Tartar Shaman named Jerkil Nudui, was summoned to cure him. Notwithstanding his conjuring, Sain Tikin died, and his relatives wreaked their vengeance on the sorcerer, who was returning quietly home, and killed him. The Tartars took up arms to revenge him.* A struggle ensued at a place called Beran Segdan, in which Kedan Behadur distinguished himself in single combat with the Tartar leader Meter Behadur. The struggle was resumed the following year, and led to many fights between the Mongols and the Tartars.† One result of this war was that Hemukai, the chief of the Taidshuts, who had gone to fetch his wife from among the Tartars, was taken prisoner by them. He was, as we have seen, a near relative of Kabul Khan. The Tartars sent him as a prisoner to the Kin Emperor, who, to revenge himself upon Kabul Khan for the murder of his envoys, had him put to death in the cruel method adopted in the case of rebels. He was nailed down to a wooden ass, his skin stripped off, and his body hewn into pieces.‡ Kabul Khan marched against the Kin empire and revenged himself. Some time after it would appear that the Tartars captured Ukin Berkak, Kābul Khan's eldest son, and sent him also as a prisoner to the Kin court. There he was put to death in the same manner as Hemukai.§

Kabul Khan had six sons, whose impetuosity and vigour fitly gained them the surname of Kĭat, or Kiyat, *i.e.*, torrents. Abulghazi says that the Mongols call a mountain torrent Kian, of which the plural is Kiat. Kiat or Kiyat, as is well known was the family name of Jingis Khan, and it seems to be much older than the days of Kabul Khan. The Chinese form of the name is Kian. Kian and Noguz or Nokus were the two sections of the Mongols who sought refuge at Irgene kun; and it is curious that one of the four main divisions of the Turkish Uzbegs is called Kiat Kunghrat or Kiat Kunkurat. This is another proof that the Mongol royal race was descended from that of the Turks. These six sons were named Ukin Berkak,‖ Bardam Behadur, Khutuktu Munker, Kadan Behadur, Kutula Khan, and Tudan Utshugen. (I have followed the orthography of M. Beresine in the notes to the new edition of Abulghazi.) Of these the most famous was Kutula Khan, called Kubilai by D'Ohsson,¶ and Kutlah Khan by Erdmann.** He was a favourite hero of Mongol story. His voice is compared to the thunder in the

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* Erdmann's Extracts from Raschid, 42. D'Ohsson, i. 32. † Erdmann's Temujin, 553, 554.
‡ Erdmann's Extracts from Raschid, 43. Note. § Erdmann's Temujin, 317.
‖ He was the father of Bidsheh Bigi, who became the chief of the Kiat Burgins. *Vide* infra, 53
¶ Op. cit., i. 32. ** Erdmann's Temujin, 556.

mountains, his hands were strong like bear's paws, and with them he could break a man in two as easily as an arrow may be broken. He would lie naked near an immense brazier in the winter, heedless of the cinders and sparks that fell on his body, and, on awakening, would mistake the burns merely for the bites of insects. He ate a sheep a day, and drank immense quantities of kumis. To revenge the murder of their relatives the Mongols now entered upon a great campaign against the Kin empire. Of this expedition Kutula was elected the leader; with him also went Yissugei, the grandson of Kabul Khan, and the father of Jingis; Kadan Taishi, the son of Hemukai, and his son Tuda.* They defeated the Imperial army and retired with a rich booty. On his return homewards Kutula amused himself with hunting, and got separated from the rest of the army, with only one follower and a slave. He was thus almost alone when he was surprised by the Durbans. On their approach he sped his horse at full gallop and drove it into a marsh, where it sank, but he sprang on the saddle and thence on to the ground. The Durbans, it is said, disdained to touch him, saying, "What can a Mongol do without his horse?" and they accordingly left him, upon which he returned to his horse, seized it by its mane, pulled it out of the quagmire, and returned homewards. Meanwhile the news of his disaster had reached his home, where it was thought he had been killed, and Yissugei had already carried the meats for the funeral feasts to the yurts of Kadan Taishi, and Tuda, the relatives of Hamukai, and to that of Kutula's widow. But the latter refused to credit the story. "How can he whose voice is like the thunder, and whose hands are like bear's paws, become a victim to the Durbans? Depend upon it his delay is caused by some other reason, and he will come presently." After recovering his horse he determined not to return home empty handed, but having caught a stallion belonging to the Durbans, he drove a herd of their oxen before him, filled his boots with the eggs of wild geese which he found on the steppe, and rode home barefoot.† Nothing of this appears in the pages of Ssanang Setzen, of De Mailla, or of Abulghazi, nor in fact is Kutula mentioned by them at all. They all make Kabul Khan be immediately succeeded by Bartam Behadur, and if the exploits assigned to him are really his, and not his father's, or rightly belonging to some other hero of Mongol romance, they must be credited to him not as the Khan of the Mongol race but as the bravest of the six Kiats. Although Ssanang Setzen does not mention him individually he does refer to the brothers, and has a story which seems to exclude him effectually from the succession. He says that Kabul Khan had seven sons, and that Ambai, *i.e.*, Hemuki, the chief of the Taidshuts, had ten, and that a strife having arisen between them, the latter fell on

* Erdmann's Temujin, 556. † Erdmann, 559-661. D'Ohsson, i. 33-35.

the former and killed six of the seven brothers, plundered and subdued their territory. The seventh, Bardam Baghatur (the Bertam Behader of Erdmann), escaped with three wounds, escorted by four "companions," while his eldest son Yissugei Baghatur, then thirteen years old, speared a mailed warrior through and through, and having seized his horse followed his father. Sain Maral Khayak, the wife of Bardam Baghatur, had meanwhile escaped on foot with her three younger sons, Negun, Mengetu, and Utchugen. We do not know how the Mongols revenged this defeat. We are simply told by Ssanang Setzen that Kabul Khan was succeeded by his son Bardam Baghatur.* De Mailla says the same, only he calls him Pardai. Abulghazi also says that on the death of Kabul Khan his son Bartan was proclaimed Khan, and we may take it as clear that these authorities are right. The difficulty about the exact status of Kutula does not affect the truth of the statements about the fight with the Kin empire. This we can confirm from other sources. Thus we read in De Mailla, under the year 1147, that the war between the Kin empire and the Mongols still continued, and the son of Talan, called Chinghoa-tulang, whose country bordered on that of the Mongols, on the death of his father abandoned the cause of the Kins and went over to them, a defection which proved very valuable to them, and the general Uchu, who, on his return from Pien leang, was sent against them was constrained to make peace with them, to surrender twenty-seven fortresses north of the river Si ping ho, and to promise to pay them annually a certain quantity of cattle, sheep, and grain. He wished to give their chief the dignity of prince with the title of Mongfu-kuewang, but the chief refused it and styled himself Emperor of the great empire of the Mongols, with the title Tsuyuen Wangti.† The effects of this campaign are doubtless referred to in the history of the Kin dynasty, already mentioned, which speaks in more general terms. There we read that in 1138-1140 the Mongku became rebellious. Since then, it goes on to say, the Mongku have obtained many Khitan and Chinese boys and girls, either in war or by way of ransom, who have coalesced with them; have gradually got accustomed to the use of cooked meats, and become a great nation under the name of Ta Mongu kuô, *i.e.*, the kingdom of the Great Mongols.‡ These extracts prove that the Mongols had already consolidated a considerable power some time before the days of Jingis Khan.

The wife of Bardam Baghatur, according to Ssanang Setzen, was called Sain Maral Khayak.§ She is called Sunigel Fudshin by Erdmann, who tells us she belonged to the tribe of the Barghuts.‖ By her he had four sons, Yissugei Baghatur, Negun Taishi, Mungdu Kian, and Dariti

* Op. cit. 81. † De Mailla, viii. 545. ‡ Schott, op. cit. § Op. cit., 83.
‖ Erdmann's, Temujin, 451.

Utchugen.* Of these Yissugei was the most famous, and succeeded him on the throne.

Ssanang Setzen has a story that one day Yissugei was hunting in company with his two younger brothers, and was following the tracks of a white hare in the snow. They struck upon the spoor of a waggon, and following it up came to a spot where a woman's yurt was pitched. Then said Yissugei, "This woman will bear a valiant son." He discovered that she was the damsel Ogelen Eke (*i.e.*, the mother of nations), and that she was the wife of Yeke Yilatu, of the Tartar tribe, and was returning home with him. As the strangers drew near her yurt she said to her husband, "Don't you see the intention of the eldest of the three men?" With these words she took off her under garment, gave it to Jilatu, and said, "Haste you away as quickly as you can." While this was going on the three brothers drew near, and Yeke Yilatu took to flight. They plundered neither the hut nor its contents, but only carried away Ogelen Eke. She ceased not to cry until the youngest of the three brothers, Dariti Utchugen, addressed her, and said, "We have already crossed three rivers, we already have three mountain ranges behind us. Pursuit is hopeless. Your cries will not be heard." Upon which our author says she became quieter. Yissugei made her his wife. De Mailla tells us that until his reign the Mongols had been more or less tributaries of the Liau and Kin dynasties in China, and that he was the first to free them from that yoke;† and it is not improbable that we must assign to him, and not to an earlier Khan, the events I have already related, when the Mongol Khan refused to accept a Chinese title and styled himself the Emperor of the Great Mongols.‡ Previously the Taidshuts had apparently been the chief tribe among the Mongols, but they were induced to obey the strong hand of Yissugei Baghatur. After the death of Hemukei, the chief of the Taidshuts, there was a grievous contention among his relatives as to who should succeed him, but this was decided, as I have already described, by the choice of Terkutai Kiriltuk.

In 1154 and 1155 Yissugei marched with a large army against the Tartars. He overran their country, laid it waste, and captured its two chiefs, Temujin Ergeh and Kur Buka, and returned home to his encampment on the Onon laden with booty. At this time his wife Ogelen Eke gave birth to his firstborn son, upon which they named the boy Temujin, or rather Temudjin,§ after the defeated Tartar Khan.‖

The birthplace of the famous chief, who was to be so widely known in

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* Ssanang Setzen, 61. † Op. cit., ix. 8. ‡ Vide previous page.

§ Erdmann writes the name Temudschin, which according to our orthography would be written Temujin, as I have written it occasionally in the notes, but I find that Visdelou writes the name The mud gin (op. cit., 230 and 334), and therefore the spelling Temudjin which has been adopted in the following chapters is probably more correct.

‖ Ssanang Setzen, 63.

later days, is fortunately easy to fix. It is called "Deligun Buldagha, near the Onon," by Ssanang Setzen, and Tie li vun by Hyacinth.* The place is still known under the same name, and is mentioned by a Russian trader named Yurinski, a native of Nertschinsk, who describes Dilun Boldak as a place on the right bank of the Onon, seven versts higher than the island Eke Aral (*i.e.*, the great island), and three versts from the Kotshuefshian guard-house.† D'Ohsson says that Bulduk in Mongol means hill.‡ Wolff explains the name as meaning "the mole hill."§ Deligun Bulduk was doubtless the place where Yissugei had his chief camp and was the focus of his kingdom. According to Ssanang Setzen, Temudjin was proclaimed Khan and took the name of Jingis there,‖ among the places whose memory is invoked in the burial dirge composed for his funeral by Kiluken Baghatur, Deligun Bulduk on the Onon is specially apostrophised;¶ and we gather from other sources that the country of the Onon was in fact the cradle land of the Mongols. It is called the land of Onon Kerule by Rubruquis. This name has been interpreted as the land of the Onon and the Kerulon, but I believe it is merely a corruption of Onon Kiher, the plains of the Onon. Those plains are otherwise frequently referred to as Sari Kiher, or the Yellow Plains.** The Onon springs in the knot of mountains known as the Kente chain, and called Burkhan Khaldun by the Mongol historians, the sacred peaks to which sacrifices were offered, and whose spirits were looked upon as the special patrons of the Mongols, as those of the White Mountains of Manchuria were of the Manchus.

But we must on with our story. According to the Persian authors followed by De la Croix, the young Temudjin's horoscope was drawn by the father of Karachar Noyan, the ancestor of Timurlenk,†† who foretold a bloody career for him. Besides Temudjin, Yissugei had by his wife Ogelen Eke three other sons, namely, Juji Khassar, Khadshiken, and Temugu Utchugen, and by two other wives, named Goa Abaghai and Doghaskhi, two other sons, named Bekter and Belgutei. It is quite clear from the subsequent history that Yissugei was obeyed by all the sections of the Mongol race comprised in the divisions Niruns and Darlighins.‡‡ We do not realise in this statement how very small the beginnings were of that vast empire built up by his son, nor do we do so until we read that the number of families subject to his father probably did not exceed 40,000, and that his kingdom may therefore be fitly compared, as Erdmann has compared it, with the dukedoms of Oldenburgh or Saxe Weimar Eisenach,§§ assuredly a very small focus out of which in so short a time to build up so large an empire. The

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* D'Ohsson, i. 36. Note. † Erdmann's Temujin, 571. ‡ Op. cit., i. 36. Note.
§ Op. cit., 33. ‖ Op. cit., i. 71. ¶ Ssanang Setzen, 107. ** *Vide* infra, 55, &c.
†† The Sughak Jihen of Erdmann. Note 20. ‡‡ Erdmann's Temujin, §§ Op. cit., 259.

assistance of Yissugei was sought by the celebrated Wang Khan of the Keraits, the Prester John of so many romances, whose story will be told in detail in the tenth chapter. He had been driven away from the throne by his uncle Gur Khan. Yissugei marched to his assistance, drove Gur Khan into Tangut, and replaced Wang Khan on the throne. The latter, cap in hand, swore an eternal friendship to his benefactor, *i.e.*, in Mongol phrase, became anda or sworn friend.* Yissugei died in 1175. According to the Saga of Ssanang Setzen, he was a victim to the treachery of the Tartars, who one day asked him to take food in one of their tents, and then mixed poison with the meat.† He was succeeded by his son Temudjin, who acquired a wide-world fame under his title of Jingis Khan. His history forms the subject of the next chapter.

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* D'Ohsson, i. 152. † Op. cit., 65.

CHAPTER III.

JINGIS KHAN.*

AMONG the men who have influenced the history of the world Jingis Khan holds a foremost place. Popularly he is mentioned with Attila and with Timur as one of the "Scourges of God." One of those terrible conquerors whose march across the page of history is figured by the simile of a swarm of locusts or a fire in a Canadian forest; but this is doing gross injustice to Jingis Khan. Not only was he a conqueror, a general whose consummate ability made him overthrow every barrier that must intervene between the chief of a small barbarous tribe of an obscure race and the throne of Asia, and this with a rapidity and uniform success that can only be compared to the triumphant march of Alexander. But he was far more than a conqueror. Alexander, Napoleon, and Timur were all more or less his equals in the art of war. But the colossal powers they created were merely hills of sand, that crumbled to pieces as soon as they were dead; with Jingis Khan matters were very different, he organised the empire which he had conquered so that it long survived and greatly thrived after he was gone. In every detail of social and political economy he was a creator, his laws and his administrative rules are equally admirable and astounding to the student. Justice, tolerance, discipline, virtues that make up the modern ideal of a state, were taught and practised at his court. And when we remember that he was born and educated in the desert, and that he had neither the sages of Greece nor of Rome to instruct him, that unlike Charlemagne and Alfred he could not draw his lessons from a past, whose evening glow was still visible in the horizon, we are tempted to treat as exaggerated the history of his times, and to be sceptical of so much political insight having been born of such unpromising materials.

It is not creditable to English literature that no satisfactory account of Jingis Khan exists in the language. Baron D'Ohsson in French, and Erdmann in German, have both written minute and detailed accounts of him, but none such exist in English, although the subject has an epic

*J in Jingis, Juji, and other proper names is to be sounded as a consonant, as in Jupiter, John, &c., equivalent to the German Dsch.

grandeur about it that might well tempt some well-grounded scholar like Colonel Yule to try his hand upon it. We have seen how he received the name of Temudjin. According to the vocabulary attached to the history of the Yuen dynasty, translated from the Chinese by Hyacinthe, Temudjin means the best iron or steel. The name has been confounded with Temurdji, which means a smith in Turkish. This accounts for the tradition related by Pachymeres, Novairi, William of Ruysbrok, the Armenian Haiton, and others that Jingis Khan was originally a smith.*

The Chinese historians and Ssanang Setzen place his birth in 1162; Raschid and the Persians in 1155. The latter date is accommodated to the fact that they make him seventy-two years old at his death in 1227, but the historian of the Yuen dynasty, the Kangmu, and Ssanang Setzen are all agreed that he died at the age of sixty-six, and they are much more likely to be right.† Mailla says he had a piece of clotted blood in his fist when born, no bad omen, if true, of his future career. According to De Guignes, Karachar Nevian was named his tutor. Ssanang Setzen has a story that his father set out one day to find him a partner among the relatives of his wife, the Olchonods, and that on the way he was met by Dai Setzen, the chief of the Kunkurats, who thus addressed him :— "Descendant of the Kiyots, and of the race of the Bordshigs, whither hiest thou?" "I am seeking a bride for my son," was his reply. Dai Setzen then said that he recently had a dream, during which a white falcon had alighted on his hand. "This," he said, "Bordshig, was your token. From ancient days our daughters have been wedded to the Bordshigs, and I now have a daughter named Burte who is nine years old. I will give her to thy son." "She is too young," he said; but Temudjin, who was present, urged that she would suit him by-and-by. The bargain was thereupon closed, and having taken a draught of kumiss and presented his host with two horses, Yissugei returned home.‡

On his father's death Temudjin was only thirteen years old; an age that seldom carries authority in the desert, where the chief is expected to command, and his mother acted as regent. This enabled several of the tribes which had submitted to the strong hand of Yissugei to reassert their independence. The Taidshuts, under their leaders Terkutai, named Kiriltuk, *i.e.*, the spiteful, the great grandson of Hemukai, and his nephew Kurul Behadur, were the first to break away, and they were soon after joined by one of Yissugei's generals with a considerable following. To the reproaches of Temudjin, the latter answered, "The deepest wells are sometimes dry, and the hardest stones sometimes split; why should I cling to thee?" Temudjin's mother, we are told, mounted her horse, and taking the Royal Standard called Tuk (this was mounted with the tails of the Yak or mountain cow, or in default with that of a horse; it is the Tau or Tu of the Chinese, used as the Imperial Standard,

* D'Ohsson, i. 36. † D'Ohsson, i. 38. Note. ‡ Ssanang Setzen, 63.

and conferred as a token of royalty upon their vassals, the Tartar Princes*) in her hand, she led her people in pursuit of the fugitives, and brought a good number of them back to their allegiance.†

After the dispersion of the Jelairs, to which I have previously referred, many of them became the slaves and herdsmen of the Mongol royal family. They were encamped near Sarikihar, the Saligol of Hyacinthe,‡ in the district of Ulagai Bulak, which D'Ohsson identifies with the Ulengai, a tributary of the Ingoda, that rises in the watershed between that river and the Onon.§ One day Tagudshar, a relative of Chamuka, the chief of the Jadjerats, was hunting in this neighbourhood, and tried to lift the cattle of a Jelair, named Juji Termele, who thereupon shot him. This led to a long and bitter strife between Temudjin, who was the patron of the Jelairs, and Chamuka. He was of the same stock as Temudjin, and now joined the Taidshuts, with his tribe the Jadjerats. He also persuaded the Uduts and Nujakins, the Kurulas and Inkirasses, to join them.‖

Temudjin struggled in vain against this confederacy, and one day he was taken prisoner by the Taidshuts. Terkutai fastened on him a *cangue*, the instrument of torture used by the Chinese, consisting of two boards which are fastened to the shoulders, and when joined together round the neck form an effectual barrier to desertion. He one day found means to escape while the Taidshuts were busy feasting, hid in a pond with his nostrils only out of water, was detected by a pursuer named Surghan Shireh (by Ssanang Setzen, Torghan Shara). He belonged to the Suldus clan, had pity on him, took him to his house, hid him under some wool in a cart, so that his pursuers failed to find him, and then sent him to his own people.¶ This and other stories illustrate one phase of Mongol character. We seldom hear among them of those domestic murders so frequent in Turkish history; pretenders to the throne were reduced to servitude, and generally made to perform menial offices, but seldom murdered. They illustrate another fact; favours conferred in distress were seldom forgotten, and the chroniclers frequently explain the rise of some obscure individual by the recollection of a handsome thing done to the ruler in his unfortunate days.

Another phase of Mongol character, namely, the treachery and craft with which they attempt to overreach one another in war may be illustrated by a short Saga told by Ssanang Setzen, and probably relating to this period of Temudjin's career. It is curious how circumstantial many of these traditions are. "At that time," he says, "Buke Chilger of the Taidshuts dug a pitfall in his tent and covered it with felts. He then, with his brothers, arranged a grand feast, to which Temudjin was invited with fulsome phrases. 'Formerly we knew not thine excellence,' he said,

* D'Ohsson, i. 40. Note. † Erdmann, 259. De Mailla, ix. 10. ‡ Erdmann, 260.
§ D'Ohsson, i. 41. Note. Ritter's Asia, ii. 271. ‖ Erdmann, 260. ¶ Ssanang Setzen, 67.

'and lived in strife with thee. We have now learnt that thou art not false, and that thou art a Bogda of the race of the gods. Our old hatred is stifled and dead; condescend to enter our small house.' Temudjin accepted the invitation, but before going he was warned by his mother: 'Rate not the crafty foe too lightly,' she said. 'We do not dread a venomous viper the less because it is so small and weak. Be cautious.' He replied, 'You are right, mother, therefore do you Khassar have the bow ready. Belgutei, you also be on your guard. You, Chadshikin, see to the horse, and you, Utsuken, remain by my side. My nine Orloks* you go in with me, and you my three hundred and nine body guards surround the yurt.' When he arrived he would have sat down in the middle of the treacherous carpet, but Utsuken pulled him aside and seated him on the edge of the felt. Meanwhile a woman was meddling with the horse and cut off its left stirrup. Belgutei, who noticed it, drove her out, and struck her on the leg with his hand, upon which one Buri Buke struck Belgutei's horse with his sword. The nine Orloks now came round, helped their master to mount the white mare of Toktanga Taishi of the Kortshins, a fight began, which ended in the defeat and submission of the enemy."† Once more free, Temudjin, who was now seventeen years old, married Burte Judjin, whose betrothal I have already described.‡ He was not long in collecting a number of his men together, and soon managed to increase their number to 13,000. These he divided into thirteen battalions of 1,000 men each, styled gurans (*i.e.*, rings; compare the rings among the Avares), each guran under the command of a gurkhan.§ The gurkhans were chosen from his immediate relatives and dependents. The forces of the Taidshuts numbered 30,000. With this much more powerful army Temudjin risked an encounter on the banks of the Baldjuna, a tributary of the Ingoda, and gained a complete victory.‖ Abulghazi says the Taidshuts lost from 5,000 to 6,000 men. The battle-field was close to a wood, and we are told that Temudjin, after his victory, piled faggots together and boiled many of his prisoners in seventy cauldrons.¶ A very problematical story.

Among his neighbours were the Jadjerats or Juriats,¶ the subjects of Chamuka, who, according to De Guignes, fled after the battle with the Taidshuts, just described. One day a body of the Jadjerats, who were hunting, encountered some of Temudjin's followers, and they agreed to hunt together. The former ran short of provisions, and he generously surrendered to them a large part of the game his people had captured. This was favourably compared by them with the harsh behaviour of their suzereigns, the Taidshut princes, and two of their

* The nine Orloks were the nine principal officers of Temudjin. They are enumerated in an old saga describing a feast in which he and his nine Orloks were engaged. Ssanang Setzen, 381. Note 30.

† Ssanang Setzen, 81. ‡ Ssanang Setzen, 69.

§ On these names see Erdmann, Temudjin, note 50, and Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 607.

‖ Erdmann, 261-3. ¶ Tchaoliei of De Mailla.

chiefs, named Ulugh Behadus (the Yulu of De Mailla) and Thugai Talu, with many of the tribe went to join Temudjin. They were shortly after attacked and dispersed by the Taidshuts. This alarmed or disgusted several of the latter's allies, who went over to the party of Temudjin. Among these were Chamuka, who contrived for a while to hide his rancour, and the chiefs of the Suldus and Basiuts.* Their example was soon followed by the defection of the Barins and the Telenkuts, a branch of the Jelairs.†

Temudjin's repute was now considerable, and De Mailla tells us that wishing to secure the friendship of Podu, chief of the Kieliei, or or Ykiliesse (Gaubil 9), *i.e.*, the Kurulats, who lived on the river Ergoné, *i.e.*, the Argun,‡ and who was renowned for his skill in archery, he offered him his sister Termulun in marriage. This was gladly accepted, and the two became fast friends. As a sign of his goodwill, Podu wished to present Temudjin with fifteen horses out of thirty which he possessed, but the latter replied, "To speak of giving and taking is to do as merchants and traffickers, and not allies. Our elders tell us it is difficult to have one heart and one soul in two bodies. It is this difficult thing I wish to compass, I mean to extend my power, over my neighbours here, I only ask that the people of Kieliei shall aid me."§ Temudjin now gave a grand feast on the banks of the Onon, and distributed decorations among his brothers. To this were invited Sidsheh Bigi, chief of the Burgins or Barins, his own mother, and two of his step-mothers. A skin of kumiss, or fermented milk, was sent to each of the latter, but with this distinction. In the case of the eldest, called Kakurshin Khatun, it was for herself and her family; in that of the younger, for herself alone. This aroused the envy of the former, who gave Sichir, the master of the ceremonies, a considerable blow. The undignified disturbance was winked at by Temudjin, but the quarrel was soon after enlarged. One of Kakurshin's dependents had the temerity to strike Belgutei, the half-brother of Temudjin, and wounded him severely in the shoulder, but Belgutei pleaded for him. "The wound has caused me no tears. It is not seemly that my quarrels should inconvenience you," he said. Upon this Temudjin sent and counselled them to live at peace with one another, but Sidsheh Bigi soon after abandoned him with his Barins. He was apparently a son of Kakurshin Khatun, and therefore a step-brother of Temudjin.‖ About 1194, Temudjin heard that one of the Taidshut chiefs, called Mutchin Sultu, had revolted against Madagu, the Kin Emperor of China, who had sent his Chinsang (prime minister) Wan-jan-siang, with an army against him. He eagerly volunteered his services against the old enemies of his people, and was successful. He

* The Urduts and Burduts of Von Hammer. † Erdmann, 263-5. De Mailla, 11, 12.
‡ Gaubil Hist. des Mong., 3. Note 2. § De Mailla, ix. 14.
‖ De Mailla, ix. 15, 16. Erdmann, 268.

killed the chief and captured much booty. *Inter alia* was a silver cradle with a covering of golden tissue, such as the Mongols had never before seen. As a reward for his services he received from the Chinese officer the title of Jaut-ikuri, written Tcha-u-tu-lu in Hyacinthe, who says it means commander against the rebels. According to Raschid, on the same occasion Tului, the chief of the Keraits, was invested with the title of Wang (*i.e.*, king).* On his return from this expedition, desiring to renew his intercourse with the Barins, he sent them a portion of the Tartar booty. The bearers of this present were maltreated. Mailla, who describes the event somewhat differently, says that ten of the messengers were killed by Sidsheh Bigi, to revenge the indignities that had been put on his family. Temudjin now marched against the Barins, defeated them at Thulan Buldak (Tielito of Mailla). Their two chiefs escaped. According to Mailla they were put to death.†

In 1196 Temudjin received a visit from Wang Khan, the Kerait chief, who was then in distress. His brother Ilkah Sengun, better known as Jagampu Keraiti, had driven him from the throne. He first sought assistance from the chief of Kara Khitai, and when that failed him, turned to Temudjin, the son of his old friend. Wang Khan was a chief of great consequence, and this appeal must have been flattering to him, he levied a contribution of cattle from his subjects to feast him with, and promised him the devotion of a son in consideration of his ancient friendship with Yissugei.

Temudjin was now, says Mailla, one of the most powerful princes of these parts, and he determined to subjugate the Kieliei (*i.e.*, the inhabitants of the Argun, to whom I have already referred), but he was defeated. During the action, having been hit by twelve arrows, he fell from his horse unconscious, when Bogordshi and Bargul (Portchi and Mouholi of Mailla) at some risk took him out of the struggle. While the former melted the snow with some hot stones and bathed him with it, so as to free his throat from the blood, the latter, during the long winter night, covered him with his own cloak from the falling snow. He would, nevertheless, have fared badly if his mother had not collected a band of his father's troops and come to his assistance, together with Tului, the Kerait chief, who remembered the favours he had received from Temudjin's father.‡ Mailla says, that returning home with a few followers, he was attacked by a band of robbers. He was accompanied by a famous crossbowman, named Soo, to whom he had given the name of Merghen. While the robbers were within ear-shot, Merghen shouted, "There are two wild ducks, a male and a female, which shall I bring down." "The male," said Temudjin. He had scarcely said so when down it came. This was too much for the robbers, who dared not measure themselves against such victims.§ The Merkits had recently made a raid upon his territory,

* D'Ohsson, i. 47. Note.
† Erdmann, 268. De Mailla, ix. 17.
‡ Wolff, 36.
§ De Mailla, ix. 19.

and carried off his favourite wife Burte Judjin. It was after her return from her captivity that she gave birth to her elder son, Juji, about whose legitimacy there seems to have been some doubt in his father's mind. It was to revenge this that he now (1197) marched against them, and defeated them near the river Mundsheh (a river Mandzin is still to be found in the canton Karas Muren).* He abandoned all the booty to Wang Khan. The latter, through the influence of Temudjin, once more regained his throne, and the following year (1198) he had an expedition on his own account against the Merkits, and beat them at a place named Buker Gehesh,† but he did not reciprocate the generosity of his ally.

In 1199 the two friends made a joint expedition against the Naimans. The latter were now divided between two brothers, who had quarrelled about their father's concubine. One of them, named Buyuruk, had retired with a body of the people to the Kiziltash mountains. The other, called Baibuka, but generally referred to by his Chinese title of Taiwang, or Tayang, remained in his own proper country. It was the latter who was now attacked by the two allies, and forced to escape to the country of Kem Kemdjut (*i.e.*, towards the sources of the Yenissei). Chamuka, the chief of the Jadjerats, well named Satchan, or the crafty, still retained his hatred for Temudjin. He now whispered in the ear of Wang Khan that his ally was only a fairweather friend. Like the wild goose, he flew away in winter, while he himself, like the snow-bird, was constant under all circumstances. These and other suggestions aroused the jealousy of Wang Khan, who suddenly withdrew with his forces, and left Temudjin in the enemy's country. The latter was thereupon forced to retire also. He went to the river Sali or Sari.‡ Gogsu Seirak, the Naiman general, went in pursuit, defeated Wang Khan in his own territory, and captured much booty. Wang Khan was hard pressed, and was perhaps only saved by the timely succour sent by Temudjin, which drove away the Naimans. Once more did the latter abandon the captured booty to his treacherous ally. After the victory, he held a Kuriltai, on the plains of Sari or Sali, to which Wang Khan was invited, and at which it was resolved to renew the war against the Taidshuts in the following year. The latter were in alliance with the Merkits, whose chief, Tukta, had sent a contingent, commanded by his brothers, to their help. The two friends attacked them on the banks of the river Onon.§ Raschid says in the country of Onon (*i.e.*, the great desert of Mongolia).‖ The confederates were beaten. Terkutai Kiriltuk and Kududar, the two leaders of the Taidshuts, were pursued and overtaken at Lengut Nuramen, where they were both killed. Another of their leaders, with the two chiefs of the Merkits, fled to Burghudshin¶ (*i.e.*, Burgusin on Lake Baikal), while the fourth found refuge with the Naimans.

* Erdmann. Note 75. † Erdmann, 271. ‡ De Mailla, ix. 22.
§ De Mailla, ix. 23. ‖ D'Ohsson, i. 61. Note. ¶ Erdmann, 275.

This victory aroused the jealousy of certain tribes which were as yet independent of Temudjin, namely, the Kunkurats, Durbans, Jelairs, Katakins, Saldjuts, and Taidshuts, and they formed a confederacy to put him down. We are told that their chiefs met at a place called Aru Bulak, and sacrificed a horse, a bull, a ram, a dog, and a stag, and striking with their swords, swore thus: "Heaven and earth hear our oaths, we swear by the blood of these animals, which are the chiefs of their races, that we wish to die like them if we break our promises." The plot was disclosed to Temudjin by his father-in-law, Dai Setzen, a chief of the Kunkurats. He repaired to his ally, Wang Khan, and the two marched against the confederates, and defeated them near the Lake Buyur. He afterwards attacked some confederated Taidshuts and Merkits on the plain of Timurkin (*i.e.*, of the river Timur or Temir) and defeated them. Meanwhile the Kunkurats, afraid of resisting any longer, marched to submit to him. His brother, Juji Kassar, not knowing their errand, unfortunately attacked them, upon which they turned aside and joined Chamuka.*

That inveterate enemy of Temudjin had at an assembly of the tribes, Inkirasses, Kurulasses, Taidshuts, Katakins, and Saldjuts, held in 1201, been elected Gurkhan. They met near a river, called Kieiho by Mailla, Kian by Hyacinthe, and Kem by Raschid,† and then adjourned to the Tula, where they made a solemn pact praying that "whichever of them was unfaithful to the rest might be like the banks of that river which the water ate away, and like the trees of a forest when they are cut into faggots." This pact was disclosed to Temudjin by one of his friends who was present, named Kuridai. He marched against them, and defeated them at a place north of the Selinga, called Ede Kiurghan, *i.e.*, site of the grave mounds.‡ Chamuka fled, and the Kunkurats submitted.§

In the spring of 1202, Temudjin set out to attack the tribes Antshi and Tshagan.‖ These were doubtless the subjects of Wangtshuk and Tsaghan, mentioned by Ssanang Setzen. They were probably Tungusian tribes. The western writers tell us that Temudjin gave orders to his soldiers to follow up the beaten enemy, without caring about the booty, which should be fairly divided among them. His relatives, Kudsher, Daritai, and Altun, having disobeyed, were deprived of their share, and became, in consequence, his secret enemies.¶ Ssanang Setzen has much more detail, and his narrative is interesting because, as Schmidt suggests, it apparently contains the only account extant of the conquest of the tribes of Manchuria. He says, that while Temudjin was hawking between the river Olcho (a river Olcoui, rising in the Soyoldji, a branch of the Khinggan mountains, about the forty-seventh parallel of latitude, is mentioned by D'Ohsson, i. 64), and the Ula (probably the Nonni Ula).

* Erdmann, 279. D'Ohsson, i. 62. † Erdmann. Note 108. ‡ Wolff, 41. Note.
§ D'Ohsson, i. 63. ‖ Hyacinthe quoted by Erdmann. Note 114.
¶ Erdmann, 280, 281.

Wangtshuk Khakan, of the Dschurtschid (*i.e.*, of the Niutchi Tartars of Manchuria), had retired from there. Temudjin was angry, and went to assemble his army to attack the enemy's capital. But as a passage was forbidden him across the river Ula, and the road was blockaded, the son of Toktanga Baghatur Taidshi, named Andun Ching Taidshi, coupled ten thousand horses together by their bridles, and pressed into the river, forced a passage, and the army then began to besiege the town. Temudjin sent word to Wangtshuk, and said: "If you will send me ten thousand swallows and one thousand cats then I will cease attacking the town," upon which the required number was procured. Temudjin fastened some lighted wool to the tail of each and then let them go; then the swallows flew to their nests in the houses, and the cats climbed and jumped on the roofs; the city was fired; by which means Temudjin conquered Wangtshuk Khakan, and took his daughter Salichai for his wife. He then marched further eastwards to the river Unegen, but he found it had overflowed its banks, whereupon he did not cross it but sent envoys to Tsaghan Khakan (? the tribe Tsagan mentioned in the western accounts, *vide supra*) of the Solongos, *i.e.*, of the Solons. "Bring me tribute, or we must fight," he said; upon which Tshaghan Khakan was frightened, sent him a daughter of Dair Ussun, named Khulan Goa, with a tent decorated with panther skins, and gave him the tribes of Solongos and Bughas as a dowry, upon which he assisted Tshaghan Khakan, so that he brought three provinces of the Solongos under his authority.*

Ssanang Setzen at this point introduces one of those quaint Sagas, which however mythical in themselves, are true enough to the peculiar mode of thought of the Mongols to make them very instructive. The Saga runs thus:—During a three years' absence of her husband, Burte Judjin sent Arghassun Churtshi (*i.e.*, Arghassun the lute player) to him; when the latter was introduced, he spoke thus:—"Thy wife, Burte Judjin Khatun, thy princely children, the elders and princes of thy kingdom, all are well. The eagle builds his nest in a high tree; at times he grows careless in the fancied security of his high-perched home; then even a small bird will sometimes come and plunder it and eat the eggs and young brood: so it is with the swan whose nest is in the sedges on the lake. It, too, trusts too confidently in the dark thickets of reeds. Yet prowling water-falcons will sometimes come and rob it of eggs and young ones. This might happen to my revered lord himself." These words aroused Temudjin from his confident air. "Thou hast spoken truly," he said, and he hied him on his way homewards. But when some distance still from home he began to grow timid. "Spouse of my young days, chosen for me by my noble father, how dare I face thee home-tarrying Burte Judjin, after living with Chulan (*i.e.*, the Chulan Goa

* Ssanang Setzen, 75.

already named), whom I came across in my journey, it would be shameful to seem unfriendly in the assembly of the people. One of you nine Orloks hie you to Burte Judjin and speak for me." Mukuli, of the Jelair tribe, volunteered, and when he came to her, delivered this message:—"Beside protecting my own lands I have looked around also elsewhere. I have not followed the counsel of the greater and lesser lords. On the contrary, I have amused myself with the variegated colours of a tent hung with panther skins. Distant people to rule over I have taken Chulan to be my wife: the Khan has sent me to tell you this." His wife seems to have understood the enigmatical phrases, for Setzen says, "The sensible! Burte Judjin thus replied, 'The wish of Burte Judjin and of the whole people is that the might of our sovereign may be increased. It rests with him whom he shall befriend or bind himself to. In the reedy lakes there are many swans and geese. If it be his wish to shoot arrows at them until his finger be weary, who shall complain? So also there are many girls and women among our people. It is for him to say who the choicest and luckiest are. I hope he will take to himself both a new wife and a new house. That he will saddle the untractable horse. Health and prosperity are not wearisome, nor are disease and pain desirable, says the proverb. May the golden girth of his house be immortal'" (*i.e.*, may the band that binds the felts and spars of the yurt never decay, in other words, may he ever be prosperous, a favourite Mongol wish).

When he arrived at home he discovered that Arghassun had appropriated his golden lute, upon which he ordered Boghordshi and Mukuli to kill him. They seized him, gave him two skins full of strong drink, and then went to the Khan, who had not yet risen. Boghordshi spake outside the tent: "The light already shines in your Ordu. We await your commands, that is, if your effulgent presence, having cheerfully awoke, has risen from its couch! The daylight already shines. Condescend to open the door to hear and to judge the repentant culprit, and to exercise your favour and clemency." The Khan now arose and permitted Arghassun to enter, but he did not speak to him. Boghordshi and Mukuli gave him a signal with their lips. The culprit then began: "While the seventy-tuned Tsaktsaghai unconcernedly sings tang, tang, the hawk hovers over and pounces suddenly upon him and strangles him before he can bring out his last note jang. So did my lord's wrath fall on me and has unnerved me. For twenty years have I been in your household but have not yet been guilty of dishonest trickery. It is true I love smoked drink, but dishonesty I have not in my thought. For twenty years have I been in your household but I have not practised knavery. I love strong drink, but am no trickster." Upon which Temudjin ejaculated, "My loquacious Arghassun, my chattering Churtchi," and pardoned him.

Temudjin now seems to have been master of the country generally known as Eastern Dauria, watered by the Onon, the Ingoda, the Argun,

and also of the tribes of Tungusic race that lived on the Nonni and the Upper Amur. The various victims of his prowess began to gather together for another effort. Among these were Tukta, the chief of Merkits, with the Naiman leader, Buyuruk Khan, the tribes Durban, Katagun, Saldjut, and Uirat, the last of whom were clients of the Naimans.* Wang Khan was then in alliance with him. At the approach of the enemy they retired into the mountains Caraun Chidun, in the Khinggan chain, on the frontiers of China, where they were pursued. The pursuers were terribly harassed by the ice and snow, which Mailla said was produced by one of their own Shamans, or necromancers, and which proved more hurtful to them than to the Mongols.† Many of them perished, and when they issued from the defiles they were too weak to attack the two allies. The latter spent the winter at Altchia Kungur (a small river Kungur flows into Lake Taal, about 43 deg. N.L.)‡ Here their two families were united by mutual betrothals; as these, however, broke down ill-feeling was aroused between them, and Chamuka had an opportunity of renewing his intrigues. He suggested that Temudjin had secret communications with the Naimans, and was not long in arousing the jealousy of Wang Khan and his son Sengun. They attempted unsuccessfully to assassinate him, but he was warned in time. He now collected an army and marched against the Keraits. His army were very inferior in numbers, but attacked the enemy with ardour. Wang Khan's bravest tribe, the Jirkirs, turned their backs, while the Tunegkaits were defeated, but numbers nevertheless prevailed, and Temudjin was forced to fly. This battle, which is renowned in Mongol history, was fought at a place called Kalanchin Alt. Raschid says this place is near the country of the Niuchis, not far from the river Olkui. Some of the Chinese authorities call it Khalagun ola, and Hala chon, and D'Ohsson surmises that it is that part of the Khinggan chain from which flow the southern affluents of the Kalka, one of which is called Halgon in D'Anville's map. Mailla, however, distinctly plates it between the Tula and the Onon, which is probably right.§ Abandoned by most of his troops, he fled to the desert Baldjuna, where he was reduced to great straits (D'Ohsson says that a lake Baldjuna, whence flows the Tura, a tributary of the Ingoda, is found in the plateau north of the Onon). Here are still found many grave mounds, and the Buriats relate that this retired place, protected on the north by woods and mountains, was formerly an asylum.‖ A few firm friends accompanied him. They were afterwards known as Baldjunas, a name compared by Von Hammer with that of Mohadshirs, borne by the companions of Mahomet's early misfortunes.¶ Two shepherds, named Kishlik and Badai, who had informed him of Wang Khan's march, were created Terkhans.**

* Erdmann, 281. † De Mailla, ix. 26. ‡ D'Ohsson, i. 67. Note.
§ De Mailla, op. cit. ix. 34. ‖ Wolff 43. Ritter's Asia, ii. 272-279.
¶ Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 65. ** D'Ohsson, i. 72.

Having been a fugitive for some time, Temudjin at length moved to the south-east, to the borders of Lake Kara, into which flows the river Uldra, there he was joined by some Kunkurats, and he once more moved on to the sacred Mongol lake, the Dalai Nur.* Thence he indited the following pathetic letter to Wang Khan:—

"1. O Khan, my father, when your uncle, the Gur Khan, drove you for having usurped the throne of Buyuruk, and for having killed your brothers Tatimur Taidshi and Buka Timur, to take refuge at Keraun Kiptchak (the Caravoun Cabdjal of D'Ohsson), where you were beleagured, did not my father come to your rescue, drive out, and force the Gur Khan to take refuge in Ho Si (the country west of the Hoangho), whence he returned not? Did you not then become Anda (*i.e.*, sworn friend) with my father, and was not this the reason I styled *you* father?

"2. When you were driven away by the Naimans, and your brother, Ilkah Sengun, had retired to the far east, did I not send for him back again, and when he was attacked by the Merkits, did I not attack and defeat them? Here is a second reason for your gratitude.

"3. When in your distress you came to me with your body peering through your tatters, like the sun through the clouds, and worn out with hunger, you moved languidly like an expiring flame, did I not attack the tribes who molested you; present you with abundance of sheep and horses? You came to me haggard. In a fortnight you were stout and well-favoured again. Here is a third service we have done you.

"4. When you defeated the Merkits so severely at Buker Gehreh, you gave me none of the booty, yet shortly after, when you were hard pressed by the Naimans, I sent four of my best generals to your assistance, who restored you the plunder that had been taken from you. Here is the fourth good office.

"5. I pounced like a Jerfalcon on to the mountain Jurkumen, and thence over the lake Buyur, and I captured for you the cranes with blue claws and grey plumage, that is to say, the Durbans and Taidshuts. Then I passed the lake Keule. There I took the cranes with blue feet, that is, the Katakins, Saldjuts, and Kunkurats. This is the fifth service I have done you.

"6. Do you not remember, O Khan, my father, how on the river Kara, near the Mount Jurkan, we swore that if a snake glided between us, and envenomed our words, we would not listen to it until we had received some explanation; yet you suddenly left me without asking me to explain.

"7. O Khan, my father, why suspect me of ambition? I have not said 'My part is too small, I want a greater;' or 'It is a bad one, I want a better.' When one wheel of a cart breaks, and the ox tries to drag it, it only hurts its neck. If we then detach the ox, and leave the vehicle, the

* Wolff, 44.

thieves come and take the load. If we do not unyoke it, the ox will die of hunger. Am I not one wheel of thy chariot?"

With this letter Temudjin sent a request that the black gelding of Mukuli Behadur, with its embroidered and plated saddle and bridle, which had been lost on the day of their struggle, might be restored to him; he also asked that messengers might be sent to treat for a peace between them.

Another letter was sent to his uncle Kudshir, and to his cousin Altun.

This letter is interesting, because it perhaps preserves for us some details of what took place at the accession of Jingis. It is well known that the Mongol Khans affected a coy resistance when asked to become chief. The letter runs thus:—"You conspired to kill me, yet from the beginning did I tell the sons of Bartam Behadur (*i.e.*, his grandfather), as well as Satcha (his cousin), and Taidju (his uncle). Why does our territory on the Onon remain without a master? I tried to persuade you to rule over our tribes. You refused. I was troubled. I said to you, 'Kudshir, son of Tekun Taishi, be our Khan.' You did not listen to me; and to you, Altun, I said, 'You are the son of Kutluk Khan (the Kubilai of D'Ohsson), who was our ruler. You be our Khan.' You also refused, and when you pressed it on me, saying, 'Be you our chief,' I submitted to your request, and promised to preserve the heritage and customs of our fathers. Did I intrigue for power? I was elected unanimously to prevent the country, ruled over by our fathers near the three rivers, passing to strangers. As chief of a numerous people, I thought it proper to make presents to those attached to me. I captured many herds, yurts, women, and children, which I gave you. I enclosed for you the game of the steppe, and drove towards you the mountain game. You now serve Wang Khan, but you ought to know that he is fickle. You see how he has treated me. He will treat you even worse."*

Wang Khan was disposed to treat, but his son Sengun said matters had gone too far, and they must fight it out. We now find Wang Khan quarrelling with several of his dependents, whom he accused of conspiring against him. Temudjin's intrigues were probably at the bottom of the matter. The result was that Dariti Utshegin, with a tribe of Mongols, and the Sakiat tribe of the Keraits, went over to Temudjin, while Altun and Kudshir, the latter's relations, who had deserted him as I have described, took refuge with the Naimans.†

Among the companions of his recent distress, a constant one was his brother Juji Kassar, who had also suffered severely, and had had his camp, &c., pillaged by the Keraits. Temudjin had recourse to a ruse. He sent two servants who feigned to have come from Juji, and who offered his submission on condition that his wife and children were

* D'Ohsson, i. 78. † Erdmann, 295.

returned to him. Wang Khan readily assented, and to prove his sincerity sent back to Juji Kassar some of his blood in a horn, which was to be mixed with kumiss, and drunk when the oath of friendship was sworn. Wang Khan was completely put off his guard, and Temudjin was thus able to surprise him. His forces numbered about 4,600, and he seems to have advanced along the banks of the Kerulon, towards the heights of Jedshir, between the Tula and the Kerulon, and therefore towards the modern Urga,* where Wang Khan was posted. In the battle which followed, and which was fought in the spring of 1203, the latter was defeated; he fled to the Naimans, and was there murdered. Temudjin was sincerely affected by the death of the old man. The Naiman chief, Tayang, had his skull encased in silver and bejewelled, and afterwards used it as a ceremonial cup; a custom very frequent in Mongolia. Such cups have been lately met with in Europe, one of which was exhibited at the great exhibition of 1851, where it was shown as the skull of Confucius. Another, or perhaps the same, which was encased in marvellous jeweller's work, has been lately destroyed, the gold having been barbarously melted by the Jews. By the death of Wang Khan, Temudjin became the master of the Kerait nation, and thus both branches of the Mongol race were united under one head.

He now held a Kuriltai, where he was proclaimed Khan. There is some confusion about the period when he adopted the title of Jingis, but the probability is that he did so three years later. The earlier date (*i.e.*, 1203) is the one however from which his reign is often reckoned to have commenced. Having feasted and rejoiced over his good fortune, he next turned his attention to the Naimans, whose jealousy had been aroused by his successes, and whose chief claimed supremacy in Tartary. He made overtures to Alakush Tigin Kuri,† the chief of the Onguts, or White Tartars, who then consisted of 4,000 families, and lived in the Inshan mountains, called Ongu by the Mongols. "There cannot be two suns in the sky, two swords in one sheath, two eyes in one eyepit, nor two kings in one empire; join me and be my right hand," was the burden of his message; but that prince refused to join him and informed Temudjin. The latter called together a Kuriltai or general assembly. Here it was suggested that the horses were out of condition and that the campaign had better be postponed, but this counsel was overruled, and Temudjin advanced westward, Tayang Khan also left the Altai mountains, and pitched his camp at the foot of the Khangkai mountains; with him were the chiefs of the Merkits, the Oirats, Jadjerats, some of the Keraits, and the tribes Durban, Taidshut, Katakin, and Saldjut. The battle was fought on a large open plain, and lasted all day. The site was passed by Carpino,‡ who mentions it as the place where the Karakhitans and Naimans were defeated by the Mongols. At night-fall the Naimans were worsted.

* Yules Marco Polo, 214. † Erdmann, 299. ‡ D'Ohsson, i. 87.

Tayang, desperately wounded, was taken to a hill close by, and was tended by his favourite wife, Kurbassu. In vain he protested that his soldiers had done enough to prove their valour and fidelity. In vain he bade them seek safety. They returned again, and throwing themselves on the enemy were slaughtered. Tayang Khan was hurried away, but soon died of his wounds. His son Kushluk took refuge with his uncle Buyuruk, the other Khan of the Naimans. Tukta, the Merkit chief, also fled westward. The scattered Naimans who "had sought death so hard and had not found it,"* were pursued into the mountains Nakukun, where many of them were killed. Kurbassu, the widow of Tayang, was added to the conqueror's harem. A more important capture was Tata-kun,† the chancellor of Tayang; he was a Uighur Turk. Upon him was found the golden seal, with which he was wishful to escape to deliver it to the relatives of his late master. Temudjin naïvely demanded its use; he replied that when his master wished to raise a tax in money or grain, or to empower any one to do anything important, he used this seal to give it authenticity. Temudjin ordered him to employ the seal in his name, and to teach the language and writing and the laws and customs of the Uighurs to his sons. Tata-kun proved a faithful servant, and became chancellor to Ogotai, the son of Jingis, and on his death was honoured with a posthumous title. Here we have an interesting fact, namely, the source whence the Mongols first drew their civilisation. The Uighurs were once, as we know from M. Vambery's researches, the most lettered nation in Central Asia. It is curious to find that long after their power had vanished, they retained at Bishbalig the moral empire of Turkestan.

After the battle, the Durbans, Taidshuts, Katakins, and Saldshuts submitted to the conqueror. The Merkits fled. Temudjin went in pursuit of the latter. On the way, Thair Ussun, the chief of the Uighur Merkits, submitted, and offered his daughter Kulan Khatun in marriage to Temudjin. (This is clearly another version of the Saga already quoted from Ssanang Setzen, *ante* page 56.) The offer was accepted; Thair Ussun was taken into his service, and his followers were divided into companies of 100 men, and incorporated with the baggage guards. They soon after revolted, were attacked and beaten, and many of them fled.‡ Temudjin now attacked the other Merkits and reduced their three other tribes, the Moduns, Tudakelins, and Jiuns to obedience. Tukta Bigi was overtaken at the fort of Kuruk Kiptchak, and his forces again dispersed, he himself fled to Buyuruk, the Naiman chief.

Soon after this Chamuka, the old and deadly enemy of Temudjin, fell into his power; D'Ohsson says he would not kill him because he was *anda, i.e.*, sworn friend, but gave him as a prisoner to one of his nephews. The latter was not long in destroying him, which he did by the cruel death of cutting him limb from limb, the philosophic prisoner is said to have

* Erdmann. † Wolff, 33. ‡ Erdmann, 306. D'Ohsson, 190, 191.

admitted the justice of this punishment, which he would himself have meted out if he had been successful.

D'Ohsson says that Temudjin had now conquered enough of men, cattle, and pastures, and his eyes turned to the capture of richer booty in the south, the former hunting ground of many nomade tribes. His first venture was made upon Tangut, the Hia of the Chinese writers. The kingdom had been previously known as that of Ho Si, *i.e.*, west of the river (corrupted by the Mongols into Kaschin). When Temudjin conquered it the name Kaschin was given to his youthful grandson, a son of Ogotai's, who was born at the time, and on his death the name was changed to Tangut. The Mongols first captured a strong fort named Liki (Lairi of Hyacinth's History of the Yuen),* and having razed it to the ground, took the town of Lung-si-hien (Asagitgelus of Erdmann), and in it a large booty, with which he returned to the desert.† This expedition was made in 1205. De Mailla here tells a quaint story, "As Temudjin returned from Hia he met a child in charge of some sheep. This child had put a stick in the ground and his cap upon it, and was dancing and singing around it. Temudjin, whose curiosity was tickled, asked him why he did thus. 'When one is alone,' said the child, 'having no companion but one's cap, one ought to respect *it*. If there are two persons together, the younger ought to pay respect to the elder. As I was alone I did it to my cap. I heard you were about to pass, and I thought I would practice the ceremonies due to you when you should arrive.'" Temudjin took the child home and had him brought up in his tent.

He had now reached a memorable epoch in his life; north of the desert he had subdued all the turbulent and lawless tribes that stretched from the Irtish to the Khinggan mountains. He had destroyed all his rivals, and we are told that in the spring of 1206 he summoned a Kuriltai near the sources of the Onon; on this spot was planted a standard composed of nine white tuks (*i.e.*, Yak-tails, one for each of the nine Orloks) placed one over the other, around this were collected the chiefs of the different tribes. A Shaman named Gueukdju, who was surnamed But Tengri, or Image of God, now came forward and declared solemnly that having conquered so many Gur Khans, *i.e.*, "chief Khans," he could not adopt that humbled title, and that heaven decreed to him the title of Jingis Khan, or the "Very Mighty Khan." He was therefore saluted under that name by the different chiefs. He was now forty-four years of age, or according to Raschid fifty-one.

Ssanang Setzen has a queer tale to tell of the origin of the name Jingis. He says that in 1189, when Temudjin was forty-eight years old, he was proclaimed Khakan on the banks of the river Kerulon. For three mornings before the ceremony, a five-coloured bird, in shape like a lark, came and sat on a squared stone in front of the royal yurt, and screamed out

* D'Ohsson, i. 97. Note. † De Mailla, ix. 40.

Jingis,‖Jingis, which he thereupon adopted as his middle name, his title in full being Sutu Bogda Jingis Khakan. There then appeared in the midst of the stone the seal called Chas Boo. This seal was a span in length and breadth. On its lower face was a turtle, and in the back of the latter two dragons were interlaced. On this truly Mongol legend Erdmann has the cynical comment, "En Cor Zenodoti en jecur Cratetis."* The legend goes on to say that it was now that Temudjin gave his people the name of Köke Mongol, *i.e.*, Blue or Celestial Mongols.† Ssanang Setzen says they had hitherto been called Bedé, but, as I have shown, the name Mongol is of much older date. Guekdju the Shaman had gained great credit among the Mongols, and even persuaded them he sometimes mounted to heaven on a grey horse. He now became troublesome to Temudjin, to whom he was aggressively impertinent. The latter grew weary of him, and ordered him to be killed. Juji Kassar, we are told, kicked him out of the tent and then put him to death. After the dissolution of the Kuriltai, Jingis (as we shall now call him) marched against the Naimans. On the death of Tayang Khan, his brother Buyuruk, who had divided the heritage with and now succeeded him, was with his people hunting in the Ulug Tag mountains (the Urtu-ola of the Chinese—they form the western continuation of the Little Altai west of the Balkash Sea) near the river Sudja. Here he was attacked and killed by some supporters of Jingis, his wife and baggage fell into the victor's hands, while his nephew Gushluk and the irrepressible Khan of the Merkits fled towards the land watered by the Irtish. As the people of Hia had failed to send the promised tribute, he ordered a fresh expedition against them. This was in 1207. This expedition captured the town of Wuhlahai, and returned with much booty.‡ "Wuhlahai gave its name to one of the seven lu of the Mongolian period, including Tangut or Kansuh. It was probably the kingdom of Egrigaia of Marco Polo."§ Jingis Khan now called upon the Kirghises and Kem Kemdjuts who lived north of the Naimans to do homage. Their two chiefs are called Idyrnere and Aldar by Hyacinthe,‖ Yetiei Ynali and Alitiei by Mailla. One of the names is wanting in the MSS. of Raschid. The other is called Urus Inal by him.¶ Ssanang Setzen calls him Orodshu Schiguschi and his people Oirad Buriad.** Burut is still a well-known synonym for the black or proper Kirghises. The two chiefs agreed to do homage, and sent Jingis a present of some Jerfalcons.††

In the autumn of 1208 Jingis pursued Gushluk and Tukta in the direction of the Irtish. On the way the tribe Oirat, called Ouayla by Mailla ‡‡ (Oirat is a synonym for the Telenguts or White Kalmuks of the Irtish), submitted to him, and their chief volunteered to guide his army. The

* Erdmann, 309, and Note 179. † See Wolff, 47. Ssanang Setzen, 71.
‡ Erdmann, 311. De Mailla, ix. 42. § Porter Smith's Vocabulary, 63.
‖ Erdmann, Note, 183. ¶ D'Ohsson, i. 103. Note. ** Op. cit., 75.
†† D'Ohsson, i. 104. ‡‡ Op. cit., ix. 42.

fugitives were overtaken near the Kem, *i.e.*, the upper Irtish. Tukta the Merkit chief was killed, Gushluk escaped to Kara Khitai. Soon after he received the submission of Bartjuk the Idikut or king of the Uighurs; he was a tributary of Kara Khitai, but in 1209 had murdered the deputy of that empire, named Shukem; when in expectation of dire punishment he heard of the great successes of Jingis, he hastened to recognise him. In the fulsome Eastern panegyric he wrote "As when the clouds break and disclose the sun burning with renewed lustre, as the cracking ice displays the pure blue stream below, so did thy arrival fill me with delight and with the hope of deliverance."* Jingis Khan received this message with courtesy, and sent word back that he wished the Idikut to go to him in person with the richest object in his treasury. The latter despatched a valuable bag full of pearls and other gifts, but does not appear to have gone himself.†

In 1209 he commenced another campaign by penetrating into Kan-su, then dependent on the kingdom of Hia, whose king, Li-ngan-tsuen, sent his son with an army to oppose him, but he was beaten, and Kao-ling-Kong, his Lieutenant-General, was made prisoner. The Mongols then captured Uiraka (*i.e.*, the passage through the wall—Raschid calls it Erica, and in another place Erlaca,‡ and it is probably the Egrigaia of Marco Polo),§ they then took the fortress of I-men, crossed the Hoangho, and laid siege to Nin-hia fu, then called Chung hing, the capital of Hia (the Calatia of Marco Polo—it was formerly also called Hwai Yuen),‖ but the inhabitants opened the dykes of the river and flooded their camp. The Mongols then sent messengers into the city to treat. The king of Hia agreed to acknowledge their supremacy, and surrendered one of his daughters, who was sent to the harem of Jingis.¶ On his return to his yurt he found the Idikut of the Uighurs, Arslan Khan, chief of the Karliks (*i.e.*, the Turks of Kayalik), and Ozar, prince of Almalig, who had come to do him homage. Arslan Khan had recently followed the example of the Uighur prince, and had slain the deputy of his suzereign, the Khan of Kara Khitai. Jingis took him into his service, invested him with a golden girdle, and gave him a daughter of his house to wife. The Idikut asked that he might have some special mark of favour and be treated as his fifth son. To this he assented, and gave him his daughter Altun Bigi in marriage.** Ozar, prince of Almalig, was shortly after captured while hunting, and put to death by order of Gushluk. Jingis appointed his son Seknak Tekin to succeed him, and gave him the daughter of his eldest son Juji in marriage.††

The Khan of the Mongols now felt himself strong enough to undertake a much more important enterprise, namely to attack the empire of China.

* D'Ohsson, 110. † Erdmann, 314. ‡ De Mailla says Wuh-la-hai. Op. cit., 42. D'Ohsson, i. 106. § ‖ Porter Smith, op. cit., 5. ¶ D'Ohsson, i. 106. ** Erdmann, 315. †† D'Ohsson, i. 111.

That country was divided into two portions, the southern portion, with its capital at Lin-ngan (the later Hangchow, in Chekiang; it was also called Kinsai, and was so known to Marco Polo),* was under the native dynasty of the Sung; the northern portion, comprising the provinces of Pehchehli, Shansi, Shan-tung, Honan, the southern part of Shensi, and that part of Kiang Nan north of the Yellow River, with its capital at Yenking, near the modern Peking, was under the domination of the Kin emperors, the Tartar dynasty from which the Manchus eventually sprang. The Kin emperors dominated over Tartary, and among others the Khitans, the previous masters of Northern China, were their tributaries. Jingis Khan relied upon the assistance of these latter. He was also encouraged by some refugees, who reported to him that the Chinese were discontented with the Kin dynasty. During the reign of the emperor Chang tung, 1190-1208, his uncle Ta ngan, who held the fief of Wei in Honan,† had been sent into Tartary to collect tribute, and had used his influence to thwart the rise of Jingis.‡ In 1209 Ta ngan succeeded his nephew, and is known in Chinese history as Chong-hei. In 1209 he sent the usual embassy to Jingis to receive his tribute. Instead of kneeling to receive the Imperial commands he scornfully told the envoy that the "Son of Heaven" (the euphemism used by the Chinese when speaking of their emperors) ought to be an extraordinary person, but an imbecile like this Chong hei, was he worthy of a throne, or that he Temudjin should abase himself before him? Upon which he mounted his horse and rode away.

Having collected his officers, he recounted to them the injuries their ancestors had received at the hands of the Altan Khans, the good fortune that had hitherto attended his arms, which would probably continue, and his determination to resist the pretensions of the emperor. This address was well received, and it was determined to send one of the principal Mongols, named Jafar Khodsha, to the Altan Khan with a haughty message, reminding him that Jingis had risen from being a small chieftain to be the master of the desert. That his forces were well disciplined and well equipped. That fortune attended his arms in all directions, and that he was prepared for either peace or war, whichever the Kin emperor desired, but that he should no longer be his dependent. To this the emperor, who was naturally enraged, replied with some firmness and scorn,§ and Jingis prepared for war. On the mountain In-chan he made a solemn pact with a chief of the Khitans, in which a white horse and a black ox were sacrificed, and an arrow was broken while the parties faced towards the north. They swore mutual fidelity; the Khitan undertaking to serve the Mongols, while the latter undertook to restore the Khitans to the sovereignty of Liautung. The chief with

* Porter Smith, op. cit., 22 and 29. † Wolff, 54. ‡ De Guignes, iv. 26.
§ Erdmann, 317 and 318.

whom this treaty was made was named Yeliu Liuko. He was a scion of the old royal family of the Liau, and lived at Tsien-u, on the northern frontier.

Before setting out, Jingis climbed a mountain, and, having unloosed his girdle, addressed a prayer to the gods, in which he mentioned the murder of his relatives Ugin Berkak and Hemukai Khan by the Kin emperors; how he was now setting out to claim vengeance for their blood, and prayed that victory might rest with those who had the right on their side.* Having left his trusty commander and son-in-law, Thugadshar Noyan, with a corps of 2,000 men to keep a watch on the newly conquered tribes, he set out in March, 1211, from the river Kerulan. His four sons accompanied him. He had first to cross the desert of Gobi, which then bordered the Mongol tribes on the south, and then came to the province of Shansi, whose northern frontier was protected by the rampart of earth and bricks, with its occasional towers, widely celebrated as the Great Chinese Wall. The Onguts, who garrisoned the wall, treacherously went over to the invaders. It would seem that their chief, Alausse or Alakush, was the chief influence among them which was favourable to the Mongols, and that the tribesmen were by no means so well affected.† At all events, we are told that shortly after this Alausse was put to death by his officers, and his nephew Sengun succeeded him.‡

Chepe Noyan commanded the right wing; Jingis's three sons, Juji, Ogotai, and Jagatai commanded the left wing; while he himself with his youngest son Tuli was in the centre. Chepe, with the *élite* of the Mongol army, forced several posts of the Great Wall situated to the north-east and north-west of Tai tong fu, then called Si king, or the western court.§ He then advanced and plundered the country to within a short distance of the Kin capital Tung king. Jingis himself invaded the province of Pehchehli. After the capture of the town of Fu chau, he advanced to the mountain, Ye hu ling, situated seven or eight leagues from Siuen-hwa-fu.‖ The Kin generals, with an army which has been calculated at the absurd number of 400,000, were encamped close by. They deemed it a good opportunity for attacking him while his horses were emaciated from hard service, and the troops demoralised by the recent plunder of Fu chau. Jingis was informed of the plan; he was also joined by Ming-ngan (a Kin general in command of the advance guard), who deserted to him. The Mongols made the necessary arrangements; attacked and defeated one division of the Kin army, under the general Kiukien. The main army, under Wainen Hosho, upon this retired hastily, and was pursued to the fortress of Hoi ho pu on the river Hoi, where it was attacked and cut to pieces.¶ A general whose name is not

* Erdmann, 319. † De Mailla, 35. ‡ D'Ohsson, i. 129. Note. § De Guignes, iv. 28. ‖ 40.38 N.L. 115 E. Porter Smith, op. cit., 49. ¶ D'Ohsson, i. 130 131.

mentioned, but De Guignes says he was a Guebre or Fire Worshipper, now attacked the strong fort of Kiu yong koan, situated at the head of a defile four leagues long, leading to the capital. This was abandoned in a cowardly manner by its commander, and the Mongols took possession of it. Meanwhile the third army, commanded by the three sons of Jingis, overran six districts north of the Great Wall of Shansi, while another division conquered the frontier country of Pehchehli.* The list of Mongol conquests in China is monotonous and not very easy to follow. At length in August, 1212, Jingis laid siege to Tai-tong-fu. This successfully resisted his attack, and, having been wounded by an arrow, he retired once more into the desert. His invasion of China had been an almost continuous success. He had broken the prestige of the Kin soldiery and had tested the skill of his officers, among whom Chepé, Mukuli Subutai and his brother Juji Kassar had greatly distinguished themselves. While the great invasion was going on, his ally Yeliu Liuko, who had raised a considerable army and was assisted by a contingent of 3,000 Mongols, defeated the Kin general Ho-sho, who was at the head of 60,000 men. Jingis now sent his able officer Chepe to help him. He laid siege to Liauyang (also called Tung king, or the eastern residence), the capital of Liautung, which was shortly afterwards captured. Yeliu Liuko, with the consent of Jingis, took the title of king of Liau, and fixed his capital at Hienping.

When the Mongols retired, the Kin soldiers reoccupied many of the towns the former had captured, but they did not hold them long. In the autumn of 1213, Jingis once more entered China and overran a large part of Pehchehli. The list of his captures occupies a closely packed page of D'Ohsson's history (i. 136). It is too monotonous to extract. But meanwhile a serious revolution occurred elsewhere. A general of the empire called Hushaku, who had been an exile and very destitute, and had been suddenly raised to his present position, conspired against the emperor, had him seized in his palace, and a few days afterwards murdered him, and placed Utubu, a brother of the murdered emperor and a creature of his own, on the throne. He then fought a battle with the Mongols, in which he was successful. The following day they renewed the combat, and Kaoki, who commanded the Imperial forces in the absence of Hushaku who had been wounded, was defeated. Fearing the vengeance of the latter he forestalled him and had him murdered. Having cut off his head he presented it to the emperor, who rewarded his unsoldierly conduct by making him generalissimo of his forces.

Meanwhile the Tanguts of Hia invaded the west of the empire. When they had been recently attacked by the Mongols they had asked assistance from the Kin emperor, and as this had been refused they

* D'Ohsson, i. 132.

were piqued, made terms with the Mongols, and now attacked the frontier town of Kia chau in Shensi.* Many Chinese had joined the standard of Jingis, and to conciliate them he appointed Chinamen to command them. He also adopted the clever plan of making the women, the aged, and the children march in front of his army, so that if attacked they would be the first victims. Leaving a corps of observation in the north he divided his army into three divisions, one of which overran Shansi; a second, the maritime districts of Pehchehli and the district of Liau si. The third, under his own orders, conquered the interior districts of Pehchehli and Shan tung.† They ravaged ninety flourishing towns, compelling the rural population, as they went along, to construct the siege works. In this war, in which a great part of the country north of the Yellow river was overrun, the Mongols captured an immense booty; gold and silken tissues, cattle, horses, and slaves. The Mongol armies were all reunited not far from Yen king, and Jingis sent to the emperor to offer terms, these were accepted. Utubu gave Jingis one of the daughters of the deceased emperor Chong hei in marriage, and with her a great quantity of precious articles, 500 youths, 500 girls, and 3,000 horses. D'Ohsson says that Jingis in retiring from the country made a general massacre of his prisoners.

The Kin emperor having got rid of his great enemy, proclaimed a general amnesty, and then removed his residence and court to his southern capital, Pien king, now Kai fung fu. This aroused the jealousy of Jingis, and as at the same time a leader of irregular troops in the Imperial service called Choda (he is called Kanta by Gaubil), revolted and asked his assistance, he once more ordered his Mongols to cross the frontier. They speedily invested Yen-king, and defeated the armies sent to its relief. The commander, despairing of success, poisoned himself, after having composed a monitory address to his emperor, in which he set out the measures necessary to save the empire. The commander who replaced him escaped from the city in a most cowardly manner, and the Mongols entered it. Here they made a general carnage; they fired the emperor's palace, which is said to have continued burning for a month, and then despatched a vast booty to Jingis Khan. Among the captives was a Khitan whose long beard, great stature, and imposing voice, are recorded as having impressed his conqueror very much. Jingis addressed him: "The houses of the Liau and Kin have always been enemies, I have avenged thee." Khu-tsai, such was his name, replied: "My father, grandfather, and myself have been the subjects and servants of the Kin Emperors; it is not seemly that I should abuse them." Touched by his fidelity, Jingis took him into his house, made him court astrologer, and deputed to him especially the duty of consulting the divination by means of burnt shoulder blades of sheep, a practice still

* Gaubil, 21. † D'Ohsson, i. 140.

frequent among the Mongols.* He became the trusty councillor of Ogotai, *vide infra.* The chief heroes of the capture of the northern capital of the Kin were the Mongol generals Samuka Behadur and Mingan. Jingis was determined to push on his success. He despatched Samuka with 10,000 men, with orders to march by way of Hia and to force the pass of Tung kwan, the celebrated passage through the mountains which separates the provinces of Shensi and Honan, and is in fact the key to the latter. After attacking it in vain he succeeded in turning it, and clambered over the ravines and rocks—according to De Mailla using lances and boughs of trees lashed together with chains as a roadway for his cavalry. Having thus crossed the mountains he penetrated into the heart of Honan, but was there beaten and had to retire rapidly; his troops crossed the Yellow river on the ice. He did not retire far, and next year again crossed the river, captured the fort of Tung kwan and several cities, and laid siege to the capital, but not having a sufficient force he retired again, and was soon after defeated near Pen yan fu, in Shan-si.

Meanwhile the emperor had sent an army to recover possession of Liautung, which, from its natural strength, having three sides defended by the sea, was treated as a place of refuge, in case of disaster, by the court. This army had driven out Yeliu Liuko, *soi-disant* king of Liautung, and captured his capital. Jingis sent his most trusty general Mukuli with an army to reinstate his protegé. Mukuli attacked Tung-king, which he captured, by a ruse. One of the emperor's messengers, on his way there, was captured and put to death, and his patent of office having been secured, a trusty Mongol was substituted for him. He presented himself at the city, was not suspected, reported that everything was again quiet at the Imperial court, and that the soldiers should be disbanded. Hardly was this done when Mukuli appeared with his army, and occupied the town without shooting an arrow. This conquest, says De Mailla, secured to the Mongols several thousand li of territory, 180,000 families, 100,000 soldiers, and an immense store of riches. Of thirty-two towns of Liautung, all except Tai ning were captured. Mukuli now advanced into Liau Si, *i.e.*, Liau West.

He was met in the country of the Hoa tao by the Kin general Intsing, who had an army of 200,000 men. This, according to Gaubil, was filled with traitors, and partially dispersed. The Imperial general was assassinated, and another named Ilduku put in his place. Having ventured on a battle, he was beaten, and the Peking, or northern capital, which then was the city of Ta ning fu, fell into the hands of the Mongols. Ilduku was appointed its governor. Mukuli put down a fresh rebellion and killed its leaders, and having reduced the two important provinces of Liautung and Liau Si to order, he returned to the camp of Jingis, who received him with great honour, pronounced an eulogium upon him, gave

* D'Ohsson, i. 149.

him the title of Kuéwang, with remainder to his descendants, and named him his lieutenant-general in China.*

In 1218 Mukuli set out to finish the conquest of the Kin empire. His army, we are told, consisted of a tuman (*i.e.*, 10,000 men) of Unkuts, a Hezareh (*i.e.*, 1,000 men) of Menkuts, three Hezarehs of Kunkurats, two Hezarehs of Jelairs, one Hezareh of Kushikuls, four Hezarehs of Uirats, two Hezarehs of Angirasses, and two divisions of Khitans and Niutchis, commanded by their own leaders Oya and Tughan. The exploits of this army I shall revert to presently.

The same year Jingis sent another expedition against Hia or Tangut Li tzun hien, who had succeeded his father as king of Hia, was besieged in the royal city, and then forced to take refuge at Sileang, the modern province of Liang chau fu in Kan su. About the same time Corea, which had been much harassed by the Mongols, acknowledged the supremacy of Jingis.

The great conqueror now turned his arms against the empire that bounded his dominions on the west, where one of his persistent enemies had recently usurped authority.

The empire of Kara Khitai had been founded by a fugitive from China, a scion of the royal race of the Liau or Khitan dynasty, who escaped when that dynasty was overturned and ejected by the Juchi or Kin. Its sovereigns were styled the Gur Khans. They ruled immediately over the area known to the older geographers as Little Bucharia and Soongaria, the Arslan Khans of Kashgar and the chiefs of the Uighurs were dependent upon them, so were the powerful Khuarezm Shahs. In 1208, Kushluk, the son Tayang Khan, of the Naimans, took refuge at their court. The Gur Khan was then a weak prince, the Naiman treacherous and crafty. He asked permission to collect the debris of his father's army, which was then scattered in the countries of Imil, Kayalik, and Bishbalik. The Gur Khan allowed him to do so, gave him the title of Gushluk Khan, and also gave him his daughter in marriage. He speedily collected an army, was joined by a chief of the Merkits, and then with monstrous treachery leagued himself with Muhammed the Khuarezm Shah, who had lately broken his allegiance, to overturn the power of his patron and protector the Gur Khan. Gushluk pillaged the treasury at Uzkend, but was shortly after beaten by the troops of Kara Khitai. They in turn were defeated near Taraz by Muhammed, and Gushluk taking advantage of the dissensions among his generals made the Gur Khan prisoner; he left him the title of sovereign, which he lived only two years to enjoy. Gushluk then succeeded to the throne. He attacked and killed the Khan of Almalig, and ravaged the country of Kashgar, whose inhabitants refused to acknowledge his supremacy. D'Ohsson says, that having been brought up a Christian, he embraced Buddhism on the solicitation

* D'Ohsson, i. 159.

of his wife, a daughter of the Gur Khan. Having conquered Khoten he wished its inhabitants to abjure Muhammedanism, for which he was sharply attacked by the Imam, whom he thereupon crucified.

Master of a wide empire, he was now in a position to beard the Mongol Khan, who had so severely beaten his father. He first overran the country of the Uighurs, whose chief was absent in China fighting under the Mongol banner. He sent two of the sons of Tukta the Merkit chief to raise the Merkits and the Kirghises, and a brother of Tukta's to the Kokonoor to do the same for the Tumeds or Tumats.* Jingis who had, as I have said, appointed Mukuli his deputy in China, sent messengers to Mohammed the Khuarezm Shah to ask him not to afford Kushluk any assistance. He deputed his trusty general Chepé Noyan to attack Gushluk. Subutai Bahadar was sent against the Merkits:—they were attacked near Lake Kossagol, between the Selinga and the Upper Jenissei, and three of Tukta's sons were killed, a fourth was captured and taken before Juji, Jingis's eldest son. He was a renowned archer, and to show his prowess shot at a mark, and then sent a second arrow which shivered the first to pieces. Juji would have saved the captive, but his father was inexorable, and the young prince was killed. Juji himself went to the Ubsa Noor against the hordes of the Uze Khan, *i.e.*, the original Ghuses or Eastern Turks, and the Samoyedic tribes of the Sayanian mountains, called Kuleangukecks or Ulean hai, the Hanasa or Hanhonas, and the Tamihoinirkan or Kamnikhan.†

Another army, under the command of Burghul Noyan, punished the rebellious Tumeds (probably the division of the Keraits called Tumauts or Tumeds), who were ruled over by Tatulak Sukar. They too were subdued.

Meanwhile, and during the year 1217, Chepé Noyan marched against Gushluk, who was then at Kashgar, the sovereign of which he had killed, and where he was very unpopular. On the approach of Chepé, who proclaimed religious toleration to the inhabitants, the latter seized on such of Gushluk's officers as they could lay hands upon and put them to death. Sharply pursued Gushluk fled to the great table land of Pamir, and took refuge in the defile of Weradin in Badakshan. There he was captured and taken to Chepé, who had him beheaded. His head was sent on to Jingis as a trophy. By the overthrow of Gushluk the Mongol dominion was extended over the provinces of Kashgar, Yarkand, and Khoten, and also over the horde of Kankalis that still encamped in the old country of the race about the Balkash sea.‡

The dominions of Jingis were now conterminous with those of Muhammed the Khuarezm Shah. This vast empire extended from the Sihun to the Persian Gulf, and from the Indus to Irak Aréb and Azerbaidjan. Its then ruler, Muhammed, who had succeeded his father in

* Wolff, 61. † Wolff, 62. ‡ Wolff, 60.

the year 1200, had already extended his dominion by the conquest of Balkh, Herat, and all Khorassan. In 1208-9 he broke his allegiance to the Gur Khan, and in the next year he subdued Trans-Oxiana. In 1212-13 he annexed the principality of Gur, and three years later that of Ghazni. Here he discovered that the caliph of Bagdad had been intriguing against him; he thereupon marched an army against him, overran Irak-Adjem, and was only prevented from taking Bagdad by the severity of the winter and the incessant attacks of the Kurds and other nomades.

The mother of Muhammed was Turkan Khatuna. She belonged to the Turkish tribe of the Kankalis, who then dominated over the steppes north of the Aral. On her marriage many chiefs and tribes of that race entered into the service of the Khuarezm Shah; they formed quite a separate element in the population, a kind of military aristocracy, like the later Mameluks, over which the Sultana had great influence, and through which she had almost equal authority with her son. On his return from Irak, Muhammed came to Bukharia, where he received some envoys from Jingis Khan, who brought him presents of silver bars, musk, jade, costly dresses of white wool called tarkoul (made of white camels' hair, and costing fifty *dinars* each), with the message: "I send these greeting, I know thy power and the vast extent of thine empire, I regard thee as my most cherished son. On thy part, thou must know that I have conquered China and all the Turkish nations north of it; thou knowest that my country is a magazine of warriors, a mine of silver, and that I have no need of other lands. I take it we have an equal interest in encouraging trade between our subjects." This good feeling was apparently reciprocated by Muhammed, but an unfortunate occurrence soon caused a serious quarrel between them; some agents of Jingis who had gone to buy merchandise for him in Trans-Oxiana were seized as spies at Otrar and executed by Inallzig, the chief of the Kankalis encamped there, and with the approval of Muhammed. Jingis sent envoys to demand that the governor of Otrar should be handed over to him, in default of which he would declare war. Muhammed's ruthless answer was to murder Bagra, the chief envoy, and to send the other two back with their beards cut off. He then, without declaring war, led an army into the steppes north of the Jaxartes. War was now inevitable, and Jingis having called a Kuriltai, it was determined to prosecute it vigorously. It would seem that he was encouraged to proceed by the invitation of the Khalif Nassir, who was a deadly enemy of Muhammed, the latter having attempted to displace him and to put a nominee of his own on the throne of Baghdad.*

In the spring of 1218 Jingis set out from Karakorum and summered his cavalry on the Irtish; with him marched the princes of the Uighurs and the Karluks, and the chief of Almalig. From the Irtish the Mongol Khan

* D'Ohsson, i. 211. Note. De Guignes, iv. 42.

directed that his army should advance upon the Khuarezmian empire by two grand routes. The northern army under the command of his second son Jagatai marched against the Kankalis, who defended the country about the Balkash sea and Karatag mountains. The southern army under his eldest son Juji, who had rejoined his father after his campaign in the north of Sungaria, marched by way of Utsh Turfan and Pidshan, and drove the broken remnants of Kushluk's former army towards Kashgar, and then on through the passes of Akizek, Terek, and Tazik in the Asfera range, and into Ferghana. The fugitives wished to join a body of Muhammed's troops who were in the neighbourhood of Khokand or Khodjend. They were overtaken between the river of Ush, also called Takti Soliman, Kamuksu, or Kamzi, and the river of Keba, both small tributaries of the Jaxartes, probably near Ardana, and were cut to pieces, except a few who escaped or were taken prisoners.* Muhammed's forces amounted it is said to 400,000 men, who were ill-disciplined and disintegrated, while he himself had lost the confidence of his younger days. The approach of the Mongols from this side was unexpected; he put his people in motion and set them out in battle array between Ush and Sangar. The Mongol chiefs wished to retire and to draw the Sultan's army into the narrow passes, where a small force might easily resist a large one; but Juji was of a different opinion. He ordered the attack; a savage fight ensued, during which in his eagerness he was nearly captured or killed, and was saved by the timely succour of Pi tu, the son of Je lu lieu ko, who had been appointed king of Liautung by Jingis, the Khuarezmian army was defeated, and if we are to believe the chroniclers who deal in hyberbolic phrases, the loss in killed, wounded, and fugitives was 160,000. Muhammed now determined to avoid meeting the Mongols in the open field, but to scatter his army among the towns of Mavera ul nehr and Khuarezm, in the vain hope that the Mongols would be content with ravaging the open country, and then return with their booty. He himself retired to Samarkand, and his retirement broke down to a large extent the spirit of his subjects.†

While Juji was invading Trans-Oxiana from the east, the other sections of the Mongol army were marching down upon the doomed garden of Asia from the north. Otrar was the main point of attack. It is the key to the fertile province to the south of the Jaxartes called Mavera ul nehr by the Arabs, and known in the west as Trans-Oxiana, names equivalent to Mesopotamia, Entre Rios, and the Doub in other countries, bounded on the north by the Jaxartes or Sihun, on the south by the Oxus or Jihun, and on the east and west by the mountains of Pamir and the Khorassan sand-wastes respectively. The Mongol army was divided into four corps, the first of which commanded by Jagatai and Ogotai, the sons of Jingis, invested Otrar. Planted as a garrison on this

* Wolff, 65. † Wolff, 66.

frontier were a body of Kankalis under their chief Inallzik, who had been granted the title of Gur Khan by the former chief of Kara Khitai,* and who had precipitated the war as I have described by putting the envoys of Jingis to death. His army mustered about 50,000, and he was now reinforced by a further body of 10,000, who were sent him by Muhammed under Karadshar Hadshib, who was his vizier.

The army that marched against Otrar was commanded by Jagatai and Ogotai, the second and third sons of Jingis. After a siege of five months, from the end of November, 1218, to the end of April, 1219, the garrison became hard pressed, and as Inallzik refused to surrender, Karadshar, with the *élite* of the soldiers, left the town at night, and deserted to the Mongols. They were put to death—the Draconic sentence of the Mongols being that one who was faithless to his own sovereign would prove so to them. Inallzik, with 20,000 of his followers, now took refuge in the citadel, where he held out for two months. The place was then stormed and its garrison put to death. Inallzik escaped with two men to his home, and when they were killed the story goes that he hurled bricks at his pursuers, which were handed to him by his wife. He was at length captured alive, and was put to death by having melted silver poured into his ears and eyes, a retribution it is said for his avarice. The walls of Otrar were razed and the place was pillaged, but the lives of the inhabitants were spared; but the siege had already cost the lives of 100,000 soldiers and 200,000 civilians. While this siege was going on Juji, who had defeated the Khuarezmian army as I have described, proceeded to subdue and overrun the country of Eastern Ferghana. Among its towns most celebrated in later days was Sighnak, which Wolff identifies with the Senderach of Edrisi and the Senkharab or Sengar of other authors, which is situated four or five miles south-east of Ush on the mountain road to Kashgar.† It was afterwards the capital of the White Horde Juji was ordered to treat the inhabitants with tenderness. He sent forward one Hassan Hadji, or the pilgrim, who had traded with the Mongols, to summon the town. Treating him as a traitor, the inhabitants put him to death. To revenge this, Juji pressed the attack with vigour, and after seven days of severe fighting captured it and made a general massacre of its inhabitants. He then captured and pillaged Uzkend, Barkhaligkend, and Eshnass.‡ The strong city of Jend was his next goal. Its governor, Kutluk Khan, deserted it in the night. This caused great confusion inside, and prevented preparations for defence. Its high walls were speedily scaled; the lives of its inhabitants were spared, but they were driven into the open country for nine days, while the town was given up to pillage. Juji appointed Ali Khodja of Bokhara to be its governor. He then captured the town of Yengigent (*i.e.* Newtown),

* Wolff, 60. † Wolff, 71. ‡ Schass of Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 79.

situated on the Jaxartes, at two days' journey from its outlet into the sea of Aral.

We are now told that the Ulus Bede, probably the Uighurs, desiring to return home, were sent back to Karakorum, and were replaced by 10,000 Turkomans.* (Von Hammer and D'Ohsson say expressly it was 10,000 Uighurs who thus returned home.) These Turkomans were sent with other troops into Khuarezm, but having killed their commander, they were attacked by the other Mongols and dispersed. The remnant sought refuge at Amuyeh and Meru. As a diversion to draw off some of the troops of Ferghanah from attacking Juji, Jingis had despatched a third army, consisting of 5,000 men, under Suktu Buka and Alan Noyon, who first captured the old city of Aksi, formerly the capital of Ferghanah, they then attacked Benaket which was garrisoned by some Kankalis. After a short resistance they surrendered, hoping for mercy, but it availed them nothing. As the town had not surrendered at once the soldiery were put to death, the artisans were divided as prisoners among the Mongols. This division then attacked Khodjend, a beautiful town on the Jaxartes, famous for its gardens and fruits, for its trade, and the bravery of its inhabitants. Its governor was an intrepid warrior called Timur-Melik, he retired with 1,000 men to a small island in the Jaxartes, out of reach of weapons from either bank. The Mongols forced the country people to carry stones to make a causeway to the island. Meanwhile Timur-Melik was indefatigable in destroying the besiegers' works. He built twelve large boats, protected by felts and other coverings from the stink-pots of the Mongols; with these he made raids on the besiegers and their workmen, but hard pressed he was at length obliged to fly. Having embarked his troops and valuables on seventy boats, he trusted himself to the river. He broke past Benaket, where a chain had been stretched across. At Jend a bridge of boats had been built as a barrier, and balistas and other primitive cannon were planted on the banks. These forced him to land, he gave battle to the Mongols several times, but his force gradually diminished until he was left alone, and alone he reached Urgendj. Having collected a few troops, he returned and surprised Yengigent, and killed its governor, a nominee of the Mongols. He afterwards joined his master, the Khuarezm Shah. His intrepidity was long remembered. Oriental historians quote the adage that "if Rustem were still alive he might be his page." †

While these three divisions were successfully overrunning the country watered by the Jaxartes, Jingis and his younger son Tului advanced with the main army towards Bokhara. With him went two bodies of balisters, the primitive artillery of the Mongols. The towns of Tashkend (not Sertak, as the translator of Abulghazi says)‡ and Nur or Nurata surrendered as he approached; the inhabitants were well

* Erdmann, 374. † Vambery's Bokharah, 125. ‡ Wolff, 69.

treated, merely paying a ransom and supplying a contingent of young men to the Mongol army. Jingis ordered the name of the former town to be changed to Kutluk balig, *i.e.* Lucky city. At the latter we are told that the ear-rings of the women collected on the spot made up one-half the amount of 1,500 *dinars*, which was claimed as ransom. This is no bad evidence of the prosperous condition of the inhabitants.

Bokhara was defended by 20,000 soldiers. It was then a very large and magnificent city. "Its name, according to the historian Alai-ud-din, is derived from Bokhar, which in the Magian language means the 'centre of science.'"* In the time of Ibn Haukal it was surrounded by two walls, the inner, one *parasang* in circuit, the outer, twelve *parasangs;* between the two were palaces, parks, gardens, and villages. The river of Sogd traversed its faubourgs. It was on the 19th of June, 1219, that Jingis appeared before the city.†

After several days' siege the garrison despairing of success forced its way through the Mongol lines, but was subsequently attacked and almost destroyed. The next day the Imams and great men came to surrender the city. The Mongol chief, we are told, entered it to see; arrived at the great mosque, he asked if this was the Sultan's palace; on being told it was the house of God he dismounted, climbed the steps, and said in a loud voice to his followers, "The hay is cut, give your horses fodder."‡ They easily understood this cynical invitation to plunder, and meanwhile the boxes in which the *korans* were kept were converted into mangers; the sacred books were trampled under the horses' hoofs. As if this was not enough insult, the floor of the mosque was strewn with wine skins, singing-women were introduced into the building, and a scene of debauchery ensued, during which the Imams, doctors of the law, &c., were compelled to hold the horses' bridles. Jingis Khan then collected the chief inhabitants in the Mosalla or place set apart for public prayer, and thus addressed them, "You have committed great faults, and the chiefs and leaders of the people are the greatest criminals. If you need any proof of my statement, I answer that I am the scourge of God. If you were not great criminals, God would not have permitted me to have thus punished you." He further bade them disclose all their hidden treasure, and not mind making any return about that that was not hidden, as he could easily find that. The inhabitants were ordered to leave the town in a body, with only their clothes, so that it might be more easily pillaged, after which the spoil was divided among the victors. "It was a fearful day," says Ibn al Ithir, "one only heard the sobs and weeping of men, women, and children, who were separated for ever; women were ravished, while many men died rather than survive the dishonour of their wives and daughters." The Mongols ended by setting fire to all the

* D'Ohsson, i. 229. † Wolff, 69.

‡ Vambery's Bokharah, 28.

wooden portion of the town, and only the great mosque and certain palaces which which were built of brick remained standing.*

Von Hammer compares with force the accounts of the capture of Bokhara given by the Mussulman historians with the Byzantine descriptions of the capture of Constantinople. The Kankalis who garrisoned Bokhara were as usual put to death, according to Erdmann to the number of 30,000, and the city remained desolate for a long time. The young men were sent to do sappers' work at the siege of Samarkand, to which Jingis now turned. He advanced along the beautiful valley of Sogd, the paradise described so enthusiastically by Persian authors. Muhammed had sometime before deserted his capital and retired across the Oxus towards Termed.†

Samarkand was not only the capital of Trans-Oxiana, but also one of of the greatest *entrepots* of commerce in the world. Three miles in circumference, it was surrounded with a wall having castles at intervals, and pierced by twelve iron gates; was then garrisoned by 110,000 men, of whom 60,000 were Turkomans and Kankalis, and 50,000 Tajiks or Persians. There were also twenty war elephants attached to the army. Jingis was joined by the three armies that had overrun Northern Trans-Oxiana, which converged upon the doomed town, and an immense body of men invested it. The Turkish mercenaries, who thought they would be treated as compatriots by the Mongols, deserted in a body with their families and property. Upon this the Imams and chief men came out and offered to surrender. The inhabitants were, as before, told to go out of the city while it should be plundered; 30,000 artisans were assigned as slaves to his several sons, an equal number were set aside for military works, transport service, &c., while 50,000 were permitted to re-occupy the ruined city after paying a ransom of 200,000 pieces of gold, and the province of Samarkand was almost depopulated. The hardest fate was that of the Kankalis who had deserted. Having separated them from the Persians, they were lulled into security by being ordered to adopt the military dress of the Mongols, and then slaughtered to the number of 30,000, with their principal chiefs Barishniaz Khan, Togai Khan, Sarsig Khan, Ulag Khan, &c.‡ It is hard to divine a reason for this barbarous act, unless it was a fear of the turbulence of these mercenaries. Meanwhile, Muhammed had deserted his richest province. As the Mongols advanced into Trans-Oxiana he retired to Nakhsheb, his irresolution being increased by the divergence of his councillors. As he retired he recommended the inhabitants to submit, as his soldiers could not protect them. When he reached Balkh he was joined by one of his viziers called Amad-ul-mulk, who persuaded him to retreat to Irak Adjem. His Turkish soldiers began to be treacherous, and he had to change his tent every night to escape assassination. On the eighteenth of April

* D'Ohsson, i. 231-234. † Erdmann, 383. ‡ Erdmann, Note 274.

he halted at Nishapoor, and on the twelfth of May, having heard that the Mongols had crossed the frontier of Khorassan, he hastily left that town with a small retinue under the pretence of a hunting expedition.

After the capture of Samarkand Jingis remained in its fruitful neighbourhood until May, 1220, when having sent on three armies in pursuit of Muhammed, as I shall presently describe, he himself moved a short distance southwards, and spent the summer in the beautiful district of Kesh or Shehr Sebz, *i.e.*, the Green town, situated on the river Koshka or Kasaban. In the autumn he broke through the pass in the Karatag chain, called the Derbend Kaluga or Iron Gate, and advanced upon Termed, situated on the north bank of the Oxus. Having refused the summons to open its gates and to demolish its walls and citadel, it was captured after a siege of nine days. Its inhabitants were ordered to evacuate it and were all slaughtered.

An incident of the capture is worth repeating, an old woman on the point of being killed, said she had a magnificent pearl which she would give them if they spared her, when they demanded it she told them she had swallowed it, upon which she was disembowelled. Jingis ordered the other corpses to be dealt with in the same way and searched for similar treasure.

While near Termed he ordered a grand hunt to be held. Such a hunt will be described below. This one was on a very large scale, and lasted four months.* After the hunt he ravaged the districts of Kunkurt and Saman, and sent an army to conquer Badakshan. He was now master of the wide country north of the Oxus. All Turan was his, and having no enemy to dread in his rear, he determined to cross the Oxus. He first destroyed or dispersed the fleet which defended it by means of showers of burning missiles, probably stink-pots, which were supplied him by one of his Chinese officers, named Ko pao yu.† Having crossed the river, he advanced against Balkh, the cradle of the earliest traditions of the Arian race, a very populous and wealthy city, then containing 1,200 medsheds or great mosques, besides lesser ones, and 200 public baths. It was unfortified. The inhabitants sent him presents and submitted to him, but he was afraid to leave it behind him. On pretence of numbering its inhabitants he enticed them out of the city and then slaughtered them; the city itself was reduced to ashes. A fearful treatment for so slight a pretext.

Jingis now sent his son Tului with 70,000 men to ravage Khorassan, while he himself went eastward to Tokharistan to lay siege to Talikhan.

While Jingis loitered with his forces in the beautiful meadows of Sogd, after the capture of Samarkand, he despatched Chepé Noyan and Subutai Behadur, two well-tried chiefs, each with a tuman, *i.e.*, 10,000 men,

* Erdmann, 402-4. † Wolff, 77.

in pursuit of Muhammed.* Erdmann's mention of a third tuman under Tuktai is, I believe, a mistake. He ordered them to chase Muhammed wherever he should go. They crossed the Oxus at Pendjab, making trunks out of branches covered with hides in which they placed their arms and valuables, and fastening them to the tails of their horses forded the river.†

Khorassan was then a rich and prosperous province, divided into four departments, whose chief towns were Meru, Herat, Nishapoor, and Balkh.

Balkh submitted at the approach of the Mongols, who appointed a governor, and hearing that Muhammed had fled westward, they passed on to Andekuh, and thence advanced to Herat, whose governor, Amin Malek, sent out envoys offering to hold himself as the slave of the Grand Khan, and bearing presents. Chepé and Subutai upon this again advanced. A small town in the neighbourhood of Herat, called Zaweh, now known as Turbut Haidari, dared to beard them, and its garrison reviled them from the ramparts. Three days sufficed for its capture. Its inhabitants were put to death.‡ On the 5th of June the Mongol advanced guard arrived before Nishapoor. On being summoned, the governor replied that the city had been entrusted to him by the Sultan, that he was an old man, and that he only knew how to use the pen. "Speed on after him," he said, "when you have overcome him then will I be your man." Meanwhile he sent envoys to the Mongol camp with presents. A letter of Jingis Khan's, written in the Uighur character, and phrased as follows, was sent to the inhabitants:—"Commanders, elders, and commonalty, know that God has given me the empire of the earth from the east to the west, whoever submits shall be spared, but those who resist, they shall be destroyed with their wives, children, and dependents." The town was spared on this occasion. Having victualled their troops there, and having thus warned them the Mongol army, which was joined by bands of brigands and renegade Turks, moved on in pursuit of Muhammed.§ He had retired from Nishapoor under pretence of a hunting excursion, leaving a considerable garrison there, and having placed his wife and his youngest son, Ghiazzedin, in the fort of Karendar, deemed the stronghold of Khorassan, went to Bostan, on the borders of Khorassan and Mazanderan and thence to Kazvin. The two Mongol commanders followed in his wake. They scoured the country effectually; crossing the mountains they appeared before Thus or Toos, whose inhabitants were not submissive, and they consequently ravaged the district terribly.‖ They then passed through the beautiful wooded district of Radegan to Koochan or Kabooshan, plundering and appropriating such food and clothing as they needed, and leaving commanders or

* D'Ohsson, i. 240. Von Hammer's Golden Horde, 81. † D'Ohsson, i. 244.
‡ D'Ohsson, i. 245. Erdmann, 392. § D'Ohsson, i. 245-8. Erdmann, 394. ‖ Erdmann, 395.

deputies in each town.* Their way led them through Bostan. There apparently the two commanders separated. Subutai marched through the district of Kumuss towards Jeferan, and savagely attacked Sarabad (? Shah-rood), Dameghan, and Semnoon.† Chepé made a detour through Mazanderan, where he captured the principal city, which was probably Sari;‡ then crossing the Elburz chain, through the mountain region of Bariyan, and past the fortress of Ilak, probably the modern fort of Ask or Asek, eight or nine miles south of Amol. This fortress was protected by its position, and the Mongols passed it by, unaware it would seem that Turkhan Khatun, the Sultan's mother, and her young children were then hiding there. Their next goal was the fortress of Rudin, the modern Rudehan, not far from Demavend.§ Muhammed had meanwhile fled in the direction of Hamadan, and Chepé set out in pursuit of him, while Subutai marched upon Kazvin. Both were towns of Irak Adjem, a province separated by deserts from Khorassan, Fars, and Kerman, and crowded with mountains, many of which are snow-covered, whence its Arab name of Jibal. The army of Irak, 30,000 in number, was collected under the walls of Kasvin, under the command of Rokn-ud-din, the son of Muhammed. Chepé captured Kum, then advanced to Rudbar and Hamadan; the latter was a famous and rich town of Irak. Its governor sent him presents and was submissive, and thus saved its inhabitants from attack. Chepé now seems to have rejoined Subutai before Kazvin, which was captured and 50,000 people slaughtered. Meanwhile Muhammed escaped to Maradaulat abad, south-east of Hamadan, where he and his son collected an army of from 20,000 to 30,000 men. This was attacked and dispersed. Rokn-un-din, the Sultan's son, fled to Kerman, the Sultan himself went first to Kurdistan and then to the strong fort of Karend, on the road from Kermandshah to Baghdad. There he was met by Hezar-Asb, the Prince of Luristan, a skilful commander. He tried to persuade his suzerein to retire behind the range that divides Fars from Luristan, where he might rely on the assistance of the Kurdish mountain tribes, but Muhammed was suspicious of this advice and preferred to make a stand in Irak; but the Mongols were at his heels. He passed through Mazanderan and Ghilan, where he arrived almost alone. At length he reached a village called Istidura by Abulghazi, and Astadad by Nissari. It is now called Astara, and is situated on the south-western shore of the Caspian. Thence he escaped to a small island in that sea, which is probably to be identified with Abiskhum, a day's journey from Astrabad. The Caspian is constantly shallowing, and it is now a peninsula, and called Gumish Tepe, *i.e.*, the Silver Hill. Ruins and many silver coins are found there.‖ Muhammed was suffering from an attack of pleurisy, and feeling his end approach he nominated his

* Erdmann, 395. † Erdmann, 395. ‡ Wolff, 80. § Wolff, 80.
‖ Wolff, 81.

son Jelal-ud-din as his successor, declaring that he was the only one able to save the empire; he girded his sword on him and ordered his younger sons to do him homage; he died directly after and was buried in the island. So poor was he that it is said he was buried without a shroud, and merely in his shirt. The date of his death was the 10th of January, 1221.* A date which has a terrible sound in it as it marks the rapidity with which so mighty a potentate as he was, was hunted down and destroyed.

Persian historians are much divided in their estimate of Muhammed; some endowing him with many soldierly virtues, others accusing him of love of luxury and dissipation. There can be little question about his wavering and decrepit conduct in the presence of the Mongols.

Let us again revert to Subutai and Chepé. Having captured Ardebil, the chief town of Eastern Azerbaidjan, they followed the Sultan to the southern coast of the Caspian, and then marched eastward again into Northern Khorassan, to cut off the retreat of the Khuarezmian princes. There they suffered some loss from an irregular chieftain named Inandj, who had assembled some troops in the mountains, at the sources of the rivers Gurgan and Attrek;† but having been joined by a reinforcement of 10,000 men, they made him retire to Nessa.

When Muhammed retired behind the Oxus, he sent word to his mother, Turkan Khatun, who governed at Urgendj (the modern Khiya), and with whom he was not on very good terms, to retire into Mazanderan. Jingis, who knew of the ill-feeling, tried to cajole her into deserting the cause of her son, and promised her the government of Khorassan. She did not reply however to his advances, and when she heard that Muhammed had retreated she murdered the several princes whose dominions Muhammed had occupied, and who were retained as prisoners at Urgendj; they were drowned in the Oxus, among these were two sons of Thogrul, the last Seljuk sultan of Irak, the prince of Balkh and his son, the lord of Termed, the princes of Bamiran and of Vakhsh, the two sons of the lord of Sighnak, the two sons of Mahmud, the last prince of Gur, and many others.‡ She then retired into Mazanderan, where she shut herself up in the fort of Ilak or Elek, now Al Ask. Subutai and Chepé returned once more to Kumuss, where they found the town of Dameghan deserted by its inhabitants, who had fled to the mountains. They attacked and plundered in their savage way Amol and other towns of Taberistan, and at length sat down to besiege the fortress of Ilak.

It was situated in a rainy district, and its builders had not made provision for a droughty season, which this proved to be; want of water compelled a capitulation after a resistance of three months. The Sultana and the Sultan's harem were sent as prisoners to Jingis Khan, who was then besieging Talikhan. Two of the princesses became wives of Jagatai; others

* Wolff, 81. † Wolff, 82. ‡ D'Ohsson, i. 258.

were given to Mongol officers. A son of Muhammed, who was still with the harem, was put to death. Two chests-full of precious stones also fell into the hands of the victors.* The rapid, persistent, and ubiquitous pursuit of Muhammed and his family, through an unknown and difficult country, may be read with profit by military critics, and speaks not less for the skill of the two Mongol commanders than for the discipline, courage, and endurance of their men.

The death of Muhammed and the capture of his harem by no means completed the work which the Mongols had prepared for themselves. It was their aim to tear up by the roots not only the main trunk but also the subordinate branches of the ruling family of Khuarezm. Several of Muhammed's sons were still at large and long and successfully evaded capture, but they were hotly pursued notwithstanding, and when we read the frightful chapter of human history which I shall presently shortly epitomise, and which describes the practical depopulation and destruction of the beautiful province of Khorassan, we must remember that the probable motive of it all was the assistance the fugitive princes ever received in this centre of their faith and of their race, and although the wolfish greed of blood and massacre, which must sicken every reader who follows the story, cannot be defended, yet it must be allowed that the treachery, fanaticism, and want of spirit of the Tajik and Turk frontagers of Persia—their ruling vices still—made the sword of terror the only means the isolated Mongols had of producing quiet and order, and in themselves invited at one time or other a fitting retribution. On the death of his father, Jelal-ud-din, who, as I have said, had been named his successor, made his way to Mangushlak, on the Caspian, whence he sent his two brothers Uzlak Sulan and Ak Sultan to Urgendj, where the Mongols had not yet appeared, to announce his accession. He shortly after followed. An army of 90,000 Kankalis was assembled there. These unruly troops either feared the strong hand of Jelal ud din, or despised his youth, or favoured some other pretenders, and plotted against his life. He fled with 300 companions, led by the brave defender of Khodjend, Timur Melik. Jingis, whose forces were now encamped near Naksheb, sent a large force under three of his sons to capture Urgendj, the capital of Khuarezm, and ordered the troops which had traversed Khorassan to form a cordon round the southern edge of the desert. Jelal-ud-din crossed the desert in sixteen days, and arrived at Shadbash, in the neighbourhood of Nessa.† Here he charged bravely into a body of Mongols, and managed to get away, and escaped to Ghazni. His two brothers, who soon after followed him, were less lucky. They were captured and beheaded, and their heads were shown about on spears. With them was taken much valuable booty.

We are told that the peasants of the canton of Vesht were greatly

* Wolff, 84. D'Ohsson, i. 259-261. † Erdmann, 408.

enriched by the number of precious stones captured from the Khuarezmians, which the Mongols, who did not know their value, sold them at an absurdly small price.

Meanwhile (*i.e.*, in May, 1220) the Mongol army marched upon Urgendj, the modern Khiva, the capital of the rich cluster of cities that then bordered the Oxus, a river very like the Nile in forming a strip of green across two sandy deserts which bound it on either hand. The Kankalis I have named were then its garrison. The Mongols were led by Juji, Jagatai, and Ogotai, the three eldest sons of Jingis, Juji having the supreme command. He summoned the inhabitants to surrender, offering them easy terms. His father, he told them, had made him a present of their country, and he wished the city to preserve its beauty and prosperity. The summons was without avail, and the siege proceeded. For lack of stones the Mongol catapults were served with balls made out of the neighbouring mulberry trees, hardened by being soaked in water. The quarrels of Juji and his brother Jagatai interfered with the progress of the siege, discipline was loosened, and the Mongols after six months' labour had lost a great number of men. Jingis, when he heard of the quarrelling, appointed a younger son, Ogotai, to superintend the work. It was now pushed on with vigour; the Mongols at length assaulted the town, fired its buildings with naptha, and after seven days of desperate street-fighting captured it. This was probably in December, 1220.* They sent the artisans and skilled workmen into Tartary, set aside the young women and children as slaves, and then made a general massacre of the rest of the inhabitants. They destroyed the city, and then submerged it by opening the dykes of the Oxus.† The ruins are probably those now known as Old Urgendj.

Raschid says that over 100,000 artisans and craftsmen were sent into Mongolia, the rest of the inhabitants were divided among the conquerors, and so numerous were they that twenty-four Mussulmans fell to the lot of each Mongol. The soldiers, as usual, were put to death.‡ After the capture of Urgendj the Mongols joined Jingis before Talikhan. That obstinate fortress resisted the besiegers for nearly seven months. The Mongols freely used their prisoners in the first ranks of the assaulting force, and raised a great mound of earth on a wooden platform, on which they planted their siege artillery. The place at length fell. Some of the cavalry escaped to the mountains; of the rest of the inhabitants not a soul escaped slaughter. The town itself was razed to the ground.

After the death of Muhammed the Mongols adopted a scientific strategy to break down the power of his sons. As I have said, one army under the sons of Jingis marched upon Urgendj, or Khuarezm, the capital of their dominions, it gave its name to the empire of Khuarezm, of which

* Wolff, 97. † Ibn-al-Ethir, see D'Ohsson, i. 270.
‡ Erdmann, 410-12. D'Ohsson, i. 265-270.

they were the rulers. Other Mongol troops, under Subutai and Chepé, formed a ring round the southern edge of the desert. A third force, commanded by Tului, advanced into Khorassan, whose cities had been submissive enough to the Mongols when in pursuit of the Sultan Muhammed, as we have already related. Khorassan was then one of the richest and most prosperous regions on the earth's surface; its towns were very thickly inhabited, and it was the first and most powerful province of Persia. The Mongol invasion altered all this, and the fearful ravage and destruction then committed is almost incredible. It was to capture the heir of Muhammed, the Sultan Jelal-ud-din, that Tului set out on his terrible journey. He marched at the head of 70,000 men. This was in the autumn of 1220. He sent on an advance guard under Tugachar Noyan, his brother-in-law. As this approached Nessa, one of its divisions was assailed by a shower of arrows from the walls, and its leader, Balgush, was killed. To avenge his death the Mongols attacked the town.

The siege has been told by one of its contemporary chieftains, Muhammed of Nessa. After fifteen days' pounding from twenty catapults, which were served by prisoners, a breach was made, the walls were stormed, the inhabitants ordered to evacuate the city, they were then told to lie down side by side, and were tied together with cords, then the Mongols destroyed the whole, men, women, and children, with showers of arrows. This horrible hecatomb destroyed 70,000 people. The historian Muhammed, with many fugitives, had taken refuge in the impregnable fort of Kharender. When the Mongols saw they could not take it they consented to retire on the payment of 10,000 cotton garments. According to their custom, they massacred the two old men who had volunteered on the dangerous errand of carrying this booty to their camp. They then, says Muhammed of Nessa, spread over Khorassan. When they arrived in a district they assembled the peasants, and marched them off to the town they meant to attack, to employ them upon the siege works. The terror and desolation were so general that the captive was deemed luckier than he who lived at home. The chieftains also were obliged to assist with their retainers in the siege of the towns. Those who refused were attacked in their castles, and with their clients were put to the sword.*

From Nessa Tugachar advanced to Nishapoor. This was in November, 1220. On the third day of the siege, however, he was killed by an arrow shot from the ramparts. The general who succeeded him deeming his army too weak to capture the city, raised the siege and divided his army into two sections. One laid siege to and captured Sebzevar, whose inhabitants to the number of 70,000 were destroyed. The other overran the district of Thus or Toos, and captured the strong-

* D'Ohsson, i. 177.

holds there. *Inter alia* the forts of Kar and Nokan. The inhabitants were pitilessly slaughtered.* This body of Mongols now seems to have joined Subutai and Chepé Noyan.

Meanwhile Tului was advancing with the main army. He successively occupied Andekuh and Serukhs and proceeded to attack Meru Shahjan, *i.e.*, Meru the king of the world,† one of the four chief cities of Khorassan, and one of the oldest cities in the world. It had been the capital of the great Seljuk Sultans Melikshah and Sanjar, and was very rich and populous. It was situated on the banks of the Meri el rond, also called the Murjab. It was at this time troubled by internal dissension, and by the attacks of neighbouring Turkomans. The Mongols first attacked and destroyed or dispersed the Turkomans who camped outside the city. The siege commenced on the twenty-fifth of February, 1221. The governor of the town was Mojir-ul-mulk. After attempting two unsuccessful sorties he sent a venerable imâm as an envoy to the Mongol camp. He returned with such fair promises that the governor himself repaired to the camp, and was loaded with presents; he was asked to send for his chief relations and friends; when these were fairly in his power, Tului ordered them all, including the governor, to be killed. The Mongols then entered the town, the inhabitants were ordered to evacuate it with their treasures; the mournful procession, we are told, took four days to defile out. The Mongol prince was seated on a golden throne in the midst of the plain, and ordered the principal military chiefs to be decapitated before the people. The rest of the captives were distributed among the army, and a general and frightful massacre ensued; only 400 artisans and a certain number of young people were reserved as slaves. The author of the *Jhankushai* says that the Seyid Yzz-ud-din, a man renowned for his virtues and piety, assisted by many people, were thirteen days in counting the corpses, which numbered 1,300,000. Ibn al Ethir says that 700,000 corpses were counted. The town was sacked, the mausoleum of the Sultan Sanjar was rifled and then burnt, and the walls and citadel of Meru levelled with the ground.

The ferocity of the massacre can only be appreciated by its mere afterthought, 5,000 poor wretches had escaped in holes and corners of the city. They some time afterwards ventured out and were put to the sword by the detachments sent to recruit Tului's army. Tului next advanced upon Nishapoor, the ancient capital of Khorassan. Its name in Persian means the city of Sapor. It is situated twelve days' journey from Meru. It had been twice destroyed in less than a century; in 1153 by the Oghuz Turks, who had revolted against the Sultan Sanjar, and in 1208 by an earthquake. Its inhabitants had not spared the various bodies of Mongol troops that came their way, and they now prepared a vigorous defence. Their ramparts were armed with 3,000 ballisters to shoot javelins with and 500 catapults.

* D'Ohsson, i. 278. † Wolff, 87.

Tului, who was exasperated by the death of Tugachar Gurgan, his brother-in-law, who had been killed by an arrow from the ramparts while laying siege to the town the previous year, collected a great siege train, 3,000 ballisters, 300 catapults, 700 machines for throwing naptha (? Greek fire), 4,000 ladders, and 2,500 loads of stones,* and he proceeded to lay waste all the province of which Nishapoor was the capital. The inhabitants began to grow frightened, and sent an embassy of imáms and notables, having at their head the chief judge of Khorassan, to offer to surrender the city, and to pay an annual tribute. Tului refused all terms, and ordered the assault; after two days' cannonade the walls were pierced with seventy breaches, and the Mongols rushed in on every side; a terrible combat ensued in the streets, the widow of Tugachar, daughter of Jingis, at the head of 10,000 men leading the avenging force; the carnage lasted four days. To prevent the living hiding beneath the dead, Tului ordered every head to be cut off, and separate heaps to be made of men's, women's, and children's heads. The destruction of the city occupied fifteen days; it was razed to the ground, and its site was sown with barley, only 400 artisans escaped, and they were transported into the north. According to Mirkhond 1,747,000 men lost their lives in this massacre.† The capture of Nishapoor took place in April, 1221, two months after the death of the Sultan Muhammed. Four or five years later the Sultan Jelal-ud-din, who had recovered possession of Persia, farmed out the right to seek for treasure among the ruins of Nishapoor for 30,000 dinars a year, and as much as this sum was sometimes recovered in one day.‡

Tului now marched upon Herat, situated five days' journey southeast of Nishapoor, a beautiful city surrounded with villages and gardens. On his way thither a detachment of his forces destroyed, near the town of Thus, the tomb of the Kaliph Harun el Raschid, and that of Ali el Razi, a descendant of the Kaliph Ali, for whom the Persian Mahometans or Shias had an especial veneration. Another detachment ravaged Kuhustan. At length Tului appeared before Herat. After eight days' attack and the death of its governor, it offered to capitulate. Tului promised to spare the lives of its inhabitants if they surrendered immediately, and he was so far honest on this occasion that he contented himself with destroying only 12,000 men, the dependents and soldiers of the Sultan Jelal-ud-din. He appointed a Mahometan prefect and a Mongol governor to the town, and eight days later received orders to join his father at Talikhán.

The effects of such a devastation of a whole province cannot be properly estimated in these latitudes. In Khorassan the desert has ever been encroaching more or less on the cultivated land, and it is only by the persistent labour of many hands that it is held back at many points, and

* D'Ohsson, i. 289.
† Erdmann, 420. ‡ D'Ohsson, i. 291.

when these hands are destroyed by the hundred thousand, the ruin must become deplorable.

When the Mongols were overrunning Khorassan a small tribe of Turkomans called Kayi Kankali fled and took refuge in Asia Minor; they became the nucleus of the Ottoman Turks.

Jelal-ud-din, after his flight from Urgendj, had reached Ghazni in safety. There his partisans hastened to meet him. His father-in-law, Khan Melik, the late governor of Meru, brought him 40,000 horsemen, probably Kankalis; Seif ud din Agruk, a Turkoman chief, brought his Turkomans aud Kalladjes (the latter a mixed race of Arabs and Turkomans who wandered between the Indus and Ganges); the governor of Kabul and Aazam Melik brought their forces; and thus Jelal-ud-din found himself at the head of from 60,000 to 70,000. When Jingis, who had captured Talikhan and summered his cavalry in the Kunduz mountains around it, heard of this he set out for Bamian, in the Hindu Kush, but he found it a more difficult place to capture than he expected. The inhabitants had laid waste the country for four or five miles round, and also removed the stones from its neighbourhood, so that the Mongols might have no missiles. As it was likely that he would be delayed there, he sent on a contingent of 30,000 men, under Siki Kutuktu and four other generals,* to attack the young Sultan, who was encamped with his troops at Peruan or Birwan, one day's march from Ghazni. A fierce and well-contested battle was fought for two days between the rival forces, when the Mongols at length gave way and fled, and most of them were killed in the broken ground that hindered their retreat. They were always great at ruses, and on this occasion are said to have stuffed manikins made of felt with straw and put them on horseback, to increase the apparent strength of their army. Jingis Khan, like all great commanders, was very lenient to his beaten generals. He knew too well the fickleness of fortune in war, and he seems to have contented himself on this occasion with a homily on the danger of officers who were intoxicated with victory growing careless.

The Sultan was prevented from improving his victory by the quarrels of his subordinates. Amin Melik and Seif ud din Agruk disputed about an Arab horse, part of the captured booty, and the former struck the latter on the head with a whip, and as he could not get redress, he retired with 20,000 to 30,000 Kankalis into Beloochistan. Amin Melik shortly after also left him, and retired to Herat.† Meanwhile Jingis had pressed the siege of Bamian and had captured it. Moatugan, son of Jagatai, and one of his favourite grandsons, perished during the siege, and a terrible vengeance was extorted. Every living creature, including animals and plants as well as human beings, was destroyed, a heap of slain was piled up like a mountain; and the site of the desolated town

* Erdmann, 427. † Wolff, 91, 92.

was renamed Mobalig, *i.e.*, the city of woe. The mother of Moatugan especially distinguished herself by her ferocity.* It remained a desert for 100 years.† Having captured Bamian, Jingis pressed on to retrieve the disaster which had overtaken his forces near Ghazni. In going over the battle-field, he pointed out to his officers what he considered to be the mistakes in the conduct of the unfortunate battle. He advanced rapidly, and his troops for two days had not time to cook food. He arrived at Ghazni fifteen days after the Sultan had left it, and having left a governor there he marched on towards the Indus. Jelal-ud-din had not yet crossed the river; his little army was surrounded by the Mongols, whose forces were disposed in semicircles round it, having their wings resting on the river, which thus formed a chord. The fighting was desperate, but the Turks were everywhere beaten. The Sultan made a last desperate charge, which was unavailing; he then mounted a fresh horse, and having taken off his cuirass, he jumped with it into the river, which flowed twenty feet below, and with his shield on his back and his standard in his hand he thus swam across. Jingis Khan could not help admiring the deed from the banks, and pointed it out to his sons for an example. Muhammed of Nessa tells us that Jelal-ud-din kept his faithful charger till the taking of Tiflis in 1226 without mounting him, in remembrance of his services on this occasion.

This struggle took place in the month Redsheb of the year 618 of the Hegira, *i.e.*, in August or September, 1221.‡ The Sultan's harem fell into the hands of the Mongols, who killed all his sons. He had cast much gold and treasure into the river, and a portion of it was recovered by means of divers.

Jelal-ud-din reached the opposite bank of the Indus in safety. There he was joined by the feeble debris of his army (chiefly Khuarazmiens) which had been able to cross the river. He made a raid into the country for arms and clothes, defeated an Indian prince, and on the news that the Mongols were still pursuing, he retired towards Delhi. Jingis sent his two generals Béla and Durbai in pursuit; they proceeded to invest Multan, but as it held out bravely, and they were afraid of the terrible summer weather there, they retired again to Ghazni, after ravaging the provinces of Multan, Lahore, Peshawur, and Melikpur.§

Jingis now determined to retire towards the north along the banks of the Indus, but in order that the Sultan Jelal-ud-din might find no stronghold he despatched his son Ogotai to destroy Ghazni. According to Mongol habit, the inhabitants were ordered to leave the city, and were then murdered.

While Jingis retired northwards his son Jagatai made a raid into Kerman in pursuit of Rokn-ud-din, a brother of Jelal-ud-din. He

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* Wolff, 92. † Erdmann, 423. D'Ohsson, i. 294. ‡ Wolff, 93
§ Erdmann, 432.

advanced as far as Tez, on the borders of the Indian Ocean, passed through Beloochistan, where he wintered, and where he also lost a large number of his soldiers, and returned by the mountain land of the Afghans, were he was joined by Bela Noyan, who had been sent across the Indus, as I have mentioned. Having made this hazardous and difficult excursion, he rejoined his father in the early part of 1222. Of the vast dominions of the Khuarezm Shahs the only portion that had not felt the pressure of the Mongol heel was that comprised in the provinces of Fars, Luristan, Kuhistan, and Kurdistan.*

I have yet to describe one of the most savage and terrible acts of the invaders.

When the news of Jelal-ud-din's victory over the Mongol Siki Kutuktu reached Herat it rebelled and appointed its own governor. Jingis blamed Tului for not having swept out its inhabitants when he captured it. He sent his general Ilshidai Noyan with 80,000 men against it, who blockaded it on all sides. The defence was kept up with spirit, and the besiegers suffered great loss. But, as usual, dissensions broke out in the garrison, and after a siege of a little more than six months Herat was captured.

For a whole week the Mongols ceased not to kill, burn, and destroy, and it is said that 1,600,000 people were killed; the place was entirely depopulated and made desert. The Mongols then retired. Soon after they sent back a body of 2,000 to seek out and destroy any of the inhabitants who had escaped the former massacre. Over 2,000 were thus discovered and put to death. After the Mongols had fairly retreated, forty persons assembled in the great mosque—the miserable remnants of its once teeming population.† Of the celebrated men who had formerly lived at Herat only one survived, namely, Khalib Mulawa Scheref ud din.‡

Meru had been partially reoccupied, and had received a garrison commanded by an officer of Jelal-ud-din. This was enough to bring down upon it the vengeance of the Mongols; a detachment was sent against it, who searched its corners for forty days to find victims, and slaughtered them mercilessly. Some of the inhabitants hid away in the ruins; the barbarous general ordered the muezzin to be sounded, and as each Mussalman emerged to go to prayer he was killed; only a few individuals remained among the ruins, and Meru continued to be a mere collection of débris until the day of Shah Rukh, the son of Timúr, who had it rebuilt.

Jingis Khan did not stay long near the Indus, he was afraid the deadly summer heats might destroy his army. He would seem also to have been nervous about a revolt near his home land, viz., in Tangut or Hia. He retired to Peruan, where he spent the summer of 1222; there he began his administrative measures by appointing civil governors (Darugas) to

* Wolff, 94. † Wolff, 94. ‡ Erdmann, 425.

the various conquered towns; he wintered about the sources of the Indus, where an epidemic attacked his army. He now determined to return home to Mongolia, and before setting out disencumbered his army of prisoners by a general massacre, whose ferocity may be judged of by the fact that in each tent there were ten or twenty captives. Having crossed the mountains of Bamian, he passed the summer in the district of Bakalan, where he had sent his principal baggage. In the autumn he resumed his march, on passing Balkh he killed the miserable and starving wretches who had occupied its ruins; he then crossed the Oxus and advanced to Bokhara; there he summoned the Muhammedan doctors to explain to him their faith, of which he generally approved, except of the pilgrimage to Mecca, saying that the whole world is the house of God, and that prayers will reach Him wheresoever they rise. On his arrival at Samarkand he ordered the public prayers to be said in his name, as he had conquered the Sultan Muhammed. Before he crossed the Jaxartes he ordered the mother and other members of the family of Muhammed to wail a long farewell to Khuarezm, while the army defiled past.

The scene of desolation that must have presented itself in the northern borderland of Persia at this time is terrible. From the banks of the Oxus to Asterabad every town of any importance was reduced to ruins, and its inhabitants slaughtered. Von Hammer has extracted two pathetic passages from two of the lucky authors who escaped the general slaughter, namely, the celebrated mystic Sheikh Nedshmeddin Daye and the geographer Jakut, which describe with all the pathos of the Persian language the desert created by the Mongols.*

Juji, the eldest son of Jingis, had never forgiven his brother Jagatai their quarrel before Khuarezm, which led to him, the eldest son, being supplanted as commander by his younger brother Ogotai. He had nursed his rage in the deserts of Kipchak. Jingis ordered him to join him at a place called Kelan Bashi, and to drive before him a grand battue of game, that he might enjoy his favourite sport of hunting. He did not go, but his troops formed a grand circle, according to the Mongol custom, and enclosed a vast area of country, the circumference was gradually drawn in and the game, chiefly wild asses, driven towards the spot fixed upon by Jingis, where he sported to his heart's content.

About the same time Jagatai and Ogotai went to hunt Kukus and Karaguls (*i.e.*, wild swans and antelopes), and sent their father a present of fifteen camel loads of the former.† On the banks of the Imil he was met by two of his grandsons, afterwards very celebrated, namely, Kubilai and Khulagu, one eleven, and the other nine years old. They had killed their first game, and according to Mongol custom, Jingis pricked their middle fingers to mix some blood with their food and drink, a kind of baptism of the chase. Later on he gave his army a fête, in a place called

* Golden Horde, 76-78. † Erdmann, 437.

Buka Suchiku, and reached his Ordu or home in the month of February, 1225.

On the way he was joined by his two generals Chepe and Subutai, who after their pursuit of the Sultan Muhammed had made a daring expedition into the west, which I must now describe.

We have traced their steps as far as the capture of Ilak, where the dowager Sultana and the Sultan's harem were captured. Thence they marched against Rai, the ancient Rages, whose ruin-heaps still remain not far from Teheran. There they found the inhabitants engaged in one of those religious feuds which disintegrate Muhammedan society so seriously. Among the Muhammedans there are four orthodox rites:—1, That of the Imam Abu Hanefi; 2, That of Ibn Hanbal; 3, That of Shafei; and 4, That of Melek, and they are divided chiefly in regard to the interpretation of the Koran. At this time the Abu Hanefi and the Shafei sects at Rai were engaged in a great feud. With abominable treachery, the Kadhi of the town, who was a Shafeit, had two of the gates opened, the Mongols were let in and let loose upon the rival sect, who constituted one-half of the inhabitants, and who now perished miserably. The Mongols then turned on the traitors, arguing plausibly that they could not count on the fidelity of those who thus deceived their own brothers.* The same feud led to the same result at Kum, some distance south of Rai. This was captured by Chepé, who had separated from his companion, and afterwards continued the bloody raid upon the towns of Irak, Dinawar, Sawa, Holwa Nehawend, and the far-famed capital of the ancient Medes Ecbatana.† Meanwhile Subutai captured Kazvin, and then advanced, plundering, through the province of Dilem upon Azerbaidjan, which, together with Arran, were then ruled by the Atabeg Uzbeg,‡ an old man, and much addicted to wine; he bought off the Mongols by a present of silver, rich garments, horses, &c.

The Mongols then evacuated Azerbaidjan, and wintered in the rich plains of Mogan on the shores of the Caspian. In the spring of the following year they advanced into Georgia. Their advance guard was formed of Turkish and Kurdish auxiliaries, whom they readily enlisted in a campaign against the Christian Georgians. They advanced as far as Tiflis, ravaging everywhere, and ending by severely defeating the Georgian army. They then levied a second contribution upon Tebriz, and afterwards attacked the town of Meraga. Here, as elsewhere, they placed their captives in the front rank of the attacking party, and compelled them to bear the brunt of the assault. So stupified had the inhabitants of Persia become by the Mongol successes, that we are told that in Meraga one Mongol entering a street where there were 100 individuals, proceeded to kill them all without any resistance. This was in March, 1222.§

* Erdmann, 395. Wolff, 85. † Wolff, 86. ‡ D'Ohsson, i. 385. § Wolff, 86.

The Mongols now advanced upon Hamadan, whose inhabitants had killed the governor they had placed there. Headed by the Fakih they made a brave resistance, but were at length beaten; the city was taken and burnt, and its inhabitants slaughtered.

The same fate awaited Serab and Bailékan, towns of Arran, while the courage of the inhabitants of Gunja, capital of that province, and of Tebriz, was so renowned that it preserved them from a worse fate than the payment of heavy contributions. Georgia, which was then governed by Ruzudan, daughter of the celebrated Queen Thamar, was overrun and terribly ravaged. The Georgian accounts say that the Mongols advanced into the country with the cross at their head, in the guise of Christians. This tradition accords well with the ever-ready and versatile strategy of those conquerors. Having ravaged Georgia, they turned upon Shirvan, captured Shamaki, its capital, and then Derbend, all except the citadel where Raschid, the Shah of Shirvan, had taken refuge. He purchased his independence by furnishing the Mongols with guides in their march across the Kaukasus.

They cut off the head of one of these *pour encourager les autres*, if they should prove treacherous; but, notwithstanding this, we are told they led them into the dangerous defiles of Daghestan, where they were hemmed in by a combined army of Lesghs, Circassians, and a section of Kipchaks or Comans. The latter were Turkish nomades, who then lorded it over the steppes of south-eastern Russia.* Caught as it were in a trap, the Mongols had recourse to their fox-like instincts. "We are Turks like yourselves," they said to the Kipchaks, "and are you allied against your brethren with these strangers. Make peace with us, and we will give you gold and rich garments, as much as you list." Seduced by these words, the Kipchaks deserted their allies, who were attacked and vanquished, and the towns of Tarku (the ancient Semender) and Terki, now Mosdok, were devastated.†

Kotiak was then the chief Khan of the Kipchaks, Poloutsi, or Comans. He is called Kotian by the Russians, and Kothán or Kuthen by the Hungarians. The section of them in the Caucasus was commanded by Jurii Kontshakovitch, his brother, and Daniel Kotiakovitch, his son. The reward of their treachery was the usual Mongol one of being attacked and dispersed, the two princes just named being killed. The Mongols now continued their advance, plundered and partially destroyed Hadshi Tarkan, the modern Astrakhan on the Volga, and then proceeded against the main body of the Kipchaks. This was defeated. The invading army now divided into two sections, one pursued the Kipchaks to the Don, the other advanced by the sea of Azof, crossed the frozen Bosporus into the Krimea, where they plundered Sudak, the Genoese *entrepôt* in the Krimea, a rich and flourishing city; and then returning by way of Perekop, joined

* See author's paper on the Comans, Ethnological Journal, ii. 83. † See Wolff.

their brethren on the Don. The Kipchaks retired towards Kief and Chernigof to seek assistance from their former victims the Russians. Russia was then bounded on the south-east by the Oka; it was divided into several principalities, of which the chief at this time was that of Novgorod, whose Grand Duke Yaroslaf was more or less accepted as feudal lord over the rest.

But the most vigorous of the Russian princes, the one who stands out as a chief actor in the many civil wars that at this time desolated Russia, was Mitislaf, Prince of Gallicia, the son-in-law of the Coman Khan Kotiak.

Kotiak reported at Kief the advance of the terrible enemy. He presented the Russian princes with camels, horses, buffaloes, and beautiful slaves, and told them the Mongols had taken their land, and that that of the Russians would suffer the same fate. The astonished princes asked who these strangers, hitherto unknown, were. Some called them Taurmains, others Petchénegs, others again Tartars. The more superstitious recounted how the barbarians, defeated by Gideon, 1,200 years before Christ, were to reappear at the end of the world from their deserts and to conquer the whole earth.* Mitislaf assembled the princes of Southern Russia at Kief, and it was determined unanimously to march against the invaders, much to the joy of the Comans, one of whose princes named Basti embraced Christianity. They assembled their forces at Zarub and the isle of the Varagians (places whose exact sites are unknown),† on the Dnieper. There they received ten ambassadors from the Mongols, who spoke thus: "We understand that, seduced by the statements of the Comans, you are marching against us. But we have done nothing against the Russians, we have not taken your towns or villages, and our sole intention is to punish the Comans our slaves. For a long time they have been enemies of the Russians. Side with us, therefore, and take a signal vengeance upon these barbarians, and seize their wealth." This message was accepted, says Karamzin, as a sign of weakness or as a ruse. Doubtless as the latter, for the recent treachery of the Mongols in the Caucasus must have been known. At all events, the ambassadors were barbarously murdered. Others were sent. "You have preferred the counsel of the Poloutsi, you have killed our envoys. Well, as you wish for war, you shall have it. We have done you no harm. God is impartial, He will decide our quarrel."‡

The Russians assembled their forces in large numbers from Kief, Smolensk, Pultowa (?), Kursk, and Trubtchevsk. The Volhynians and Gallicians came in a thousand boats, on which they sailed down the Dniester to the sea, and then up the Dnieper to the island Chortiza, called the Isle of St. George by Constantine Porphyrogenitus. There also came some bodies of Poloutsi. The Russians numbered some

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*Karamzin, iii. 284. † Wolff, 107. ‡ Karamzin, iii. 286.

82,000 men. Mitislaf, with an advance guard of 10,000, impatient to meet the enemy, went on ahead, overtook a body of Mongols under Hamabek, and defeated them; their leader was found hidden in a ditch or hole among the kurgans or mounds on the steppe, and was beheaded.* The main body now crossed the Dnieper, and after a nine days' march (Abulghazi says ten and Raschid twelve) arrived at the river Kalka, the modern Kaleza, near Mariupol, in the government of Ekaterinoslaf. Mitislaf, who was wishful, probably, of monopolising the glory of the campaign, ventured to attack the main body of the Mongols with only one division. The Russians fought splendidly, but their feeble allies, the Poloutsi, broke away, and this caused the rest to retire also. The Mongols pursued them mercilessly. Six princes, a celebrated paladin named Alexander Popovitch, and seventy nobles perished. Of the contingent from Kief alone 10,000, says Karamzin, were left on the field of battle, while the faithless Poloutsi used the occasion for plundering their unfortunate allies. Mitislaf, to whom reverse was something new, seemed beside himself. Having crossed the Dnieper himself, he caused the boats to be destroyed in order to prevent pursuit. In the general route one leader held his ground, this was Mitislaf Romanovitch, Prince of Kief, who had intrenched himself on the Kalka, and resisted for three days the assault of the Mongols, they at length proposed to allow him to escape on paying a ransom; but in their usual fashion they broke faith, and put him to death and slaughtered all his followers. They smothered three of the princes under planks and held a feast over their bodies.

The pursuit was again renewed. In vain the inhabitants of the towns and villages submitted, humbly going to their camp with their crosses, but no pity was shown. Their grim maxim, surely the most cynical of all ferocious war-creeds, was that "The vanquished can never be the friends of the victors, the death of the former is necessary therefore for the safety of the latter."† Luckily for the Russians their foes did not prolong their stay; but returned to meet their master. Before retiring they appear to have made a raid upon Great Bulgaria, on the Kama and Middle Volga, then the Hudson's Bay territory of the Old World, which supplied furs, honey, wax, and fossil ivory to the luxurious courts, both Christian and Muhammedan, of the Eastern World. Gorged with booty, the two Mongol generals retired through the country of Saksin, along the river Aktuba, on whose banks Serai, the capital of the Golden Horde, was afterwards built. De Guignes says that on crossing the Volga they defeated the Kankalis there, and killed their Khan Hotose.‡

The victorious march of Chepé and Subutai must rank among the most wonderful military exploits related in history. A hundred years before Nusitagir Ili, the Gurkhan of Kara Khitai, is said to have performed the feat of marching round the Caspian, and it was certainly imitated 180 years

* Karamzin, 288. † Karamzin, 291. ‡ De Guignes, iv. 62.

later by Timurlenk; but in these two cases the conqueror was the master of a vast empire, and had not half a dozen expeditions on his hands at the same time, while Chepé and Subutai were but subordinate officers. The former did not long survive, but died shortly after his return home, with the reputation of a great warrior.* The main cause of the Mongol success was doubtless the terror and panic they created by their unflinching vengeance whenever resisted.

It is marvellous how miserably decrepit the Turkish and other opponents of the Mongols had become. In 1224 a small body of 3,000 Mongols was able to once more destroy Rayi, to do the same to Kum and Kashan, and to overrun and pillage the great provinces of Irak Adjem and Azerbaidjan, although opposed to much more numerous bodies of Khuarezmians and other Turks. The provinces of Khorassan and Irak Adjem were made desolate by these continued invasions; according to Juveni there did not remain one-thousandth part of their old inhabitants, and he added, that if nothing interfered with the growth of the population in these two provinces it would not between his day and the day of doom amount to one-tenth of what it did before the Mongol invasion. Their savage mode of warfare would excuse the tales that were told at Byzantium that they had dogs' heads and lived on human flesh.†

Jingis had hardly reached his Ordu before he had to deplore the death of his eldest son Juji. He left by his various wives and concubines about forty children, and his descendants, after ruling the Golden Horde for a long period, are still obeyed by the Kazaks, Uzbegs, Nogays, and other fragments of the Golden Horde.

While Jingis Khan was conquering the countries south of the Oxus, his great general Mukuli prosecuted the war in China. I have described how he set out and the troops he was entrusted with.

The former campaign of Jingis in China had only produced transient results, and the Mongols had to evacuate all their conquests there except the town of Chungtu and the northern edge of Pehchehli and Shan-si. The country was everywhere reoccupied and fortified by the Kin soldiers. During the Mongol attack, the Sung dynasty, which had its seat at Hangchau, the chief town of Chekiang, and ruled over China south of the river Hoei in Honan, refused to pay its customary tribute to the Kin emperors, and to punish this defection the latter, on the retreat of the Mongols, sent an army which ravaged the northern portion of the Sung territory. It was at this juncture, and in 1217, that Mukuli advanced against the Kin empire. He captured several towns of the province of Pehchehli. The next year he advanced into Shan-si, whose capital, Tai-tung-fu, he took after a vigorous attack, the governor committing suicide before the surrender. During the year 1218 he took the eight principal

* Wolff, 110. † Pachymères, i. 87. D'Ohsson, i. 352.

towns of Shan-si, and the following year completed the conquest of this great province, while a renegade Kin general subjected Pehchehli.

The Kin empire was being ground between two millstones, for while the Mongols were pressing it so hard in the north the troops of the Sung were harassing its southern frontier. Utubu, the Kin emperor, now sent to Mukuli asking for terms. The only terms the Mongol general would listen to were, that Utubu should content himself with the province of Honan, take the title of Prince of Honan, and resign the rest of his empire. To this he would not listen. So the Mongols continued their attack. They defeated a large army in the province of Shantung, a great number of the Kin soldiers being driven into the Yellow River. They then laid siege to Tungping, which resisted their arms for a long time, and only surrendered in June, 1221. Mukuli had now conquered nearly all the country north of the Yellow River, and he determined to invade Ho-nan. In order to do so he required to capture several strong places in Shen-si, especially the famous pass of Tung kuan. In November, 1221, he accordingly crossed the Yellow River, probably into the modern Ortus country,* then subject to the empire of Hia or Tangut. He demanded a contingent of troops from the Tangut sovereign. These were sent to him, to the number of 50,000 men, and he then proceeded to overrun Shen-si, most of whose cities he captured during the year 1222. The following year Mukuli died in the midst of his successes; on his deathbed he is reported to have said: "For forty years have I made war and fought for my master in his great enterprises, and I was never defeated. My only regret is that I have not yet captured Nanking."† A few months after his death the Kin Emperor Utubu followed him to the grave.

The Chinese annals, translated by De Mailla, praise very highly the military qualities of Mukuli, with three other of his generals, named Bugurdshin, Berkul, and Tsilaku, he was styled Polipankuliu, which in their language, he says, means the four sages. The descendants of these four Mongols had command of the Imperial body guard. They were called the four Kie sie (*i.e.*, the four intrepid ones).‡ De Guignes suggests that it was probably the death of Mukuli that made Jingis return home, in order that he might superintend the organization of his eastern army.

Northern China had been ruined by fifteen years of war, and the Kins had entirely abandoned it and concentrated their forces on the south of the Yellow River to defend the defile and fortress of Tung-kuan, that commanded the road from Shen-si to Honan. Here were collected 200,000 men.

Meanwhile let us turn once more to the doings of Jingis.

He had been seven years away from his country, and when he returned he appointed his son Jagatai, and Batu the son of Juji to govern his

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* De Guignes, iv. 67. † Pien king or Kai foug fu, which was then the Nanking or southern capital of the Kin emperors. ‡ De Mailla, ix. 105.

western conquests. His other sons Ogotai and Tului returned with him as did also Subutai Behadur, Chepé, Kosmeli, Kuba, the princes Pitu and Watchen, Poyaoho, son of Alakush the Ongut chief, and the Idikut of the Uighurs. He now held a grand reception.*

What a wonderful gathering that must have been. We are much impressed in reading the history of the middle ages, with the effect of the Crusades, which brought the parochial-minded chivalry of Western Europe into contact with the land of so much gorgeous romance as the East, and gave an impetus to thought and action, and an enlargement of view that had more than aught else to do perhaps with the social and mental revolution of the revival of learning. But what were the Crusades as an experience to the journey of Jingis and his troops? Born and accustomed only to the dreary steppe-lands of the Gobi desert, and its girdle of pine-covered mountains, their triumphant march led them through the very garden of Asia, among its most refined and cultured inhabitants, and through its most prosperous cities. Every step must have been a new chapter of romance, such as boys in England find in the Arabian Nights, and the vast caravans of treasure that they carried back with them must have been objects of intense wonder to the wives and daughters of the returning warriors, as the tales they told of their adventures must have seemed like the romances of ballad makers rather than the truthful experiences of ingenuous soldiers. Nor were the crowds of captives, chiefly artisans, a less important, if a somewhat less picturesque, element in the cavalcade. With them there went to the furthest East all the knowledge and craft possessed by the Muhammedans, and if we find the period of Mongol supremacy in China to be a period of revival in art and manufacture, a period of great literary energy, we must not forget what a number of names in the administration of that period are Persian and Turkish; and how the rubbing together of two widely different civilisations, which have crystallised apart, such as those of China and Persia, necessarily leads to a vigorous outburst of fresh ideas and discoveries. Being the most potent example of the law condensed for us in the venerable proverb, that iron sharpeneth iron.

The King of Hia had latterly been coquetting with the Kin Emperor, his neighbour on the east, and had refused to send his son as a hostage. He is called Li te by the Chinese writers,† and is probably the same person as the Shidurgho of Ssanang Setzen. Shidurgho is a Mongol word, meaning open, straightforward, and answering to the Thibetan Srong.‡ He had succeeded his father Li tsun hien only two years before, *i.e.*, in 1223.

The empire of Hia was then very populous and very powerful. It is clear from the elaborate preparations of Jingis, and also from the

* De Guignes, iv. 64. † De Mailla, ix. 108. D'Ohsson, i. 370.
‡ Ssanang Setzen, 383

traditions preserved by Ssanang Setzen, that he looked upon this his last serious campaign as a very important one. Hia, with Thibet, were the especial homelands of Northern Buddhism, and had a quasi-sacred and mysterious surrounding to the Mongols, which is curiously reflected in the tales that Ssanang Setzen has preserved. Shidurgho's wife was a great beauty, and her fame had reached the ears of the Mongol Khan, who seems to have coveted her. He also resented the fact that the King of Hia had failed to send his son as a hostage, and he now prepared to attack him.

Ssanang Setzen tells us Shidurgho had a brown-coloured dog with a black muzzle which could prophecy. When war was impending it used to howl; when, on the contrary, peace was in store then it barked. Now that Jingis returned home the dog began to howl, his master in fancied security concluded that the beast was growing old and had lost its old power.* I have said that the King of Hia was very powerful.

He could muster, according to the western writers, 500,000 men, splendidly accoutred, and consisting of Chinese, Turks, Thibetans, &c. Jingis had 180,000 men, which he divided into several divisions. 40,000 he gave to his son Jagatai, 30,000 to Chepé and Subutai, 20,000 Khuarezmians to Ilenku, 20,000 Indians to the Noyan Bela, 30,000 Jetes and Kipchaks to Bedr ud din, and 30,000 Khuarezmians to Danishmend. Ogotai remained with the reserve, and Tului went off to see his family.† The above enumeration gives a good idea of the heterogeneous character of the later Mongol armies and the great mixture of races that the conquests of Jingis produced.

He first detached Subutai to subdue the wild Sifan tribes dependent upon Tangut, and De Mailla tells us that the tribes Kintcha-walo and the Sessali, which had hitherto been independent, were conquered.‡ Jingis set out from his Ordu in the spring of 1225. Having crossed the Khang-hai-Khan chain, he first held a grand hunt about the sources of the rivers Onghin and Tuigol, which lose themselves in the sands and marshes of the Gobi desert.§

The Saga-loving Ssanang Setzen mentions various omens that attended the Mongol hero's last campaign. During this hunt Jingis one day observed: "In this district is a blue wolf (Burte shino) and a white hart, catch them and bring them alive to me. Here also is a black man on a blue-grey horse, do the same with him." These were found and brought to him. He then addressed the man, "Who are you, and why are you here?" "I am a friend of Shidurgho's," he said, "and he has sent me for information. My name is Katuraktchi Kara Budung, and in all Tangut there is none superior to me. I was captured unawares while I laid my black head down to rest, and while my blue horse Guun Bolod,

* Ssanang Setzen, 97. † Erdmann, 439. ‡ De Mailla, ix. 117.
§ Wolff, 112.

a racer whom no creature that has feet can catch, was tethered to the ground by his four feet." Jingis saw he was a brave man and spared his life, and said, "People say your master is a Kubilghan (*i.e.*, a regenerate Buddha). Into what form can he convert himself?" The man answered, "In the morning he changes himself into a black-striped snake; at noon into a tawny-striped tiger; and at night into a little child, so that man cannot injure him."

While Jingis marched with his army through the Mona Khan mountain, which Wolff says was situated on the road from the desert to Ninghia, north-west of the great bend in the Hoangho, he remarked: "This would be a capital rallying place for a broken, and a capital camping ground for a united and peaceable people. It is a beautiful grazing ground for roebucks, and a charming resting-place for an old man."* While there Jingis noticed an owl shrieking on a bough, and he told his brother Kassar to kill it. The latter shot, but the owl escaped; meanwhile a magpie came in the line of fire, and the arrow which was aimed at the owl brought it down. This was accepted as a bad omen, and Jingis was in a great rage, and had his brother chained and watched by four men. Then came the Orluk princes to him and said, "Master, the stains of the vile ought not to foul the purity of the good. The most deserving and distinguished often have the fate of the worthless. The fate of the ill-omened owl has overtaken the magpie: let thy brother go."† Jingis would have done so, but he had become jealous of him; a slave having slandered him by accusing him of intriguing with his wife Chulan.

He then attacked the empire of Hia, first assaulting the emporium of Akatshin, otherwise called Etsina.‡ This he captured in February, 1226. He then fell upon Suhchau and Kan chau, the latter was governed by Kia-ye-kie-liu, whose son Saha had been brought up at the court of Jingis. He had persuaded his father to deliver up the town, when the latter was suddenly attacked and murdered by some rebels who defended the place for some time. When it at length fell the lives of the inhabitants were spared on the intercession of Saha, and only his father's murderers were put to death.§ In the autumn of the same year, 1226, he captured Si liang fu, Tsulu, and Holo, districts of the province of Liang chau fu, that long finger-like western prolongation of Shensi, which projects into the west between the country of Kokonoor and the desert. He then crossed the country of Shato to the nine fords of the Hoang ho, captured Ing li sien,‖ and overran the country to the Yellow River. The land was everywhere covered with bones, and only one or two individuals in every hundred escaped massacre.¶

De Mailla says that Li te, the King of Hia, now died with grief at

* Ssanang Setzen, 99. Wolff, 112. † Ssanang Setzen, 99, 101. ‡ De Guignes, iv. 68.
§ De Mailla, ix. 117. De Mailla, ix. 117. ¶ D'Ohsson, i. 371.

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seeing his country thus desolated by the Mongols, and was succeeded by his son, whose Chinese title was Li hien. The narrative of Ssanang Setzen only mentions one king, and calls him Shidurgho. Jingis Khan continued his advance. He captured Ling chau, a town on the eastern bank of the Yellow River, not far from Ning hia, the capital of Tangut To relieve this town a large army of Tangutans marched. It is to this occasion, apparently, that we must assign the bloody battle described by Raschid as having been fought on the ice where the Hoang ho had overflowed its banks, and where the number of slaughtered Tangutans amounted to 300,000!!! Three of the corpses stood on their heads, says Raschid, and among the Mongols it is well established that among every 100,000 dead men on the field of battle one body is to be found which stands on its head.* This tremendous exaggeration of numbers is a proof of the slight authority of the Persian historians of the Mongols in the accounts they give of their campaigns on the Chinese borderland.

De Mailla merely says that the King of Hia entrusted all the forces he could muster to his general Seuming-ling-kong, and told him to attack the Mongols, but that Jingis crossed the Hoang ho and beat him. The story of Raschid about the man standing on his head is explained by D'Ohsson, who says that when the Mongols slaughtered a large number of people, in order to mark the number of the slain, a census in which they gloried, they put a corpse on its head on some elevated point for every thousand killed, and that on the capture of Tiflis in 1221, seven such monuments signified the death of 7,000 individuals. The Tangutan army on this occasion did not probably reach 50,000 men.† De Mailla says that after this battle Jingis went and encamped at Yen chau tchuen. Here he received the homage of Yao-lise, the widow of the late King of Liau-tung, who now acted as regent. She was received with distinction by Jingis, who himself offered her the cup to drink out of, and made a grand eulogium on the bravery of her eldest son Hiuessé, who had accompanied him in his western campaigns. On her entreaty he appointed him King of Liau-tung, and dismissed her with a costly present of nine Chinese prisoners, nine horses, nine silver bars, nine pieces of silk, and other rich gifts in parcels of nine, which was a sacred number among the Mongols.

Leaving some troops to watch the capital of Tangut, he captured Ki-shi-chau and Liu tao fu; then turning to the north-west he ruined Tchao ho chau and Sining. At the fifth moon, says De Mailla, Li hien, the King of Hia, unable any longer to resist the Mongols, submitted to Jingis, who carried him away in chains to Mongolia. Gaubil says, on the contrary, that he was put to death by his own people before he reached the camp of Jingis. Thus ended another empire with a long history closely interwoven with that of China, now desolated and covered

* Raschid, in D'Ohsson, i. 373. † D'Ohsson, *op. cit.*, i. 373-4.

with ruins, it was appropriated by the very cormorant of conquest the Mongol Khan.

Jingis retired to summer his cattle in the mountains of Liupan, situated twenty li west of Ku yuen chau, a town of Shan-si, in latitude 36 north, and longitude 10 west of Peking.* There he received as a present from the Kin emperor, a plateau full of fine pearls, which he distributed among those of his grandees who wore ear-rings, others had their ears pierced in order to share the prize, while many remained over for a general scramble. He was there also seized with a fatal disease. Of his different sons only Tului was with him. He died on the 18th of August, 1227, at the age of sixty-six. The Chinese and Persian historians are apparently agreed in making Jingis die a natural death. This is not the universal story, however. Marco Polo and the Syrian Abulfaragius say he was shot with an arrow and killed. They probably, as Colonel Yule suggests, confused his death with that of Mangu Khan some years later. Carpino says he was killed by lightning; Haiton, the Armenian, that he was drowned; but the Mongol historian Ssanang Setzen has the queerest story—a story which illustrates well the kind of Sagas in vogue among the Lamaists. He says:—

"When Shidurgo Khakan (the King of Hia) converted himself into a snake, Jingis appeared as Garudi, the king of the birds; and when the former was changed into a tiger, the latter became the king of the four-footed beasts, the lion; and, lastly, when the former acquired the form of a boy, the latter became Khormusda, the king of the Tegri or spirits, so that Shidurgo fell into the power of Jingis without any effort. Then said the former to the latter:—'If you kill me, it will bring evil upon you. If you forbear, it will prove fatal to your posterity.' Jingis now tried to strike, but he found he could not hurt him. He thereupon said, 'With a common weapon you cannot harm me, but between by boot soles there is a triple dagger, made of magnet, with which I may be killed.' With these words he offered him the weapon, saying, 'Now you may kill me. If milk flows from the wound, it will be an evil token for *you;* if blood, then for your posterity. Let me also counsel you. If you make my wife Kurbeldshin Goa your own, probe her previous life diligently.' When Shidurgo was pierced in the neck with the dagger he died, and Jingis appropriated his wife and people.

"Every one wondered at the beauty of Kurbeldshin Goa, but she said: 'I was formerly much prettier, but am now grimy with dust from your troops, when I have bathed in the river I shall renew my good looks.' As she went down to the Kara Muren to bathe, a bird from her father's house hovered over her, and allowed itself to be caught. She spoke aloud, and said, 'I am ashamed of bathing before all this company, let them begone. I will bathe alone.' When they had left she called out, 'I intend to seek

* D'Ohsson, i. 375. De Mailla, ix. 127.

my death in the Kara Muren. Let my body be searched for up the stream, and not down.' She then let the bird escape, and it flew home to tell her father.

"When she came out of the bath she had become much more beautiful. The following night, when Jingis Khan lay asleep, she bewitched him, upon which he became feeble and ill. She then arose, went down to the Kara Muren and drowned herself, whence the Kara Muren to this day is called Chatun Eke.

"When the bird related to her father, who was called Schang-dsa-wang-Ja, of the tribe of U, he went and looked for his daughter's body. He found it not, but found only one of her pearl embroidered socks. Over this he raised a mound of earth, still called Temur Olcho.* Schmidt remarks in a note that the upper Kara Muren is undoubtedly still called Chatun Muren, or the maiden's river, by the Mongols, and that he had found the name in several writings."

The whole story shows the mysterious atmosphere in which the Lamaist faith surrounds its votaries, and what a peculiar halo attaches to the memory of Jingis, who stands in Mongol legend much as Theseus and other demigods did in the traditionary poetry of Greece. To continue our story :—

"As he lay dying on his bed the old hero addressed Kiluken Behadur, who was beside him: 'Be you a faithful friend to my widowed Burte Judjin, and to my two orphan sons Ogotai and Tului, and be ever true to them without fear. The precious jadestone has no crust, and the polished dagger no dirt upon it. The body that is born is not immortal. It goes hence without home or resting-place. This keep in everlasting memory, the glory of an action is that it should be complete (*i.e.*, whatsoever thine hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might). Firm and unbending is the heart of the man who keeps his plighted word. Be not guided by the wishes of others, so will you gain the goodwill of many. With me it is clear that I must separate from you and go away. The words of the boy Khubilai are very weighty. You, all of you, note his words. He will some time occupy my throne, and he will, as I have done, secure you prosperity.'"

Such is the story as told by Ssanang Setzen. The western chroniclers make it out that Jingis collected his children and dependents about his bed and gave them serious counsel. He bade his children cling together; we are told he repeated to them the old parable of the bundle of sticks. In his case, however, arrows took the place of sticks. He added another fable not so well known in the west, namely, that of the snake with several heads. One night during an impending frost it set out to seek shelter in a hole, but on the way the heads began to quarrel and fight with one another, and the result was that it was frozen to death ; not so the snake

* Ssanang Setzen, 103.

with one head and many tails, this hid everything everyway safely in the hole and was saved.* The moral is the same as in the previous fable.

He appointed his brother Utshegin with a large force to prosecute the war in China, for which he drew out an elaborate plan. He divided his dominions among his sons: to Juji and his family were assigned the country from Kayalik and Khuarezm as far as the borders of Bulghar and Saksin, wherever the hoofs of Mongol horses had tramped; Jagatai received the country from the borders of the Uighur country as far as Bokharia; Ogotai had a special uluss north of this in the country of Imil and Soongaria; to Tului was assigned the home-country of the Mongols, the care of the Imperial hut and family, and the archives of the State; but he set Ogotai Khan over the whole, and counselled his brothers to obey him. If we are to credit some of the historians of Timurlenk he made his sons renew the pact with the family of Kadshuli Behadur, and seal it with their tamghas or seals.† He bade Jagatai, who was known to be of a severe disposition, see that his will was carried out, and he lastly urged his people to exterminate the Tanguts and make no terms with them.‡

His body was secretly conveyed to Mongolia, and to prevent the news of his death spreading, its escort killed every one they met. They only published the news when the procession had reached the Great Ordu of the Khan at the sources of the Kerulon. The body was successively carried to the ordus of his various wives, where his many dependents were summoned from all parts to do it honour; some had to come a journey of three months. After these funeral rites, the coffin was carried to its burial-place. Raschid tells us that its escort killed all the travellers met with on the way, ordering them to go and serve their lord in the other world, and that forty noble and beautiful girls and richly caparisoned horses were also sent for his service into the land of peace.§ Mandeville thus describes a funeral of one of the Grand Khans:—"At the spot where the funeral occurs they erect a tent, in which they place the corpse on a wooden couch, and arrange before him a table delicately served; into this they drive a white horse richly caparisoned and with its saddle on. They then place the tent with its contents in a hollow and cover it over, so that no one can distinguish the place." This account reads very like the accounts given by Arab writers of the Norse funerals on the Volga in the tenth century.‖

Ssanang Setzen describes the body of Jingis, as removed to its native land, the whole host escorting it, and wailing as they went. Kiluken Behadur, of the Sunid tribe, one of the Khan's old comrades, lifted up his voice and sang:—

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* Erdmann, 442. † Erdmann, 443. ‡ Erdmann, 443
§ Yule's Marco Polo, i. 219. D'Ohsson, i. 381. ‖ D'Ohsson, *Les peuples du Caucase*, 96.

Whilom thou didst stoop like a falcon; a rumbling wagon now trundles thee off,
O my King.
Hast thou in truth then forsaken thy wife and thy children, and the diet of thy people?
O my King.
Circling in pride like an eagle whilom thou didst lead us
O my King.
But now thou hast stumbled and fallen like an unbroken colt,
O my King.
For six-and-sixty years thou hast brought thy people peace and joy, and now dost thou leave them?
O my King.*

To such a chaunt did the procession move towards the mountain Mona, already named. There the wheels of the wagon sank in the blue clay so that it stuck fast and refused to move on even when the strongest horses of the five banners were fastened to it. The people began to grow dejected, when the voice of Kiluken Behadur once more arose :—

"Thou lion of the celestial Tegri. Thou son of the Tegri. My own Lord Bogda, wilt thou leave thy whole people here in this quagmire. Thy wife so equally matched with thy noble birth; thy solidly grounded state; the authority of thy laws; thy much attached people; all are at stake. Thy once beloved wife; thy golden palace; thy state founded on right; the assembled clans of thy people; all are yonder far away. Thy birthland; the water in which thou wert wont to wash; thy subjects, the fruitful Mongol people; thy many officers, princes, and nobles. Deligun bulak, on the Onon, where thou wert born. They are yonder. Thy standard made from the black horse's tail; thy drums, cymbals, trumpets, and fifes; thy golden house and all its rich contents; the meadows of the Kerulon, the very place where thou mountedst the throne as Khakan of the Arulad; all are yonder. Burte Judjin, the choice wife of thy early days; Borchatu Khan, thy fortunate land, and all thy people; Bogordshi and Mukuli, thy two trusty friends; thy consummate administration; all are yonder. Thy heavenly-born partner, Chulan Khatun; thy lutes and flutes, and other musical instruments; thy two charming wives, Jissu and Jissuken; thy golden palace cynosure of wonders; all are yonder. Hast thou, because the district of Kargina Khan is still warm, because so many of the Tanguts are vanquished, and because Kurbeldshin Khatun was beautiful, really left thy people, the Mongols, in this fix. If we may not serve as a shield to thy noble life, we would at least bear thy remains, which are fair as the noble jade stone, to their last home, to show them to thy wife Burte Judjin, and to satisfy the wishes of all thy people."

At the close of this monody, which has such a peculiar local colour, we are told that the wagon once more began to move, and the procession, amidst cries and words of mourning, at length reached its goal. There they raised a mound over the body, and built eight white houses as places of prayer and invocation. The resting-place of the Great Khan

* Colonel Yule's Marco Polo, i. 259.

was called Yeke Utek, and it lay between the shadow side of the Altai Khan and the sunny side of the Kentei Khan.*

Raschid names the place of his burial as Burkan Kaldun (God's Hill) or Yekek Kuruk (the great sacred or Tabooed place); in another place he calls it Nuda Undur, near the river Selinga. Burkan Kaldun is often mentioned by Ssanang Setzen, and Pallas speaks of Burgin Galdat as the place where the Onon springs.

Marco Polo names the burial-place of Jingis as the mountain Altai, situated north-east of Karakorum; Gaubil, from Mongol sources, places it at a place called Han, situated 47.54 north latitude and 9.3 longitude west of Peking; according to D'Anville's map there is a mountain Kenteyhan on this spot, where the Onon takes its rise. This is clearly the same mountain as the Khan oola of Pallas and Timkowsky, a lofty mountain near Urga, covered with a dense forest. It is still held sacred by the Mongols and guarded from access.†

Erdmann says that Jingis was buried at the foot of a tree which he had noticed once while hunting, and had chosen as his burial-place. This tree was remarkable at the time, but had been overtaken in size by the rest of the wood, and become undistinguishable.‡

Many of his descendants were buried on the same mountain, in the midst of this forest, which was guarded by 1,000 men of the tribe Urian, exempted from military service. Rich perfumes were burnt without ceasing before the tablets of the princes. The place was only accessible to the four great ordus of Jingis.§

Jingis had nearly 500 wives and concubines, among the latter were the most beautiful captives and the most beautiful girls in the different tribes, who were always set apart for the Khan and the princes; each captain presented the fairest in his company to his colonel, the colonel to his superior officer, &c., and thus the cream of the whole nation was sifted for the choice of the Khan.

Of the wives of Jingis, five held a superior rank, the first of all was Burta, who bore the Chinese title of Judjin, she was the daughter of Dai Noyan, chief of the tribe Kunkurat, and was the mother of Juji, Jagatai, Ogotai, Tului, and five daughters; of these daughters, Kudshin Bigi, the eldest, was betrothed to Sengun, son of Wang Khan, and afterwards married Huladei Gurgan, son of Butu Gurgan, of the Kurulats. Jidjegan, the second, married Turaldshi Gurgan, of the Urauts. The third, Alakai Bigi, married Jingui, of the Onguts. The fourth, Tumalun, Shengu Gurgan, of the Kunkurats. The fifth, Atalukan Jawer Sadshan, of the Olkonods.‖ By his second wife, Chulan Khatun, he had a fifth son named Gulgan.¶

I have now described the career of the great conqueror, whose renown

* Ssanang Setzen, 107, 109. † Yule's Marco Polo, i. 218. ‡ Erdmann, 444.
§ D'Ohsson, i. 38[illegible]. ‖ Erdmann, 445. ¶ Erdmann, 445.

has been so deservedly great in Eastern history and romance, and Western romance too, for Colonel Yule has shown good reason for identifying him with the Cambuscan bold of Chaucer.*

He may fairly claim to have conquered the greatest area of the world's surface that was ever subdued by one hand. D'Ohsson has some judicious remarks on the way in which the result was obtained; he says, the Mongols in their original homes were among the most wretched of mankind, wandering in an elevated region of Tartary, and under an inclement sky, and so poor that Raschid tells us only their chiefs had iron stirrups. Their army was composed of nomades who constantly led the lives of soldiers, carrying their hearths about with them; they could live anywhere where their horses and cattle could find pasture. To this was superadded the discipline enforced by Jingis. Each tribe was divided into sections of ten men, each section with its commander, nine chiefs of ten men chose the tenth as a centurion, who had besides his own command of ten, supervision of the hundred; nine centurions similarly chose a battalion commandant, and ten of these latter a divisional commander, who led a body of 10,000 men, in Mongol phrase a *tuman*. No man could change his section or company or regiment, and the most implicit obedience to orders was insisted upon from all, and at the command of the Khan, the most potent general at once submitted to the bastinado or to execution. This implicit obedience was the secret of many of their successes, as it was in those of Rome, and in our day those of Prussia. Very different was the conduct of the Turkish hordes as reported by Alai-ud-din. "If a slave," he says, "acquires ten horses, his master has to treat him with consideration; if he rise to the command of an army, it is seldom that he does not use it against his benefactor. If war be declared, it takes these gentry months to get in motion, and they must first be supplied liberally with pay." Among the Mongols, on the contrary, each warrior has to pay his chief a certain number of horses, cattle, pieces of felt, &c., and if he be absent at war his wife must pay his taxes. If a commander of ten was unfit for his post, Jingis removed him and put another in his place, and so through the higher ranks, and he exhorted his chief commanders to come to him once a year to receive instruction and advice. He counselled them to instruct their children well in riding, archery, and the art of plunder, as they would have to rely on their bravery for a livelihood just as merchants rely on their merchandise. "I give," he said, "the command of troops to those who join courage to skill. To those who are active and alert I confide the care of the baggage; to the dullards I confide a pole and make them tend the cattle. It is thus I have won my victories, and my sons will continue victorious if they follow my example."† Each man beside his bow, arrows, and axe, carried a file to sharpen the points of the arrows, a sieve,

* Yule's Marco Polo, i. 218. † D'Ohsson, i. 393.

an awl, needles and thread. The picked troops also carried sabres slightly recurved, and had their heads and body protected by leathern armour covered with pieces of iron.

Marco Polo tells us that when going on a distant expedition the Mongols took no gear with them except two leathern bottles for milk, a little earthen pot to cook their meat in, and a little tent to shelter them from the rain; and in cases of great urgency they would ride ten days on end without lighting a fire or taking a meal. On such occasions they would sustain themselves on the blood of their horses, opening a vein and letting the blood jet into their mouths, drinking till they had had enough, and then staunching it.* A similar account is given by the Persian historians.

Before attacking a country Jingis summoned its ruler to submit, in a few stereotyped words. "If you don't submit," he said, "who knows what will happen, God only knows." Submission must be followed by the giving of hostages, the surrender of one-tenth part of the produce of the country, including men, and the acceptance of Mongol governors. These latter were generally cruel and exacting, and soon reduced a country which peaceably surrendered to the condition of the conquered.

In Persia the consequence of resistance was the general slaughter of the garrison when captured. In China, probably through the influence of Yeliu Chutsai, these hecatombs were not frequent.

Each expedition was preceded by a Kuriltai, or general assembly of princes of the blood and the military chiefs; then the time and mode of attack were arranged. Jingis organised a system of intelligence and espionage by which he generally knew well the internal condition of the country he was about to attack. He intrigued with the discontented, and seduced them by fair promises. On attacking a province he generally divided his army into small bodies, invested the towns, and plundered the country in all directions, compelling the peasants to do the heavy work of the sieges. The Mongols ravaged and laid waste the country all round the bigger towns, and they generally tried to entice a portion of the garrison into an ambuscade. They built regular siege-works armed with catapults; the captives and peasants were forced to take part in the assault; the attack never ceased night or day; relief of troops keeping the garrison in perpetual terror. They employed Chinese and Persians to make their war engines; they did not scruple to turn aside rivers to overwhelm devoted cities, and supplemented the use of water by that of Greek fire; they were also skilled in mines. To delude the garrison they sometimes raised a siege, leaving their baggage and valuables behind, only to return by a sudden countermarch as soon as the garrison was lulled into security. They rarely abandoned the siege of a place altogether, and would sometimes continue a blockade for years. They

* Yule's Marco Polo, i. 220.

were bound by no oath, and however solemn their promise to the inhabitants who would surrender, it was broken, and a general massacre ensued. It was their policy to leave behind them no body of people, however submissive, who might inconvenience their communications. "They gloried," says the chronicler Vincent, "in the slaughter of men; blood to them was spilt as freely as water. They employed lies and deception to delude their victims, and then destroyed them."* They had no honour and no chivalry, a ruse to them was more creditable than an open fight. If a desperate enemy resisted bravely they would open their ranks to let him escape, until the disorder of retreat made the work of destruction easy. They generally attempted to surround their enemies, and as each man had several horses, could often weary them into defeat. They commenced the attack with their bows and arrows, and only used their side arms to complete the victory. Their cavalry manœuvred by signals, and was very skilfully handled: the coward and the plunderer were equally put to death.

In their expeditions the Mongols encamped to rest and recruit their horses for a few months every year. Having laid waste a wide circle of country round their camp, they then gave themselves up to excess and debauchery, waited upon by their young and beautiful captives, one of whom, according to Vincent, was chosen before his death by each warrior to be buried alive with him. As the hard and dangerous work was done by the prisoners and captives, the lordly Mongols easily kept up their strength in the most distant expeditions.

In time of peace Jingis counselled his soldiers to be quiet and gentle as calves, but in war to rush on their enemies like hungry falcons fall on their prey.

The following reads almost like the military counsel of Napoleon; in speaking of his generals he said: "There does not live a braver man than Yissutai, no march can fatigue him, he feels neither thirst nor hunger, and he thinks his soldiers ought to be like himself; this is why he is not fit to command. It is necessary that a general should not be insensible to either hunger or thirst, for he ought to be able to feel the sufferings of his army. His marches should be moderate, and he ought to feed well both his men and horses." "What is the greatest happiness in life?" he one day asked his generals. One answered for the rest: "To go a hunting on a spring morning mounted on a beautiful horse, carrying on your hand a good falcon and watching it seize its prey." "No," said Jingis, "the greatest pleasure is to vanquish your enemies, to chase them before you, to rob them of their wealth, to see those dear to them bathed in tears, to ride their horses, to clasp to your bosom their wives and daughters."†

The chase Jingis held to be the school of war, and he advised his sons to

* D'Ohsson, i. 398. † D'Ohsson, i. 404.

spend the time of peace in hunting. The great Mongol winter hunt was more like a military expedition than anything else. Orders were given to the different tribes a month's journey off to extend themselves and join on to one another, and thus enclose a huge ring; the whole under the orders of skilled generals, and divided into a left and right wing and centre; the game was driven into an enclosure of two or three leagues in circuit, made of felt hung on cords. The Khan first entered the ring with his wives and suite, and when he was tired of killing, retired to an eminence inside the cordon and watched the great chieftains hunt; the whole concluded by a general scramble of the commonalty. When only a few victims were left, the old men came before the Khan and begged that their lives might be spared to furnish more sport the next year; eight days were thus consumed in the general holiday.

Jingis organised a postal service on the grand routes, to facilitate travellers, couriers, and public officers in their travels; the horses, carriages, and food were supplied by the inhabitants, and the safety of the road was protected by severe police regulations. For the first time probably in the history of Asia it was possible to travel with perfect safety across the steppes of Turkestan.

By his code of laws death was awarded to the homicide, the cattle-thief, the adulterer, and those who dealt in unnatural crimes. The same punishment fell upon those who for the third time lost the captives entrusted to their keeping, those who concealed and harboured fugitive slaves or lost goods, those who did not return, if they found them, the arms of any who had lost them in combat, those who employed witchcraft to harm others, those who intervened in a struggle between two champions. Small thefts were punished with the bastinado, and torture was freely used to force confession. In his code he preserved many curious superstitious notions that the popular creed had sanctified. Thus it was forbidden to make water in a stream or on ashes, to have props or legs to a house, a table, or a chair, to wash the hands in running water. It was forbidden to wash clothes, which were to be used till worn out; cooking and domestic vessels were not to be washed, and this custom still prevails, according to Pallas, among the Kalmuks,* who always clean these articles with dried grass or a piece of felt. Carpino tells us they would not touch fire with a knife, or take their food with the same implement out of a kettle, or strike with a hatchet near a fire. To break these rules was to bring misfortune, or to cause it to thunder, in the popular eyes, and no doubt, as D'Ohsson remarks,† the origin of the prohibition was originally a fear of offending the elements. In killing an animal it must be laid on its back, an incision made in its belly, and the heart torn out or squeezed with the hand; this practice is still that of the Kalmuks, who attribute its introduction to Jingis Khan.‡ Those who killed animals

* Samm. Hist. Nach, i. 31. † D'Ohsson, i. 410. Note. ‡ Pallas, op. cit., i. 128.

in the Mussalmán way must themselves be killed. The Mongols were avaricious to the last degree, they only killed animals which were sick or wounded; their hands, the chroniclers Vincent and Carpino say, were always open to take and closed to give. They ate almost anything; rats or dogs, &c., were readily consumed. Jingis enjoined upon them all hospitality, and at their feasts it was not permitted to refuse anyone to join; the host must always taste the food before the guest (surely a chivalrous notion to have been born in the desert). He set his face strongly against the Mongol weakness of drunkenness: "If you cannot refrain, get drunk only three times a month," he said. "It would be better never to get drunk at all, but," says the philosophic and ingenuous preacher of temperance, "who can abstain altogether?"*

Jingis counselled his sons to tolerate all creeds, telling them that it mattered little to the Divinity how they honoured Him. He himself believed in a Supreme Being, but he worshipped the sun, and was like his compatriots, a Shamanist. He exempted from taxes the ministers of all religions, the poor, doctors, and other wise men. The princes of the blood addressed the Khan by his name, and in his orders, diplomas, &c., this name was unaccompanied by any honorary titles. His style was simple and free from the nauseous rotundity and imagery of the Persians. One of the secretaries of the Sultan Muhammed having entered his service, he ordered him one day to write to the refractory Prince of Mosul in these terms: "God has given me the empire of the world; those who submit and let my troops pass will save their lands, their families, and goods; the others, God knows what will happen, &c." The secretary translated this into the fulsome phrases used by the Persians; when this was literally translated to Jingis he turned round in a rage and said: "You are a traitor, you have written this letter in such a manner that the Prince of Mosul will only be more stubborn and audacious," and he put him to death.†

The laws of Jingis were written down by his orders in the Mongol language and in the Uighur character, which he had caused the young Mongols to be taught. This code was called Ulang-Yassa. It, doubtless, like many other celebrated codes which gained for their compilers the character of originators, embodied the gathered and matured wisdom and rules of life that prevailed among his people; and what he did was probably little more than to stamp with express authority the traditional and very ancient common-law code of the desert. Copies of it were preserved in the archives of his descendants, who consulted them in all difficult matters (no copy of it is apparently extant, but many of its clauses have been preserved by Raschid-ud-din, Alai-ud-din, in Macrizi's "Description of Egypt," and by the chronicler Vincent). Jingis charged his son Jagatai, who had the character of severity, to carry out his laws;

* D'Ohsson i. 412. † D'Ohsson, i. 414.

foresaw, and it needed no very great instinct to see, what would happen in one or two generations. "My descendants," he said, "will deck themselves in brocaded robes, will feed on rich meats, ride splendid horses, have beautiful wives, and they will not think of those to whom they owe these good things."

If it be no small thing for any man to leave his footprint in the page of history, his must surely have had an uncommon power who stamped his mark so deeply and so lastingly on such a shifting, treacherous quagmire as the history of Asia, whose descendants ruled a very large portion of it for so long, whose memory is still the theme of so many Sagas in the lonely yurts of the scattered robbers of Central Asia; and whose institutions, if they were really his, are still the best models for a nomadic people to be ruled by. It may be that he and his followers tramped over the fairest portions of the earth with the faggot and the sword in their hands, forestalling most terribly the day of doom, and crumbling into ruin many old civilisations. His creed was to sweep away all cities, as the haunts of slaves and of luxury, that his herds might freely feed upon grass whose green was free from dusty feet. It does make one hide one's face in terror to read that from 1211 to 1223 18,470,000 human beings perished in China and Tangut alone* at the hands of Jingis and his followers: a fearful hecatomb, which haunts the memory until one forgets the other features of the story. Yet although a *tabula rasa* was created, a fresh story was also writ upon the page. Nor must we forget, whatever creed we hold to, that whether it be by pestilence or famine, or by the hands of such as Sesostris, Sennacherib, Darius, Alexander, Cæsar, Attila, Timur, Bonaparte, and their ilk, the scourges of God seem inevitably to recur at intervals to purge the world of the diseased and the decaying, the weak and the false, the worn out and the blasé, the fool and the knave.

That as surely as the winter scatters the leaves, so surely does a time come in human history when the fruits of human toil, the fairest it may be that can be compassed by man, must be trodden under. The pelicans and the storks that watch over the ruins of Mesopotamia, and a hundred other such sites, are witnesses of our conclusion; grim witnesses, too, of the truth that "blood and iron" is neither a new creed nor one invented by Jingis Khan. It may be that in his hands we see the steel more bright and keen; that he did not hide his work under the fantastic guise that he was a champion of freedom, or of some other fine sounding pretence. It is natural we should revolt against being worshippers of the wolfish natures that are sent at times to fill the charnel-house of history with bones; but if we mete equal justice to the breed, and measure them not so much by the ruin they created as by what they placed in the void. If we measure them by their opportunities, their antecedents, and their

* Wolff, III.

aims, and not by the feeble æsthetic standard some poets have created by which to discriminate between the destroyers of mankind, we shall find Jingis Khan towering head and shoulders above most of the rest. While as to his thirst for blood, and the greedy draughts he took of it, we must wait for an excuse till the great day comes when men shall know why suffering and misery are permitted at all, and why it has been allowed to so many men, who have been styled great by their followers, to put their heels upon the accommodating neck of humanity, as if it had been created to become their victim.

Note 1.—THE NINE ORLOKS.—These celebrated chieftains who accompanied the fortunes of Jingis from his early days to his days of prosperity, and whose military talent is as remarkable as that of the bevy of marshals who were the *protegés* of Napoleon I., are thus enumerated: 1. Kuluk Bughurdshi, of the tribe Arulad; he was the captain over the rest. At first he was a serving man, then rose to be Gesiktu, *i.e.*, captain of the advanced guard of the archers; then Emir Gesik, *i.e.*, commander of that body; then Emir Tuman, *i.e.*, chief of 10,000 men; and lastly, Kiwang, or Grand Prince. He styled himself the unerring, and said of himself: "When the cry of the raven is false and misleading, then am I not taken in and led astray; when the grave-bird croaks unmeaningly, my head and brain remains clear; when the dust rises from the earth, or the mist comes down from heaven, I don't lose my way. Thence men call me the unerring."* 2. Bughurul, of the tribe of Uguskin. 3. Shurkan Shireh, the Torghon Shaara of Schmidt, of the tribe Suldus; he saved his master's life when the latter escaped from the Taidshuts (*vide ante*). 4. Mukuli Behadur, the conqueror of Northern China. He is called Go Mukuli by Schmidt, and was of the Jelair tribe. 5. Chepe, the pursuer of Muhammed, the Dschebe or Sebe of Schmidt. He belonged to the Yissud tribe. 6. Subutai Behadur, the companion of Chepe. He is the Tso Mergen of Schmidt, who says he belonged to the Jurjid tribe. 7. Chelme Oho, *i.e.*, the bold robber, the companion of Jingis's first expedition, whose two sons were the leaders of the right and left wings of the body guard. He belonged to the Uriangkuts. 8. Shiki Kuttu, of the Tartar tribe. And lastly, Kara Kiragho, of the Uirat tribe.†

Note 2.—The army of the Mongols consisted of very heterogeneous elements; each conquered nation supplied its contingent, and the Mongol element proper in the army was probably largely exceeded in numbers by the Turkish one. The former, however, was treated as the mainstay of the nation, and in the distribution of his forces among his relatives, by

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* Von Hammer's Ilkhans, i. 30.

† Schmidt's Ssanang Setsen, 381. Von Hammer's Ilkhans, i. 30

Jingis, this alone is named. The great bulk of it, with the Mongol nation and the Mongol country, was left to Tului, the hearth-child. The following tabular statement contains an enumeration and account of the distribution of the Mongol army :—*

1. The Imperial life guards, called the great Ordu; this was 1,000 men strong, and was commanded by Utsheghan, a Tangut by nation, and an adopted son of Jingis. The various couriers, runners, messengers &c., belonged to this body	1,000
2. The Centre, under Tului	101,000
3. The Right Wing, under Bughurdshi Noyan	47,000
4. The Left Wing, under Mukuli Guyaneg	52,000
5. The Contingent of Juji Khan	4,000
6. The Contingent of Jagatai Khan	4,000
7. The Contingent of Ogotai Khan	4,000
8. The Contingent of Gulgan	4,000
9. The Contingent of Utsuken Noyan	5,000
10. The Contingent of the sons of Juji Kassar	1,000
11. The Contingent of Ildshidai Noyan	3,000
12. The Contingent of the Empress Ulun Egeh	3,000
13. Supernumeraries	1,000
	230,000

Note 3.—I have followed Ssanang Setzen in calling the first wife of Jingis, Burte Judshin. I am reminded by Colonel Yule that other authorities call her Burte Fudshin, and I may add that D'Ohsson expressly says that Fudshin (or Fou gin, as he writes it) was the title given by the Chinese Emperors to those of their wives who ranked immediately after the Empress.†

* Erdmann, 446. † D'Ohsson, i. 417.

CHAPTER IV.

OGOTAI AND HIS DESCENDANTS.

OGOTAI KHAN.

AFTER the burial of Jingis Khan his sons and descendants dispersed to their several governments, and during a space of two years there was no supreme ruler among them. Tului, the youngest, who, according to Mongol custom retained his father's portion, and ruled specially over the Mongols proper and the Keraits, acted as regent. But in the spring of 1229 a Kuriltai, or general assembly of the chiefs, was summoned by Tului to elect a chief Khan. After three days spent in festivity they proceeded to the business of the meeting. Tului was pointed out for the post by the suffrages of many, while Jagatai, as the oldest surviving son of Jingis, was the heir according to Mongol rules of inheritance; but the will of Jingis was paramount, and Ogotai had been named for the post by his father. After forty days' hesitation his reluctance was overcome. We are told he was conducted to the throne by his brother Jagatai, and his uncle Utjuken, and that while Tului presented him with the cup, the rest, both inside and outside the tent, with heads uncovered, prostrated themselves nine times, according to the ancient Chinese ceremonial, and saluted him with the title of Kaan. (Kaan is a contraction for Khakan, a title which Ogotai and his successors bore to distinguish them from the rulers of the three other branches of the house of Jingis.*) Ogotai then came out of his tent and made three solemn genuflexions to the sun, in which he was followed by his people; and the day concluded with festivities. The oath of allegiance sworn by the other princes is thus given by the chroniclers, "We swear that so long as there remains of thy posterity a morsel of flesh which thrown upon the grass will prevent the cows from eating, or which put in the fat will prevent the dogs from taking it, we will not place on the throne a prince of any other branch."†

Ogotai now distributed the treasures collected by his father among the grandees; he ordered that during three days rich meats should be offered

* D'Ohsson op. cit., ii. 11. † D'Ohsson, ii. 12. Von Hammer's Golden Horde, 98.

to his manes, and having chosen forty of the fairest daughters of his subjects, he, in the words of Raschid, sent them to wait upon Jingis Khan in the other world; with them perished many richly caparisoned horses. He then proceeded to organise his vast empire, a task in which he was greatly assisted by Yeliu Chutsai, the faithful friend of Jingis Khan, whose influence in civilising the Mongols was so great that he deserves a short notice. He was born in 1190 in the country of Yan, and belonged to the royal stock of the Khitans, who founded the Liau dynasty. He was an able astronomer and composed some tables named Mathapa, in which he followed the Mussulman and not the Chinese system. He was also a proficient in geography and arithmetic. When the Mongols captured Peking, Yeliu Chutsai was its governor, and in the great conqueror's life I have described his honest answer when Jingis attacked his old sovereign, and how the Mongol chief took him into his service as an astrologer. He predicted the overthrow of the empire of Khuarezm and of the Kins, and was consulted by Jingis on many occasions: one instance will suffice to show the kind of stories told of him. During Jingis's Indian campaign, he one day saw an animal like a deer, with a horse's tail, a green body, and a single horn. This animal could speak, and cried out to the Emperor's guards that their master ought to retire in all haste. Jingis consulted Chutsai, who told him the animal was called Kiotuan; that it understood all languages; that it abhorred carnage; and its coming was to warn him that if he was the son of heaven, the peoples were also his children, and heaven was loth that he should slaughter them. During a great epidemic he is said to have saved 10,000 lives by his knowledge of drugs, the chief one being the rhubarb so much used in Chinese medicine; and it was by his influence that a more temperate policy began to be inaugurated among the Mongols, and, in Eastern phrase, the "wind of carnage began to abate." He now urged upon Ogotai that, although his empire had been conquered on horseback, it could not be governed so. He arranged the etiquette of the court and the order of precedence of the several princes; he restrained the absolute and arbitrary power of the Mongol governors, and established forms of procedure which they were bound to follow. The annual taxes were fixed; the Chinese were to pay silver, silk, and grain, &c. De Mailla says the tax was fixed at a tithe of wine, being a luxury, and a thirtieth of other articles, and custom-houses were appointed for collecting it; Ogotai also forbade the receipt of presents by superior officials from inferiors, that constant source of corruption in the East.* The Chinese paid so much for each house, while the nomades paid yearly a hundredth part of their horses and cattle. In their case the levy was not made per house, but so much for each adult male. Public granaries were established, and also a system of posting. At the beginning of 1232 the conquests from the Kin

* De Mailla, ix. 135.

China north of the Yellow River), were divided into ten departments, each with its own administration; and this after the plan of the Chinese philosopher Kungtsé.

The Mongols now proceeded to complete the *rôle* of conquest marked out by Jingis Khan. The Kin Emperor had, in 1229, sent offerings for the *manes* of that conqueror, but they were refused. Notwithstanding the death of Jingis, a desultory war had been continued with the Kins. In 1228 the Chinese won their first victory for eighteen years over the Mongols.

The latter had entered the district of Ta-tchang-yuen with 8,000 men. A Chinese commander named Wanien-tchin-ho-chang opposed them, with an advance guard of 400 cuirassiers composed of deserters and vagabond Chinese, Uighurs, Maneis (*i.e.*, the mountaineers of Suchuan), Thibetans, Thu-ku-hoan, &c. Desperate characters, they fought desperately, and although so greatly outnumbered, they completely defeated the enemy.* In 1230 the Kin troops again defeated the Mongols in two small engagements, and a Mongol envoy who had been imprisoned was sent back with an insulting message. Ogotai and his brother Tului now determined to press the war against the Kins in person. Having taken several strongholds in Shansi they crossed the Yellow River into Shen-si, where they captured sixty places in which the Kins had garrisons, and conquered the country between Tong tcheu and Hoa tche. They then proceeded to attack Fong-tsiang-fu, which offered a brave resistance. The Kin Emperor sent two officers to relieve it, and ordered them to take a portion of the garrison of the celebrated fortress of Tung kuan with them. With this they attacked the Mongols, the result was not decisive, but the Kin generals retired. The garrison held out bravely and repulsed an assault, and the Mongol general Antchar at length converted the siege into a blockade. He then proceeded to capture Ping leang, Si ho tcheu, King yang, Pin yuen, &c., towns of Shen-si, and eventually compelled Fong tsiang to surrender.† Ogotai, who had remained in Pehchehli, now retired northwards to pass the summer heats at the Lake Ilun Ussun, fifty leagues north of the Great Wall, where he held a Kuriltai, to decide upon the plan of campaign to be adopted against the Kin.‡

Shensi was now in the power of the Mongols, and the dominion of the Kin emperors was restricted to the province of Honan—a province bounded and protected on the north by the Yellow River and on the west by high mountains and the fortress of Tung kuan. On the south it was bounded by the Sung empire, and on this side it was accessible. Jingis, in the plan that he had sketched before his death, had advised his sons to make a wide détour, turning the northern and western barriers of Honan, and to invade that province from the south.

* De Mailla, ix. 130. D'Ohsson, ii. 17. † De Mailla, 140, 141. D'Ohsson, ii. 19, 20.
‡ D'Ohsson, ii. 20.

This plan necessitated marching through a part of the territory subject to the Sung dynasty, and the Mongols sent an envoy to ask permission, but his mission was suspected and he was put to death. This treacherous act greatly surprised the Mongols, whose alliance had been courted by the Sung authorities, and it was made the pretext eventually for the destruction of that empire.*

Tului set out from Pao-ki, a town of Shensi, nine leagues S.W. of Fong siang, with 30,000 horsemen, to turn the western defences of Ho-nan. He had learnt from his father the policy of ruthless destruction, and he now put it in force mercilessly. De Mailla describes how he slaughtered people by the hundred thousand.† He advanced across the Hua mountains, which form the watershed between the rivers Han and Hoei, and were the boundary between the Kin and the Sung empires. He then entered upon the lands of the latter empire, captured many cities both in Southern Shensi and northern Su-chuan. In January, 1239, he appeared on the river Han, and after a surprising march through mountain defiles and dangers in the province of Su-chuan, his troops at length passed the gorge of U sin koan, and appeared in Southern Honan.‡ Meanwhile Ogotai advanced against the Kin empire from the north. He laid siege to Ho chung (Pou chau fu), a town situated in the extreme south of Shansi, and close to the Yellow River. De Mailla says the Mongols employed towers 200 feet high, made of pine wood, whence they could see the doings of the garrison, and on which they planted their artillery, while their sappers broke into the walls. The town was captured in a fortnight, and soon after Ogotai crossed the Yellow River at Baipo, near Ho tsing hien.§ Tului continued his march. He crossed the river Han. The Kin generals, with an army which is put by some as high as 130,000, marched against him. A fierce fight ensued at the mountain Yu, near Teng chau, nine leagues S.W. of Nan yang fu, in the province of Honan. Not only had the Kin army the advantage of numbers and position, but the Mongols would seem to have been much harassed and reduced by their long march. The result was not favourable to them, and they retired. They would probably have been annihilated but for the over-confidence of the Kin generals, who thought they had them in a trap, the Yellow River not being frozen over. Their spies meanwhile reported that the Mongols had retired behind a wood of junipers, that they ate and rested during the day, but were on horseback and vigilant during the night. They avoided a general engagement, but managed to capture a portion of the enemy's baggage. Meanwhile the struggle at the Yu mountain seems to have been exaggerated at the court of the Kin Emperor into a substantial victory. The Emperor received congratulations from the various mandarins, and gave a grand feast.‖

* D'Ohsson, ii. 21. † Op. cit., ix. 143. ‡ De Mailla, ix. 143.
§ D'Ohsson, ii. 26. De Mailla, ix. 149. D'Ohsson, ii. 25.

The various armies of the Mongols were now converging upon the doomed capital of the Kin. The army of Tului separated into several bodies, which overran a large portion of Honan, and rendezvoused at Teng chau, whence it proceeded to rejoin Ogotai. The Kin generals now gave orders that the sluices of the Yellow River should be cut and the country round the capital be laid under water; but it was too late, Ogotai had already crossed the river and cut in pieces the 10,000 workmen who were sent to sever the dykes.* Tului having rejoined his brother at the mountain Sang fong, near Yu-chau,† the Mongols surrounded the Kin army, which, seeing itself lost, gave vent to cries like a mountain in labour. They in despair made a desperate effort to cut their way out, and many of them succeeded in escaping to Kiun chau, but their respite was short; the town was besieged, a deep ditch was dug about it so that none might escape, and it soon after fell. The glory of its capture and of the defeat of the Kin troops was chiefly due to Tului. Most of the distinguished generals of the empire were either captured or killed; they showed the usual dignity and intrepidity which distinguished their race.

The death of three of them had an heroic character. "Conduct me," said Khada, "to Subutai" (the great Mongol commander). "Thou, who hast not a moment to live," said the latter; "what dost thou want with me?" "It is heaven and not chance," was the reply, "that creates heroes. Having seen thee, I die without regret;" and he was killed. Wanien Shengho-shang, on being brought before Tului himself, thus addressed him: "I am the victor of Ta-chang-yuan, of Wei-chau, and of Tao-hoi-goa; if I had perished in the confusion of retreat they would have called me traitor: they will now see how I dare die." No pressure could humble his phrases: he had his feet hacked off and his mouth gagged, but he died like a hero; and the astonished Mongols drank to him in kumiss, saying, "Illustrious warrior, if ever thou returnest to life again, range thyself with us." The third general, Ira Buka, died equally constant. When pressed to join the Mongols, he said, "I am a noble of the Kin empire. I ought to be faithful to my sovereign."‡ *Noblesse oblige* assuredly is a fine sentiment at such a crisis. He was also executed. The Mongols now proceeded to capture various towns of Honan, among which may be named those of Hiu chau and Sui chau. The Kin Emperor summoned the various garrisons of the eastern fortresses to come to his assistance. These now assembled under Tochan Utien, the commander of Ven siang, on the Yellow River, to the number of 110,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry, and marched along the banks of the Hoang ho, escorting 200 barges with several hundred thousand measures of grain from the eastern depôts; but on the news that the Mongols were advancing against them they were seized with panic, and

* De Mailla, ix. 151. † De Mailla, ix. 153. ‡ D'Ohsson, ii. 29.

retired, with a vast number of fugitives, towards the high mountains of Thie-ling. The old men and children who lagged behind were slaughtered by the Mongols, while the soldiery, driven to bay by the frost and famine, were forced to surrender, and one of their generals, Wanien Chunsi, was killed.

To add to the misfortunes of the Kin empire, the celebrated fortress of Tung kuan, the buttress and key to Honan on the west, was treacherously surrendered by its commander Li ping;* but the Mongols were not uniformly successful. They strove in vain to capture Kuété fu, whose feeble garrison was not to be intimidated into surrender either by threats or cajolery; while another town of Honan, namely, Lo yang, made even a more heroic defence. Its garrison consisted of only 3,000 or 4,000 men. After several days' bombardment the Mongols made a breach in the eastern angle of the wall, when the governor, fancying the place was lost and unwilling to survive, threw himself into the ditch and was drowned, upon which the garrison elected a new commander, a most intrepid man, named Kiang chin. The garrison was reduced to 2,500 men. He had a number of standards made and hung over the walls, so as to deceive the enemy and make-believe he was stronger than he really was. He adopted a system of mutual supports inside the walls, and marched himself at the head of several hundred picked men to repulse the various assaults. The war cry of the garrison was Han tsé kiun, *i.e.*, "Cowards, retire!" When iron failed them for arrow heads they made them out of copper money; they collected those shot by the Mongols, and made four heads out of each one they collected. These they shot out of tubes. He also invented new kinds of pao, *i.e.*, artillery, which could be served by a few men, and fired huge stones for a hundred paces with great precision. The Mongols were at length wearied out, and after an attack of three months, during which they delivered more than 150 assaults, they raised the siege, although their army was 30,000 strong.†

Ogotai assigned to his great general Subutai, the hero of so many campaigns, the task of capturing Pian-king (now Kai-fong-fu), then the Nanking or southern capital of the Kins. This city was a vast square, twelve leagues in circumference. Ogotai, who wished to pass the heats in the desert, sent an envoy to ask the Kin Emperor to surrender. The favours he demanded showed the increasing culture of the Mongols. He asked for the Academician Chaoping-wen, a descendant of Confucius called Kung-yuan-tsu, and several other learned men: he bade him send him as hostages girls skilled in embroidery and men in hawking. These terms were accepted by the Kin Emperor; but meanwhile Subutai ignored the negotiations: he constructed his catapults, and thousands of captives—women, children, and old people—were employed in filling the ditch with fascines and straw. The Emperor

* De Mailla, ix. 158. † Gaubil, 68-9.

would not for a long time allow his people to reply, but his patience at length gave way. We are told the cannonade from the bamboo catapults was kept up night and day, and the towers on the walls were reduced to ruins. The besieged cased these in with hides and straw, upon which the Mongols made use of inflammable material, thrown by balistas; but the wall itself was firm as iron.

The stone bullets used by the garrison were made of stone from the mountain Ken yo and the lakes Tai hou and Ling-pi, all in the Sung territory; they were made of the shape of a round lantern. Those of the Mongols were more irregular and made of millstones, cut in half or in three pieces. One of their catapults (Tsuan tchu) was built up of thirteen pieces of bamboo.* Their siege works were on a gigantic scale. They built a huge rampart or wall about the city, 150 li in circuit, with guard-houses containing 100 soldiers at every forty paces. On this they planted towers, &c., of wood, corresponding to those of the besieged. The besieged used a kind of bombshells called Tchin tien lei, which they fired from Mangonels or balistas, and also let them down with chains upon the Mongol sappers. They also employed a kind of burning rockets called Fei ho tsiang, which caused terrible wounds.†

After sixteen days' siege, in which a million of men are said to have perished, Subutai, despairing of capturing the place, offered to retire if the Kins would come to terms with the Khakan. He did retire as far as the Yellow River. In the succeeding month an epidemic broke out in the Kin capital: 900,000 coffins were counted, without enumerating those of the very poor who had none‡ While negotiations were going on for peace, a Mongol chief was killed in a riot in the city, and the Kin Emperor foolishly took into his service a Mongol general who had deserted. He was received with great honour, and created Prince of Yen, but his treachery was speedily rewarded, for the Mongols seized and slaughtered all his family without regard to age or sex.§ Disgusted by these acts, Ogotai ordered the negotiations for peace to be broken off and the siege to be once more pressed. The Mongols invested the chief approaches to the capital, while the armies that came to the rescue of the Kin Emperor dispersed at the sight of the besiegers. Famine began to appear in the city, and Ninkiassu, the Emperor, determined to abandon it. He left behind him his wives and children, and escaped with some troops beyond the Yellow River, where he tried to raise the provinces, but his troops were everywhere beaten or scattered, and the city, whose hopes were kept up by the expectation that the Emperor would speedily inflict a telling defeat on the besieging army, began to despair.

Its inhabitants suffered terribly from want; houses were destroyed to obtain firewood, while men ate the corpses of their wives and children.

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* De Mailla, 164. † De Mailla, Op. cit., ix. 166-7. ‡ Gaubil, 72.
§ De Mailla, ix. 173.

During this terrible period, a rebel commander, Tsuïli, seized upon the chief authority: he killed several of the other generals, and then entered into negotiations with Subutai. He sent him the Imperial jewels, and the state robes of the Emperor and Empress: he also burnt the defensive structures on the city walls, to show his submission. He then ordered that everybody should surrender his jewels and valuables, and a terrible scene of pillage and slaughter ensued, during which, according to De Mailla, in less than seven or eight days more than a million coffins were seen to leave the city by its different gates. Tsuili ordered the Empress to write to her husband that all was lost and that he must submit, and sent the message by the Emperor's nurse. He then placed the two empresses and all the princes and princesses of the Kin Imperial family, to the number of 500, in thirty-two carriages, and sent them to Subutai, who was encamped at Tsing-cheng. The princes were killed, while the princesses were sent on to Karakorum: he also sent to the Mongols a descendant of Confucius, and many jurists, priests, doctors, artists, embroiderers, comedians, &c. He then opened the gates, and the Mongols marched in. Subutai demanded from the Khakan that, as the town had not surrendered when summoned, but had cost the Mongols much blood, after the practice of Jingis it should be given up to pillage; but the better counsels of Yeliu Chutsai prevailed, and Ogotai ordered it to be spared, and only those members of the royal family who bore the soubriquet Wanien to be killed. Besides the garrison, the number of people saved by the entreaties of Yeliu Chutsai on this occasion (in which he urged upon the Emperor the value to him of the artisans, &c., &c., who lived in Kai fong fu) was 1,400,000 families.*

Soon after this, Temutai, a Mongol general, who was laying siege to the town of Po-chau, was treacherously attacked by Kuannu, a general of the Kin Emperor's, when he was having negotiations with the latter. The Mongols were beaten, and suffered severely; and Kuannu was appointed generalissimo. He seized the reigns of government, and left the Emperor merely the shadow of authority; the latter soon grew weary of the surveillance, and had him assassinated.

Wushan, another of the Kin generals, had assembled an army of 70,000 men in the south of Honan, where the Emperor Ninkiassu set out to join him; but meanwhile Wushan was attacked by the army of the Chinese Emperor of the Sung dynasty, who had entered into an alliance with Ogotai against the Kins.

This attack was made with great vigour; Wushan, or Usien as De Mailla calls him, was forced to take refuge in the mountains of Ma teng, where he took possession of nine forts. The Chinese troops pressed their advantage, and with such vigour that seven of these forts were captured in six days. They pursued Usien among the defiles and recesses of the

* De Mailla, ix. 138.

mountains, and having again fought with him, compelled him to become a fugitive, and then retired towards Siang yang.*

Meanwhile the Mongols continued their successes; they captured Lo yang, which made a brave resistance, but one of its gates was treacherously surrendered by the officer in charge. The commander of the town, Kiang chan, who had so distinguished himself the year before, refused to surrender, and, covered with wounds, was taken before Tachar, the Mongol commander, who would have gladly enlisted such a hero in the Mongol ranks, but he refused, and turned towards the south to salute the Kin Emperor; he was put to death. Meanwhile Ninkiassu, the Emperor, had been pressed by one of his generals in the south to march towards him, and to take shelter at Tsai-chau, a town of Southern Honan. He now set out escorted by only 300 men, of whom only fifty were mounted. He was well received by the people, and named Wanian Huchahu, a prince of the Royal family, and of great repute for his wisdom, commander-in-chief, and first minister. The Emperor was a weak person, and as the Mongols did not pursue him very closely, he began to grow lethargic in his new refuge, collected a harem of young girls, and made himself a pleasure garden, &c.† His faithful general pressed upon him the indecency of the proceeding, and he altered his behaviour. Huchahu collected a force of 10,000 cavalry. The presence of the court and of this force made Tsai-chau the resort of a vast crowd of fugitives, and it began to be feared that there would be a famine. The Emperor thereupon wrote to the Sung Emperor Li tsong, to ask him to send some provisions. He drew his attention to the favours he had during his reign done the Sung, and bade them beware of the Mongols, that after destroying forty kingdoms, and the empire of Hia, they were now uprooting that of the Kins, and that their turn would follow, and he urged upon them the Chinese proverb that when the lips are gone the teeth are no longer protected from the cold; but the message was all in vain.‡ Meanwhile the Mongols were close at hand. They invested Tsai-chau under the command of Tachar, a son of the Noyan Burgul, a favourite general of Jingis. With them were 20,000 Chinese sent by the Sung Emperor, who also sent 300,000 sacks of rice to provision the besieging army. In two months the famine inside was so excessive that they began to eat human flesh; everybody, including women, were armed and did duty, and the defence was continued with great energy.

Near the town there was a deep lake, raised fifty or sixty feet above the river Jou; in its midst was a tower called Chaitan, in which the Kins had placed a garrison. It was deemed impregnable, not only because of the depth of the lake, but because it was guarded by a dragon, while its lower storey was protected by cross-bows. Mong-kong, the commander of the Sung contingent, caused the lake to be drained into the river Jou,

* De Mailla, ix. 194. † De Mailla, ix. 197. ‡ De Mailla, ix. 199.

then making a road with fascines across its bottom, and amidst a storm of arrows, the fort was attacked and stormed: 537 prisoners were captured. This outwork having fallen, the main siege was pressed. The town was surrounded by two lines of fortifications; after a vigorous assault the confederated Mongols and Chinese captured the exterior one. Ninkiassu saw that his time was drawing near. He deplored, we are told, the fate which made him, who had neither great vices nor faults, have to suffer the fate awarded to the most wicked princes. Death had only one terror for him, namely, that as he was the last of a dynasty which had flourished for 100 years, he might be confounded with those princes whose ill deeds had put an end to their empires. Most of them had mourned in captivity or suffered from the public scorn; heaven knew he had a resolution which would prevent him reaching that depth. The besieged, according to D'Ohsson, were reduced to the pass of boiling all their leather articles, saddles, bottles, old drums, &c.; they made soup with human bones mixed with those of animals and with greens; they ate the old, the infirm, the wounded, and the prisoners. The Mongols made an ineffectual assault, which however caused the besieged a heavy loss. The night after, the Emperor abdicated in favour of Wanien Chinglin, brother of Wanien Baksan, a prince of the blood, who descended directly from Horipu. He gave him the Imperial seal, telling him that his own stoutness prevented him riding on horseback and escaping, but that he was more nimble and might be fated to restore the fortunes of the house. But it was too late, the Mongols and Chinese were already on the walls while the ceremony of inauguration was going on. Ninkiassu now entered a house which was surrounded by bundles of straw, and having given orders that it should be fired, hanged himself. The intrepid Huchahu said he would not die by a plebeian hand, and now that it was useless to continue the struggle he would drown himself in the ditch. His example was followed by four other general officers and 500 soldiers; another example of that heroic devotion which was so characteristic of the supporters of the Kin dynasty. The attendants of Ninkiassu had barely time to pour the libations on the corpse when the Mongols rushed into the city; the body was burnt, and the bones, with such of the Imperial ornaments as were to be found, were divided between the conquerors. Chinglin was soon after assassinated by his soldiers. Thus ended the dynasty of the Kins, which had lasted for 118 years, and during the reign of nine princes.

The various towns in Honan, &c., all now surrendered to the Mongols, except Kungchangfu in Shensi. The Sung Emperor celebrated the victory with great rejoicings, and offered up some of the ashes and the spoils of Ninkiassu to the manes of his own ancestors.* The fall of the Kin dynasty took place in May, 1234. The Khakan and his brother

* D'Ohsson, op. cit., ii. 56.

Tului had eighteen months before retired from China and gone to Mongolia. There Ogotai fell ill, and we are told by Raschid that his brother Tului approached the bed, and raising aloft the wooden vessel in which the Shamans had placed their consecrated liquor, he thus addressed his God, "Great God, eternal being, if thou punishest according to man's guilt, thou knowest that I am more culpable than he; I have killed more people in war, I have harried more women and children, I have made more tears to flow from fathers and mothers; if thou summonest one of thy servants because of his beauty or merit, I still claim to be more worthy; take me in the place of Ogotai and make his disease pass into me." Ogotai recovered, and Tului soon after died, Juveni says, chiefly from excessive drinking; he had been the favourite son of Jingis, and was only forty years old when he expired in October, 1232. According to custom, his name was no longer pronounced after his death. Tului in Mongol means "mirror," and the Turkish synonym for the word, viz., *guezugu*, was eradicated from the language. He was referred to as the Great Novan.*

While the Kin empire was being conquered, the Mongols were extending their empire in the West. The retreat of Jingis Khan had left Persia almost a desert. Of the three sons of the Khuarezm Shah Muhammed, Jelal-ud-din was a fugitive in India; and Roku-ud-din had been killed by the Mongols. The third, Ghiath-ud-din, who had taken refuge in Mazauderan, marched on the retreat of the Mongols upon Ispahan, and was speedily master of Irac Adjem, Khorassan, and Mazenderan. Jelal-ud-din having won considerable fame in India, and married the daughter of the Sultan of Delhi, determined to cross the Indus and recover his hereditary dominions. On his long march from the Indus many of his men died from fatigue, &c., and he arrived in Kerman with only 4,000 men. Here he was well received by Borak, an illustrious man, a Kara Kitayen by birth, who founded the dynasty of the Karakitayens of Kerman. Having married a daughter of Borak and received his submission, Jelal passed into Fars, where an independent dynasty had long reigned under the name of Salgarids. It was now represented by the Atabeg Saad, whose friendship Jelal secured by marrying his daughter. He then advanced into Irak, where his brother reigned, or rather made a pretence of reigning. A weak and voluptuous prince, he was barely acknowledged by his dependents, and was at the mercy of his mercenary troops. He was, however, surrounded by a considerable army, and Jelal seeing no chance of defeating it, had recourse to deception; he feigned to be only marching to be near his brother, and without any other ambitious motive. Ghiath was deceived, upon which Jelal proceeded to corrupt his troops, and succeeded so well that his brother fled. The authority of Jelal-ud-din was speedily acknowledged. The generals presented them-

* D'Ohsson, ii. 60. Gaubil, 75.

selves with sheets about their necks and asked his pardon, and various independent princes who had sprung up during the Mongol troubles in Khorassan, Mazenderan, and Irak, all came and did homage.*

Jelal's first exploit when he was firmly settled on the throne was an attack on the Khaliph of Baghdad, the enemy of his father and grandfather, whom he accused of having called in the Mongols. He invaded Khuzistan, which with Irac Areb formed the appanage of the Khaliphs, and laid siege to its chief town, Tusster. The Khaliph gave the command of his troops to Kushtimur, and sent a pigeon express to the Prince of Arbil to come to his support. Jelal, although very inferior in strength, won a victory; Kushtimur was killed, and his troops pursued to the neighbourhood of Baghdad. Having taken the town of Dakuka, he turned aside from his intentions against the Khaliph while he subdued Azerbaidjan, then governed by the Atabeg Uzbeg, a drunken boor. Jelal took its capital, Tebriz, and having made the province into an appanage, he advanced into Georgia, whose Christian inhabitants have always been the special objects of hatred to their Mussalman neighbours. Having taken the town of Tovin, he defeated an army of 70,000 Georgians, of whom 20,000 were disabled, and his army then spread over Georgia and ravaged it. The Georgians collected a second army, which consisted of Alans, Lesghs, Kipchaks, and other Caucasians, as well as their own people. This was also defeated.

The Sultan now, March, 1226, advanced upon Tiflis, which he captured, and killed all the Georgians who would not accept this religion of the Prophet. He then returned to Ispahan, where he received the renewed submission of Borak, the chief of Kerman, who had shown signs of turbulence. In October, 1226, he made an incursion into Abkhazia, or Southern Circassia; he only remained there ten days, when he returned and laid siege to the town of Khelat, which was bravely defended. The Sultan was called away from here to put down a horde of Turkomans who had invaded Azerbaidjan. The next year, *i.e.*, in 1227, he ravaged the country of the Assarians, and defeated a body of Mongols who had advanced as far as Damegan. The following year the Mongols appeared in greater force, and marched in five divisions, commanded by their generals Tadji, Baku, Assatogan, Taimaz, and Ta, to within a day's journey of Ispahan, the head-quarters of Jelal.† He was ever a courageous, bold man, and seemed little affected by this advance. His generals, who timidly came to consult with him in the palace, were entertained with irrelevant matter for some time, to show how little the Sultan was affected; they eventually swore not to turn their backs on the enemy or to prefer life to a glorious end, and the Cadhi and Reis, the two chief officials of Ispahan, were ordered to hold a review of the armed citizens.‡

Meanwhile a body of 2,000 Mongols was detached to Luristan to

* D'Ohsson, iii. 9. † D'Ohsson, iii. 23. ‡ D'Ohsson, iii. 24.

collect provisions. These were surprised by some of the Sultan's troops, and 400 were made prisoners. It is said that Jelal abandoned these to the fury of the populace, who massacred them in the streets of Ispahan; he set them the example by cutting off some of their heads in the palace yard, their bodies being given to the dogs.* The day of battle was fixed according to the predictions of the court astrologer. No sooner had Jelal ranged his army in battle array than his brother Ghiath deserted with a body of troops. Notwithstanding this, Jelal engaged the enemy, and was at first victorious, but as usual, the Mongols prepared an ambuscade, and ended by dispersing the Khuarezmian forces, some of which fled to Fars, others to Kerman, and others to Azerbaidjan. The loss of the Mongols was so great, however, that they merely showed themselves at the gates of Ispahan, and then retreated in all haste by Rayi and Nischapoor, and recrossed the Oxus, after losing a great many of their men. Wolff makes Chin Timur, who had been left as Mongol governor in Khorassan, to control these operations, and says he retired on hearing the news of the death of Jingis.† Jelal-ud-din had disappeared in the recent battle, and arrangements were already being made for the election of another ruler, but the Cadhi persuaded the people to wait till the feast of Bairam, when, if the Sultan did not return, they should elect the Atabeg Togan Taissi in his place. But on the day of the feast he appeared. His return was the signal for great rejoicings. He promoted those who had distinguished themselves, and made those who had disgraced themselves promenade the town with women's veils over their heads.‡ Meanwhile his brother Ghiath had gone to Khuzistan to ask assistance from the Khaliph in recovering his dominions. He had been insulted by one Muhammed, a favourite of Jelal-ud-din, and in revenge had assassinated him. This incensed Jelal, who ordered the funeral procession of the murdered man to pass twice before the door of his murderer. This public affront was the cause of the desertion of his brother by Ghiath on the day of the recent battle.

Jelal having despatched a body of troops in pursuit of the Mongols was enjoying his ease at Tébriz when he heard that his brother was marching on Ispahan. He marched to meet him, upon which he fled, and took refuge, first among the Assassins and then in Kerman, where he was at length strangled by order of Borak.

Jelal now had to meet a great army of the confederated Caucasian tribes, Georgians, Armenians, Alans, Serirs (*i.e.*, Sirhghers or Kubechi), Lesghs, Kipchaks, Soussans (? Souans), Abkhazes, and Djanites.§ He first detached the Kipchaks by recounting to them how many of their people's lives had been saved by his intercession with his father.

The Kipchaks having retired, he next suggested to the Georgians a

* D'Ohsson, iii. 25. † Wolff, 121. ‡ D'Ohsson, op. cit., iii. 29.
§ D'Ohsson, iii. 33.

truce, during which champions on each side should fight in view of the two armies. A gallant Georgian having entered the arena he was met by the Sultan himself and transfixed with a stroke of his lance; three of his sons who came forward to revenge their father were successively killed. A gigantic Georgian then came forward, who was also killed by the dexterous Sultan. After which, notwithstanding the truce, he gave orders for a general attack, in which the Georgians were put to flight. Jelal now once more laid siege to Khelat; while before the town he received the submission of Roku-ud-din Jehanshah, a relative of the Seljuk ruler of Rum. He also received an embassy from the new Khaliph of Baghdad, who demanded first that Jelal should not exercise any act of sovereignty over the princes of Mosul, Erbil, Abouyé, and Jebal, who were his feudatories; secondly, that he would restore the name of the Khaliph in the public prayers of Persia, from which it had been defaced by his father Muhammed. Both requests were granted, and in return the Khaliph sent him the robe of investiture of the government of Persia, with presents for himself and his grandees.

Jelal ordered a splendid tomb to be built at Ispahan to hold his father's remains; until this was finished he them placed in safe custody in the strong fort of Erdehan, on the mountain Demavend, three days' journey from Rayi. When a few years after, the Mongols captured this place they also captured the corpse of Muhammed and sent it to the Khakan, who ordered it to be burnt. We are told they did the same to all the royal remains they came across, fancying they belonged to Khuarezmian princes, and thus even the bones of Mahmud of Ghazni were exhumed and burnt. The same year, *i.e.*, in 1229, Jelal proposed an alliance with Alaï-ud-din Kei Kubad, the Seljuk Sultan of Rum, or Asia Minor, suggesting to him that they two were the bulwarks, one in the east, the other in the west, of the true faith against the infidels, but the envoys of Alaï-ud-din were so badly and cavalierly treated by the Khuarezmians, chiefly, as Muhammed of Nessa tells us, because the vizier deemed their presents of too little value, that they returned disgusted.

Khelat at length fell, after a siege of six months. Jelal would have spared it the horrors of a sack, but his officers insisted that the troops had suffered so terribly in the siege that they would desert unless permitted to loot. The town was consequently given up to pillage for three days, and many of its inhabitants perished from torture inflicted to make them disclose where their riches were hid.*

Khelat belonged to Ashraf, Prince of Damascus. That prince now formed a confederacy to oppose Jelal. He was supported by Kei-Kubad, Sultan of Rum, and princes of Aleppo, Mosul, and Mesopotamia. Their joint army assembled at Sivas, and thence marched on Khelat. Jelal marched to meet them with a very inferior force, and meanwhile sent

* D'Ohsson, iii. 41.

round the Chaushes and Pehluvans, *i.e.*, the heralds with red arrows, the Khuarezmian signal for a rendezvous. He hoped to attack the enemy before they had united their forces, but was seized with sickness, and before he recovered they had amalgamated their troops. In the battle which followed Jelal was badly beaten, and fled towards Manazguerd, and then to Khelat, whence he removed all the rich things he could transport, and burnt the rest, leaving his vizier to watch the enemy. He retreated through Azerbaidjan, and was deserted by his generals. At this critical point he received offers of peace from the confederate princes, who were perhaps afraid to leave the wide empire of Persia at the mercy of the Mongols. The peace was hurried on by the arrival of a large Mongol army under the orders of the generals Churmagun and Baidshu, who had been sent into Khorassan at the head of 30,000 men by the Grand Kuriltai held at the accession of Ogotai.* This army speedily traversed Khorassan by way of Esferan and Rayi. Jelal thought the Mongols would winter in Irak, so he leisurely retreated to Tebriz; he was, however, mistaken, for they followed closely on his heels, and he was obliged to retire hastily to Mukan, a district of Arran, where he expected to rendezvous his troops. He fled so hastily that he left his harem behind him. While waiting for his troops to concentrate, and engaged in hunting, he was nearly surprised by the Mongols, and only just escaped into Azerbaidjan, whence he sent to ask assistance of Ashraf, Prince of Damascus. The messenger was intercepted by Sheref-ul Mulk, his own vizier, who had begun to intrigue against his master. He had conducted the Sultan's treasures and his harem into the safe fastnesses of Arran, and had then raised the standard of revolt; his motive for revolt being the extravagance and profuseness of the Sultan, which left him bare when he had to pay his soldiers. He wrote numerous letters to the neighbouring princes, in which he described his master as the fallen tyrant. These fell into the hands of Jelal, who deprived him of his viziership, and sent messengers throughout the province with orders to no longer obey his authority. He shortly after, by feigning to forgive him, got him into his power, but dissatisfaction was very wide spread in the newly conquered provinces of Azerbaidjan and Arran.

A messenger of the Mongols who was sent to summon Bailecan was brought to Jelal, who promised him his life if he would tell him the strength of the Mongol forces; he told him that when Churmagun reviewed the army near Bokhara the muster rolls showed it to be 20,000 strong. Jelal basely killed him for fear this news might discourage his own troops. He then, doubting the sincerity of his late vizier Sheref-ul Mulk, had him strangled; this was an aristocratic privilege, the commonalty were decapitated. He next put down a rebellion in Ganja, and punished the inhabitants for murdering some of his people. He then tried

* Wolff, 121.

ineffectually to get assistance from the Prince of Damascus or Syria and his brother the Prince of Khelat. The historian Mohammed of Nessa was his envoy and trusty councillor on these occasions. Meanwhile the Mongols continued their advance. The hesitating Sultan was led astray by the advice of Messaud, Prince of Amid, who persuaded him to try and capture the kingdom of Rum, or Asia Minor, an easy task, and that he would then be in a much better position to resist the Mongols. While on this fool's errand and near Amid he was surprised by the Mongols, and only escaped with a few followers. He was hotly pursued and his followers killed; he at length reached the Kurdish mountains. The Kurds, as was their custom, proceeded to strip him and his companions. Having made himself known to their chief, he took him home and left him with his wife while he went to search for his horses. While absent a Kurd came into the tent and asked who this Khuarezmian was, and how it came that they did not kill him; the hostess replied that he was the Sultan, upon which he said, "How do you know? and if it be true, he killed at Khelat one of my brothers, a better man than himself," upon which he killed him. Thus perished the last of the Khuarezm Shahs.*

Jelal, according to his biographer Nessaui, was of a middle stature, had a Turkish physiognomy, and a dark complexion, his mother having been an Indian. He was brave to excess, calm, grave, and silent. He spoke both Turki and Persian.

D'Ohsson has made some judicious remarks about his character; he says he was a true Turkoman, had all the good qualities of a soldier rather than of a general or a ruler, without prudence or foresight, living by pillage, profiting by the respite allowed him by the Mongols to attack his neighbours, given to luxury, drinking, and music; always going to bed drunk, even when the Mongols were after him. His troops, without pay, subsisted on plunder. After his death many impostors appeared, who claimed to be Jelal-ud-din.†

After the Sultan's death the scattered Khuarezmian troops were set upon by the peasants and the nomades (Bedouins, Kurds, &c.), and destroyed. The Mongols proceeded to ravage the country in their usual manner. Two months after the disappearance of Jelal, says D'Ohsson, they had pillaged the districts of Diarbekr, Mesopotamia, Erbil, and Khelat, without encountering any resistance, the people seemed stupefied. The historian Ibn-al-athir gives some examples of the decrepitude to which they were reduced: a Mongol entered a populous village, and proceeded to kill the inhabitants one after another without any one raising a hand. Another wishing to kill a man, and having no weapon by him, told him to lie down while he went for a sword, with this he returned and killed the man, who in the meantime had not moved. An officer

* D'Ohsson, iii. 62. † D'Ohsson, iii. 63, 64.

with twenty-seven men met a Mongol, who was insolent, he ordered them to kill him; they said they were too few, and he actually had to kill him himself; having done which all immediately fled.* The flourishing towns of Sared, Tanza, Mardin el Khabur, Araban, and El Munassa were sacked with revolting cruelty.

The Mongols now advanced upon Azerbaidjan, and approached its capital, Tebriz, which bought its safety by a large present and the promise of an annual tribute. Among the gifts was one of a splendid tent of silk and gold brocade, lined with sable and other furs.†

In 1235 and 1236 they again entered the country of Erbil, took and pillaged its capital, Erbil, but were compelled to retire from the citadel, where most of the inhabitants had taken refuge. They then overran the northern portion of Irak Areb, as far as Zek-Abad, and Sermenrai. The Kaliph now felt himself threatened, put Baghdad in a state of defence and preached a holy war. His army met the Mongols at Jebel Hamrin, on the Tigris, defeated them and rescued a great number of prisoners, but shortly after, in March, 1238, a body of 10,000 Mongols entered Irak Areb for the second time, and this time practised their favourite ruse of drawing the Khaliph's troops into an ambuscade, where many of them perished. In the north their armies were no less victorious. In 1235 they captured Kandzag, now Gandja, in Arran (the Jelisavetpol of the Russians), and put its inhabitants to the sword.‡

The next year they quitted the plain of Mughan, on the Caspian, and sacked most of the towns of Albania, Georgia, and Great Armenia, the Queen Rousudan taking refuge in the fortress of Ousaneth, in the mountains of Imeritia.§ In 1238 the Mongols conquered the country between the Aras and the Kur, which was divided among a number of petty princes, feudatories of the throne of Georgia, and for the most part related to the celebrated Ivan, the Georgian constable. The chief of these, Jalul, nephew of Ivan, did homage to the Mongols and promised to pay tribute. They then entered Georgia, where they captured Imanise, Shamshuildé, Tiflis, and other towns, and afterwards turned upon Armenia; Ani, its ancient capital, suffered a terrible siege, many of its inhabitants escaped to the Mongol camp and were well treated; this encouraged others to come, but one day the captives were distributed among the Mongols and all killed: the town was sacked. Kars, hoping to escape the same fate, hastened to put its keys in the Mongols' hands, but the same fate awaited it, only the children and artisans escaped the general massacre. In 1240 the Armenian Prince Avak, with his sister Thamtha, went to the court of Ogotai, where they were well received; the Khakan gave orders that Avak and the other Armenian princes should be

* D'Ohsson, iii. 68. † D'Ohsson, iii. 71. ‡ D'Ohsson, iii. 75.
§ See Jour. Asiat., new series, xii. 201.

restored to their lands and pay only a moderate tribute. Shortly afterwards Churmagun, the Mongol commander, died.*

The Mongols seem to have attacked the Christians of Armenia and Georgia with peculiar ferocity; they were perhaps incited to this by the accusations of the Moslems of Persia. According to the Armenian historian Chamich, it was about this time that a Christian doctor of Syria called Simeon gained some influence over them, persuaded them to treat the Christians with more consideration, and even obtained the appointment of administrator of the Christian populations of Armenia and Georgia, with letters to the Mongol governors, who were ordered to obey him. By some of the Mongols he was called Atha, "father," by others Babdan, *i.e.*, doctor. Many of the Mongols were baptised.

Having traced out the military doings of the Mongols, we may shortly consider their civil administration in Persia, &c. On the retreat of Jingis, one Chin Timur was left by Juji as his representative in Khuarezm, who, when Churmagun advanced against Jelal-ud-din, was ordered to occupy Khorassan. Under him were four deputies chosen by the four Khanates into which the empire was divided. The country south of the Oxus not having been willed by Jingis was treated as common property. Chin Timur proceeded to crush out the miserable remnant of the population by exactions. Jingis did not appreciate the value of coin, he took his taxes in kind. The new tax-master was not so ingenuous, and he extorted much hidden treasure by torture. Meanwhile a body of 10,000 Kankalis, troops of the Khuarezm Shahs, made raids from the mountains of Nishapoor and Thus, in which they killed the Mongol governors and those who sided with them. They were at length defeated by Kelilat, the chief officer of Chin Timur, and 3,000 of them who had taken refuge in the great mosque at Herat were there put to the sword. One Tair Behadur was now appointed to the post of governor of Khorassan by the Khakan in the place of Chin Timur, whose exactions had raised up a strong opposition to him. Chin Timur reproached him with having again ravaged Khorassan, which was recovering from the effects of the march of Jingis, and he sent his general Kelilat, who represented the Khakan's special interests in Khorassan, and was a courtly envoy, to plead his case with Ogotai. He also sent with him several petty princes of the country, who went to do homage. This flattered the Khakan's vanity, who contrasted it with the conduct of Churmagun, the blood-thirsty ravager of Georgia and the dominions of the Khaliph, who, although he had been in Persia so long, had not sent him any of the local princes to make submission. He renominated Chin Timur governor of Khorassan and Mazanderan, associating Kelilat with him, and made him independent of Churmagun and the other generals. Chin Timur appointed Sheref ud din, of Yesd, to be his Grand Master of the Seals, or Chief Chancellor (Ulug Biticudji),

* D'Ohsson, iii. 79.

and Behai ud din Muhammed, of Juveni, father of the author of the History of Jingis Khan, to be Sahib Divan, or Finance Minister; each of the representatives of the three other branches of the Imperial family had an agent in the treasury to watch his master's interest. Chin Timur died in 1235,* and was succeeded by an old man named Nussal, who directly after gave way to Kurguz, a protegé of Chin Timur. Like him and so many other able servants of the Mongols, Kurguz was a Uighur Turk who had risen successively from being tutor and writing master to the children of Juji to be secretary of Chin Timur, when the latter was made governor of Khuarezm. We are told that he organised the administration of Khorassan and repressed the exactions of a crowd of small tyrants.† This made him many enemies, the chief of whom were Sheref-ud-din and Kelilat, the vizier and general of Chin Timur; they intrigued at court to get him removed. At length Ogotai despatched one Argun to make inquiries on the spot, Kurguz went to meet him, and came to high words, in which blood was shed. In the night he despatched a messenger to Ogotai with his coat marked with blood. This dramatic stroke had the desired effect, and the different parties were summoned to the presence of Ogotai to give account of themselves. The malcontents had supported Ungu Timur, the son of Chin Timur, as a candidate for the governorship of Khorassan. One day the Khakan was entertained by Ungu Timur, but directly after he left the tent it blew down; Ogotai had the tent destroyed. A few days after he supped with Kurguz, who furnished his tent sumptuously and provided the Khakan *inter alia* with a coronet adorned with the stones called *yarcan* (? Jade from Yarkand).

After a few months' deliberation Ogotai decided in favour of Kurguz, and condemned Ungu Timur and his followers to be punished as calumniators, but he added, "As you belong to Batu I will remit the matter to him, and he will punish you." Ungu Timur, by the advice of Chinkai, a trusty councillor of the Khakan, replied, "The Khakan is the overlord of Batu; is a dog like myself to be the cause of two sovereigns deliberating? The Khakan shall decide." "You speak well," said Ogotai, "for Batu would not have mercy on his own son if he were to do what you have done."‡ Kurguz was made governor of all the country south of the Oxus, including the conquests of Churmagun; he fixed his court at Thus, where he summoned the grandees of Khorassan and Irak and the Mongol general, and held a fête, at which the new Imperial ordinances were promulgated. The Mongol governors appointed by Churmagun had been most oppressive, and had appropriated much of the revenue, many of them were now displaced; he protected the Persians and civilians against the Mongol soldiery, and was generally feared and respected; he rebuilt the city of Thus, of which only fifty houses remained. Herat, too, by orders of Ogotai began to rise from its ruins. It had been almost deserted for

* D'Ohsson, iii. 108. † D'Ohsson, iii. 110. ‡ D'Ohsson, iii. 114.

fifteen years, but now an Emir named Yzz ud din, who had been transported to Bishbalig in Uighuria by Tului, received orders to return to Herat with 100 families. They found the canals choked, and had to go to Afghanistan for ploughs and long tails (*i.e.*, sheep). In a short time people assembled there once more, and a census made in 1240 showed there were then 6,900 inhabitants.*

Such was the condition of affairs in Persia during Ogotai's reign. We will now turn to another corner of his empire, the mysterious peninsula of Corea. In 1218 Vangtung, the King of Corea, had acknowledged himself as the vassal of Jingis Khan. In 1231 an ambassador of Ogotai's was killed there, and the murderers were not punished. Salitai, a Mongol general, was sent against the rebels, captured forty of their towns, received the submission of the King, and before retiring appointed seventy-two Darugas, or prefects, in the different districts. These were treacherously murdered during the following year. The Corean King with many of his subjects grew frightened, and leaving his general Hong-fu-yuen in command of his troops, fled to the island of Tsiang-hua, off the west coast of Corea. Salitai, who re-entered Corea with an army, was killed by an archer. It was about this time, namely, in 1235, that Ogotai held the grand Kuriltai, when three armies for the conquest of Corea, the Sung empire, and the country west of the Volga were organised. A fourth body of troops under the general Hukatu was sent to the borders of Cashmir.

Before attacking Corea, Ogotai wrote to its King a list of his complaints: first, that he had failed to send any one to his court to do homage; secondly, that he had maltreated his envoy who had gone to remind him of his fault; thirdly, he accused him of the murder of his ambassador by the Coreans; fourthly, of having evaded sending a contingent of troops to assist the Mongols, and of having failed to send an enumeration of his people; fifthly, of having killed his prefects. Ogotai summoned him to his court to give account of these crimes. He refused: but Hong-fu-yuen feeling himself too weak to resist the Mongols, sent in his submission, and was appointed governor of Tungking. Soon after this a Mongol army overran Corea, defeated the King in several engagements, and forced him once more to become tributary, and to send a hostage to Ogotai. This was in 1241.

When the empire of the Kins was destroyed, it had been agreed between the confederated Sung and Mongol Emperors that Honan should be abandoned to the former; the Mongols now refused to evacuate their conquest, except that portion of Honan situated to the south-east of the towns of Chingchau and Tsaichau (Yu-ning-fu).

The Sung Emperor was easily persuaded by some of his courtiers to resent this, and to try and forcibly occupy the three ancient Imperial residences of Changan (Si-ngan-fu) in Shensi, Loyang (Ho-nan-fu) in

* D'Ohsson, iii. 117.

Honan, and Pianking, *i.e.*, the Nanking, and sent an army of 15,000 against Pianking (Kai fong fu). Here the rebel Tsuili, whom we have already named, kept up a nominal authority in the palace of the Kin Emperors; he speedily disgusted the Mongol prefects who assisted him, and was by them assassinated. His body was dragged at a horse's tail to the city court amidst a crowd of people. Li pe yuen, one of his officers, denounced the crimes he had committed, and when some one interrupted him, a general cry arose approving his remarks and affirming that he deserved even a worse fate. His head was fastened to a stake, his body was cut in pieces, while his heart was torn out and eaten by some of the barbarous crowd.*

The Sung general now occupied Pianking and Lo-yang. These towns had not recovered the effects of the former sieges, and when reinvested by the Mongols the Sung garrisons soon felt the effects of want; they abandoned them, and the Mongols retook them. The Sung authorities would now have made peace, but the invasion of their country had already been decided upon at the great Kuriltai of 1235, at which three armies were appointed for the task, one under Kutan, the second son of Ogotai, and the general Tagai, was to invade Suchuan; the second, under the generals Temutai and Changju, marched upon Hukuang; the third, with the Prince Kutchu, the third son of Ogotai, Prince Khunbuca, and the general Chagan, was to act in Kiangnan. Kutan marched through Shensi, and received on the way the submission of Kungchangfu, the only town that still remained faithful to the Kins.† It then, after some checks, forced the mountains that separate Shensi and Suchuan; in a month it captured many of the chief towns of Suchuan, including Mian chau (Mian hien), whose commander, Kaokia, was killed after a brave struggle. Tsing ye yuen, considered the bulwark and key of Suchuan, was then attacked by the vanguard of Kutan. A Chinese commander boldly advanced against the Mongol camp and defeated the Mongols. He then raised the siege of Veng shi hien, and, after defeating a large body of them, found refuge at Sian jin, south-west of Fong hien; but these were only evanescent victories, the Mongols consolidated their troops, forced the mountains between Shensi and Suchuan, and in a month made themselves masters of two-thirds of that province, and massacred many of its inhabitants. The governor of Ventchau poisoned all his family, burnt their bodies, fired the chief valuables in his custody, including his diploma as governor, and then stabbed himself: this species of heroism is common in Chinese history.‡ Having ruined Western Suchuan, Kutan retired into Shensi, and the Chinese reoccupied some of the conquered towns. Meanwhile his brother Kutchu had, in March, 1236, advanced from Tang chau in Honan into Hu kuang, and captured Siang yang, the foremost city of the Sung. It was given up to the Mongols by

* De Mailla, ix. 209, 210. † D'Ohsson, ii. 79. ‡ D'Ohsson, ii. 81.

treashery. It then contained 47,000 inhabitants, 300,000 taels of treasure, twenty-four arsenals stocked with arms, and a large store of provisions, which fell into the hands of the Mongols. They also captured Tsao yang and Te ngan fu.* About this time Kutchu died. He was the favourite son of Ogotai, and had been named by him as his successor. During the next two years the Mongols fought with varying success, and captured several towns north of the river Kiang, but no further important conquest was made in this direction during the reign of Ogotai, and the Sung empire survived, as is well known, till the reign of the Great Khan Khubilai.

Let us now turn once more to the western frontiers of the Mongol empire.

When Jingis returned home again after his great expedition in the West he left a contingent of troops in Persia; another was apparently left in the steppes beyond the Jaik; and so early as 1226 this contingent seems to have attacked the city of Bulgar, for on a gravestone found among its ruins this year is named as the year of oppression.† Two or three years later, Von Hammer says in 1228 and Wolff in 1230, Ogotai sent Suntai, the ninth son of Juji, with 30,000 men into the West. They attacked the Saksins and Comans, who took refuge in the country of Bulgar, and in 1232 they approached that city, which was apparently saved from capture by the timely arrival of a Russian army commanded by the princes of Smolensko and Kief.‡ I have mentioned that at the Kuriltai held in 1235 it was determined to send an army westward. Ogotai was wishful to take command of this army destined to cross the Volga, and to bring the greater portion of Eastern Europe under the dominion of the Mongols, but he was easily persuaded that he ought now to enjoy the fruits of so much victory, and to leave the arduous task of conquest for his generals; and he accordingly gave the command of the forces to Batu, the son of his eldest brother Juji, who had shown skill in war. This choice was regulated also probably by the fact that the special appanage of the house of Juji lay in the deserts of Kipchak, adjoining the Volga, and that such conquests as might be made would be an addition to it; with Batu went his brothers Orda, Sheiban, and Tangut. Baidar and Kaidu, sons of Jagatai; Kuyuk and Kadan Ogul, sons of Ogotai; Mangu, Buri, and Budjek, sons of Tului. Batu, as I have said, had the first command, and his chief adviser was the great general Subutai Behadur, who had won renown in so many campaigns. The general rendezvous was fixed for the spring of 1237, on the borders of Great Bulgaria. One division of the Mongol army, commanded by Subutai, penetrated into that country; two of its chiefs came to do homage, but were afterwards rebellious. It then returned and attacked the capital, Bulgar. Its inhabitants seem to

* De Mailla, ix. 216.

† Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 99. ‡ Wolff, 124. Von Hammer, op. cit., 100.

have been exterminated, and the city, which in the early middle ages was the greatest mart perhaps in Eastern Europe for leather, furs, salt fish, &c., was so destroyed that it never again looked up.*

The following spring, Mangu and his brother Budjek, who commanded the left wing of the army, marched against the Kipchaks, or Comans, along the northern shores of the Caspian. Patchiman, or Patchimak, one of their bravest chiefs, escaped the general subjection of his countrymen, and with a body of followers hid in the woods on the banks of the Volga, and made raids upon the Mongols. Mangu prepared 200 boats or barges, armed with 100 men each, and dividing them into two sections, commanded by himself and his brother, scoured the woods on each bank of the river. Having come to a deserted encampment, they found an old woman, who told them Patchiman had taken refuge on an island in the river, where the gathered spoil of his forays were stored. There were no boats about, but a strong wind blew and uncovered the causeway that led to the island. The Mongols rushed in, captured Patchiman, killed or drowned his followers, and captured their wives and a considerable booty. De Mailla says that Patchiman kindly warned the Mongols that they had better retire again hastily or the way would be once more under water, and that this in fact happened with some inconvenience to the conquerors.† When brought before Mangu and ordered to kneel, he replied with some dignity, "Do you think I am so weak as to ask for my life? Do you mistake me for a camel?"‡ The Tarikh Djihankuschai says that he asked that he might die by Mangu's own hand, but that the latter handed him over to his brother Budjek. With him also perished Catchar Ogola, a prince of the Ases or Ossetæ. The Mongols wintered in this country.§

Meanwhile another division of the army, under Batu, Orda, Bereké, Kadan, Buri, and Kulkan, crossed the Volga and subdued the Bokshas and Burtasses, *i.e.*, the Mokshas and Ertsas, the two divisions of the Mordvins who had lately been beaten by the Grand Prince George the Second; they also defeated the Circassians (? the Cheremisses), and the Vezofinnaks, *i.e.*, the Vesses or Vod.‖ Carpino mentions that the Mongols captured three towns before they attacked the Russians; these he calls Barthra (var Barchin), Jakint (var Sarguit), and Orna, a rich town, inhabited by Christians, Khazars, Russians, Alans, and others, and a place of considerable trade, situated near the mouth of the Don. Seeing that they could not capture it otherwise, they diverted the course of the river, and thus overwhelmed it and its contents.¶ Wolff says that the Mongols were guided through the dense forests of Pensa and Tambof by the Mordvins, and appeared unexpectedly on the frontiers of Riazan. The small principality of

* Raschid, quoted by D'Ohsson, ii. 623. Wolff, 136.
† De Mailla, ix. 225. ‡ De Mailla, ix. 224. § Raschid, &c., in D'Ohsson, ii. 624.
‖ D'Ohsson, ii. 113 and 625. ¶ D'Ohsson, ii. 113. Note.

Riazan, dependent on the Grand Duchy of Vladimir, was then divided between the brothers George and Roman Igorovitch and their cousins Oleg Wladomirovitch and Jaroslaf Davidovitch, who held court at Riazan, Isteslawetz, Pronsk, and Murom respectively; they had carried on a severe civil strife, and when they now appealed to the Grand Duke for help, he told them that they were strong enough to resist the enemy if they were united. Batu is said, in the Russian chronicles, to have sent a sorceress, or female augur, with two officers, to demand their submission and a tenth of their goods, to which they replied, that when they no longer lived, then the Mongols might take what they would. They saw, however, that they could make no head against the invaders in the open country so they retired to their cities. The Mongols meanwhile proceeded to devastate the land. Bielogorod, Isteslawetz, Pronsk, and other towns were reduced to ashes. The beautiful city of Riazan was invested, a breastwork of palisades and earth was raised round it, on which the balistas were fixed, and after five days' bombardment it fell on the 21st of December, 1237. The Prince, with his mother, wife, sons, the Boyars, and the inhabitants, without regard to age or sex, were slaughtered with the savage cruelty of Mongol revenge; some were impaled, some shot at with arrows for sport, others were flayed or had nails or splinters of wood driven under their nails. Priests were roasted alive, and nuns and maidens ravished in the churches before their relatives.* "No eye remained open to weep for the dead," says the chronicler of Kostroma.† This slaughter, which was doubtless meant to strike terror into the rest of the Russian princes and to be an example to them, was followed by an advance upon Kolomna. This was also taken, and to revenge Kulkan, who was severely wounded there, and shortly after died, a frightful hecatomb was slaughtered amidst its ruins.‡

The Prince Roman Igorovitch, who had gone with an army to relieve Kolomna, was defeated and killed. The Mongols now invaded the district of Suzdal and attacked Moscow, which was as yet an unimportant town, the inhabitants were either destroyed or made prisoners, and Vladimir, the son of the Grand Duke George, who commanded there, was captured. The Grand Duke now became alarmed, he left Vladimir and posted his army on the banks of the Sitti, which flows into the Mologda, where he expected to be joined by his brothers. The Mongols now invested Vladimir and captured and burnt Suzdal, whose inhabitants suffered the common fate of those who opposed the Mongols, only that the monks, nuns, and other religions were here spared.§ The inhabitants of Vladimir were, as usual with the Russians at this date, panic stricken. Many of the chief men sought refuge in the churches, where they adopted the tonsure, so that they might die in monastic orders. The Mongols ap-

* Von Hammer, 102. † Wolff, 142. ‡ Wolff, ed., 143. D'Ohsson, ii. 625.
§ Von Hammer, Golden Horde, 103.

proached the Golden Gate, showed their captive Vladimir and threatened to kill him if the city was not surrendered, and as this threat was treated with scorn, they accordingly killed him. After several days of incessant attack the Mongols at length broke into the city at each of its four entrances, the so-called Golden, Brazen, the Lybedian, and Kolpaian Gates. This was on Sunday, the 14th of February, during a season of fasting.* The Imperial family had taken refuge in the choir of the cathedral, while the nave was crowded with other fugitives; the latter were slaughtered, and the former, to escape the same fate, set fire to the building, and all perished together: the city was sacked and burnt. The Mongol army was now divided into several bodies, which proceeded to ravage the towns of Rostof, Yaroslaf, Gorodetz, Yurief, Pereslaf, Dmitref, Tuer, Caschin, Volok, Cosniatin, and others. The Grand Duke George was still on the river Sitti awaiting succour from his brother Yaroslaf, Prince of Kief. He was there attacked by the Mongols and killed, with most of his troops.

The Mongols now marched towards Novgorod, the northern emporium of commerce, and a famous member of the Hanseatic league. They had already reached the Waldai mountains, when, according to Wolff, a thaw came on, converting the country into a huge morass. This deterred them from advancing further, especially as the country behind them was much wasted by their passage. On their return towards the south, one of their detachments received a notable check before the town of Koselsk, on the Shisdra, eight German miles S.S.W. from Kaluga; 4,000 of their men and three young princes seem to have perished in the attack. Their death was revenged by Batu, Kadan, and Buri, who brought another army against it. Its capture was followed by a general massacre, one of those atrocious acts well styled a "carnival of death," by Von Hammer. Like Bamian, the town was renamed Mobalig, *i.e.*, City of Woe, by its captors.†

Having returned to the borders of the Don, the Mongols seem once more to have divided into several sections. One of these marched against the Circassians, and during the winter of 1238 killed their chief, Tukan. They then laid siege to Mangass which they captured after an attack of six weeks, and then sent a division to conquer Derbend and the surrounding country. Meanwhile Sheiban, Budjek, and Buri marched against the Marimes,‡ by which the Mari, or Cheremisses, who live north of the Volga, are probably meant. Their neighbours, the red-haired Votiaks, were probably also subdued, for the Chinese accounts mention that the Mongols marched so far north that there was hardly any night, and subdued a people with red hair and blue eyes.§

Another division of the invaders, under Bereke, attacked the Kipchaks,

* Wolff, 144. † Wolff, 146.
‡ Raschid, translated by D'Ohsson, Hist. des Mong., ii. 126
§ Wolff, 148. De Mailla, ix. 222.

they were still governed by Kotiak, who had fought against them some years before on the Kalka. He was now defeated. Raschid says Bereke captured the chiefs of the Mekrutis. Kotiak, with 40,000 families, escaped westwards into Moldavia, and in 1240 sought refuge in Hungary. Many of the Kipchaks were sold as slaves by the conquerers. Some of these were bought by the Egyptian Sultan Malek es Saleb, and about 1254 became the founders of the Boharit dynasty of Mameluk Sultans.*

Once more did the Mongols advance upon Russia. One division marched towards the Volga, and captured and burnt Gorodetz on the Kliasma, and Murom on the Oka. Another army marched towards the Dnieper. Pereslavl, with the church of St. Michael, was laid in ashes, and its bishop, Simon, and a large part of the population destroyed. Chernigof shared the same fate after a brave resistance, in which the defenders are said to have performed the Homeric feat of hurling stones that it took four men to raise. Glokhof also was destroyed.† It was now the turn of Kief, the mother of cities, magnificently placed on the high banks of the Dnieper, with its white walls, its beautiful gardens, and its thirty churches, with their gilded cupolas, which gave it its pretty Tartar name, Altundash Khan (*i.e.*, the court of the Golden Heads); it was the metropolitan city of the old Russian princes, the seat of the chief patriarch of all Russia. It had latterly, namely, in 1204, suffered from the internal broils of the Russian princes, and had been much plundered and burnt. It was now to be for a while erased altogether. Batu sent his cousin Mangu, who was afterwards Grand Khan, to explore. He summoned the city to surrender; his envoys were slaughtered, but its prince, like several other Russian princes, lost heart and escaped towards Hungary. Meanwhile the terrible host of the enemy came on, and the noise of their carts, the murmurs of their herds of camels, oxen, and horses, and their own ferocious cries, drowned the voices of the inhabitants inside; the attack began and continued night and day, the walls were at length breached, the defenders retired to the churches. The great metropolitan church was the chief place of refuge. Here were collected fugitives of all classes, with their various wealth, who gathered on its flat roof, this gave way under the weight, and overwhelmed a vast hecatomb in its ruins. The Mongols rushed in and slaughtered without mercy; the very bones were torn from the tombs and trampled under the horses' hoofs.‡ This was in December, 1240. The magnificent city, with the ancient Byzantine treasures which it contained, was destroyed, as were the bones of St. Vladimir, the tomb of Olga, and the grand church of the Tithe, a chef d'œuvre of the Greek architects; this was so ruined that its remains were used for the building of a fresh church, which still has in its walls some of its stones. The monastery of Petchersky suffered the same fate, and its riches, including the golden cross upon its cupola, were carried off. The only place spared,

* Wolff, 147. † Von Hammer's Golden Horde, 107. Wolff, 149. ‡ Wolff, 152.

apparently, was the tomb of Yaroslaf, "to teach men," says the quaint Karamzin, "that the glory of legislators is the most solid and durable." The city remained in ruins apparently during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and modern Kief is but a shadow, says the same historian, of its former self.* It was one of the war maxims of Jingis that those who offered aid or asylum to the opponents of the Mongols should themselves be treated as enemies, and as Hungary had been very useful to the Russian and Coman princes, the Mongols advanced against it. Their way led through Volhynia and Gallicia. They apparently annihilated the towns of Kolowgashniu or Koladashun, Gadalitsh, and Cadyshin, for they are no longer to be found. Kremenetz, Galitch, and Chernovitz, which were also cruelly visited, still exist in the district of Bukovina.†

They had now reached the magnificent barriers which protect Hungary on the east and north, the Carpathians. While Batu forced their passes and entered Hungary, he sent another division of his army, under Baidar and Kaidu, the sons of Jagatai, to make a diversion in Poland. Poland was then bounded on the north by Prussia, which was still pagan, and Pomerania; on the east by Lithuania and the principality of Gallicia; on the south by the Carpathians; and on the west by the March of Brandenburgh and by Silesia, which was dependent on Prussia without forming an integral part of it. Boleslaf the Third had in 1139 divided his dominions into four parts, and this division, like that in Russia, had produced a terrible civil strife in the country. At the period of the Mongol invasion there were nine independent princes in Poland. Boleslaf, surnamed the Chaste, ruled over Cracow and Sandomir, and had a barely titular authority over the rest, the chief of whom were Henry the Second, the pious, who ruled in Lower Silesia and Great Poland, and Conrad, uncle of Boleslaf, who had authority in Mazovia and Cujavia, with his capital at Plotsk. These princes were allied with the Hungarians or had given refuge to the fugitive Russian princes, both high crimes in Mongol eyes. They seem first to have made a reconnaissance. Leaving Vladimir in Volhynia in January, 1241, they entered the district of Lublin, and ravaged the land as far as the river Vistula, burning the towns of Lublin and Zawichost. Then crossing that river on the ice they burnt and sacked Sandomir, pillaged the Cistercian monastery of Koprienick, and advanced to within a short distance of Cracow. They returned loaded with booty and driving before them the flower of the population, tied together in groups. On their retreat they were attacked by Vladimir, the Palatine of Cracow, and considerably checked. A number of the captives managed to escape during the combat, and hid away in the woods. They now rejoined the main army under Baidar, which was encamped near Sendomir.‡

* Karamzin, iv. 14. † Wolff, 154.

‡ Wolff, 162, 163. Von Hammer's Golden Horde, 109. D'Ohsson, ii. 121.

Baidar detached another division, some authorities say one-tenth of his forces, others a tuman (*i.e.*, 10,000 men), under his brother Kaidu, which marched against and devastated Sieradia, Lancitia, and Cujavia, the patrimony of Conrad and his sons. Meanwhile with the main army he advanced towards Cracow. At a place called Chmielik or Chmielnik, eleven German miles from that town, he encountered the Polish army under the command of the Palatine of Sandomir and Cracow. This was defeated, and its chief killed. Boleslaf, the Prince of Cracow, fled with his wife, family, and treasures to his father-in-law, Bela of Hungary; but hearing that the Mongols were already in Hungary, he took refuge in a monastery in Moravia, and eventually sheltered himself until their withdrawal in the fortress of Pievnikza, in Poland.* Many of the chief families also fled to Hungary and Germany, while the common folk hid themselves in the forests and marshes, so that the Mongols found the city of Cracow deserted. They entered it on Palm Sunday, the 24th of March, 1241, and having burnt it, continued their march towards Silesia. Crossing the Oder near Ratibor, some on rafts and some swimming, they appeared before Breslau. The inhabitants had already removed their wealth, and had fired the town themselves to prevent its falling into the hands of the Mongols, while they retired into the citadel with their goods. This the enemy failed to take, after a siege of some days. The story goes that it was saved by the prayers of the Prior of the Dominican convent of Saint Adelbert at Czeslaf, through which a light from heaven fell on the head of the Prior, and radiated such a glorious light that the Mongols were frightened and passed on. This miracle is represented in a painting in the little church of St. Martin, formerly the citadel chapel. It is not mentioned by Matthias of Miechof, a canon of Cracow and author of a work de Sarmatia in Grinæi orbis novus Basil, 1555, &c.,† who has given us a capital account of the proceedings at this time. Baidar was now joined by the contingent which he had detached under his brother Kaidu, and advanced plundering and ravaging the country towards Lignitz, where the army of Silesia, numbering some 20,000 men, was assembled under its Duke Henry the Second. Among the other chiefs the principal were Mitislaf of Oppeln; Boleslaf, son of Diepold the Third, Margrave of Moravia; and Poppo of Osterna, Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights of Prussia with his order. It was considered an ill omen that as Henry marched out with his forces a stone fell from the roof of the church of St. Mary and nearly hit him. He divided his small army into four divisions: the first, the contingent of the gold digging peasants, &c., from Goldberg and its neighbourhood in Silesia, under Boleslaf Syepiolka; the second, the contingent from Cracow and Great Poland, under Sulislaf, the brother of the lately slain Palatine Vladimir; the third, the contingent from Oppeln and also the Teutonic

* Wolff, 165. † Wolff, 170.

knights, under Mitislaf, the Prince of Oppeln; and the fourth, the picked troops of Silesia, Great Poland, and certain mercenaries, under his immediate command. Altogether the army did not number 20,000, while that of the Mongols reached 100,000, or nearly so,* which was divided into four sections—three of 20,000 men each, and a main body of 40,000 in support. They adopted their usual ruse of drawing on their enemy into an ambush, and then falling upon him mercilessly.

Miechof, whom I have already quoted, had a different explanation. According to him a portion of the Silesian army was thrown into confusion by the first shower of arrows of the Mongols, but a charge of the two divisions, commanded by Sulislaf and the Duke of Oppeln, restored the battle, and caused the three divisions of the Mongols to retire. Upon this, a man (it is unknown, says Dluglosz, whether he was a Tartar or a Ruthenian) rushed about on horseback, and cried out, "Byegayce, byegayce" (*i.e.*, fly, fly). This apparition inspired terror in the Polish ranks. The Prince of Oppeln retreated, and with him a large body of men; Duke Henry then rushed in with his men and once more broke the enemy and caused him to retire; but it was in vain, the reserves of the Mongols were too strong. The chronicler describes how their standard, painted with a Greek X, at the top of which was a grey head with a long black beard, was raised aloft. Wolff explains this description as the well-known tuk, having crossed shoulder-blades of sheep and the long black tails of the Yak attached to it.† We are told by the chronicler that a smoke or steam of an unsupportable smell arose from it so that it rendered the Poles impotent and helpless. This also refers to the foul-smelling incense which was burnt on such occasions under the standards by the Mongols amid magical incantations, and which was called Yauruntshi.‡ The Mongols now pressed their advantage, attacked the Christian army, and slaughtered its chiefs most mercilessly. Henry escaped with four followers, three of these were killed; his horse then gave way, and after a most spirited struggle with his pursuers, he was overtaken and killed. His head was cut off. His body was afterwards recognised by his wife Anna, and with that of the Grand Master of the Prussian Knights, and other Polish chiefs, was buried in the Church of St. Jacob, now St. Vincent, at Breslau.§ This famous battle, which still lives in the traditions and Sagas of the people, was fought on the 9th of April, 1241, on a plain watered by the river Keiss, where was afterwards built the village of Wahlstadt (*i.e.*, Field of Battle). It is situated about a league from the town of Lignitz. It was a Mongol habit to cut off an ear from each corpse after a battle, so as to have a record of the number slain; and we are told they filled nine sacks with these ghastly trophies. Seven noble Silesian and Moravian families still bear the Mongol cap as a memento of their ancestors'

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* Wolff, 186.

† Wolff, 188. ‡ Wolff, 188. Note 35. § Miechoff, in Wolff, 189.

prowess in the fight. Its hero is pictured on the altar-piece at Lignitz, its glories are recounted from the pulpit of Wahlstadt, and it has been made the subject of a poem by Gottlieb Linder.*

The Mongols now marched upon Lignitz, which had been also deserted and burnt. They held up the head of Henry on a spear as a menace to the inhabitants who had taken refuge in the citadel, which, however, they did not capture, and then marched on. They devastated the country frightfully, burnt the monastery of Heinrichau, not far from Munsterburg, and then marched to Ottmachau, near which they remained plundering for fifteen days; then on to Bolatiz, where they loitered three days; and lastly, about the beginning of May, entered Moravia. Wolff says the depopulation of Silesia was so terrible that it was largely repeopled afterwards by German colonists, who became the nucleus and beginning of the Germanisation of that province.† The Mongols now entered Moravia and advanced upon Troppau. Wolff has devoted about fifty pages of his work to a criticism of the various Sagas and accounts of the Mongol campaign in Moravia, especially the central one relating to the attack on Olmutz, and he has shown reasons for discrediting them. The great siege of Olmutz, when it was so ably defended by Jaroslaf de Sternberg, instead of having been an incident of the Mongol invasion of 1241, was most probably one in a campaign which the Hungarians and Comans made in these parts in 1253, and Baidar, far from being killed there, was one of the princes who attended the investiture of Kuyuk as Grand Khan.‡ The narrative of Von Hammer and D'Ohsson therefore requires considerable correction in this part, and is shorn of much picturesque detail. The facts we may be certain of in this Moravian invasion are few. The Mongols no doubt remained a month in the country. They seem to have wasted the neighbourhood of Troppau, as is attested by the fact that the Margrave Przemysl Ottokar, in 1247, granted the town an annual free market to help to restore its prosperity.§ Freudenthal, Hraditch, Unczove, not far from Olmutz, Littau, Prerau, Gevitch, and Brunn, are among the towns which we are tolerably certain were devastated by the Mongols, from the monuments still existing, which show that that prince conferred privileges and exemptions, or transplanted fresh inhabitants to enable them to recover. The Premonstatensian nunnery of Obirivtz, situated near Brunn, was also destroyed, and we have a record that the nuns sheltered at Dubravnik while it was being rebuilt.

In fact it would seem that most of the open country and smaller towns of Moravia were ravaged; the slaughter of the inhabitants would have been much more terrible but for the numerous woods and caverns which formed hiding-places. Several of the latter still retain, in the popular Sagas, the memory of having proved shelters to the unfortunate fugitives

* Von Hammer's Golden Horde, 115.

† Wolff, op. cit., 193. ‡ Wolff, 193-240, especially 224, &c. § Wolff, 342.

in their flight. Having turned the northern flank of Hungary, the contingent under Baidar and Kaidu crossed the mountains to join the main army under Batu, which was laying waste that country. It crossed by the so-called Hungarian Gates, which Wolff identifies with the Hrasinka Pass, on the road from the valley of Olschawa, to the river Hrosinka.*

While this division was turning the northern defences of Hungary, Batu detached another southward to turn the opposite flank. This marched through Moldavia, crossed the river Sireth into the land of the "Bishop of Kumania" (*i.e.*, Wallachia).† Here it seems to have again divided. One section, under Subutai Behadur, continued its march through Wallachia; another, under Kuyuk, the son and successor of Ogotai, and Buri, grandson of Jagatai, crossed by the Oitosch Pass, over the mountain Magyaras into the south-eastern corner of that land of forests Transylvania,‡ called Sieben Burgen by the Germans, from the seven Saxon towns of Bistritz, Hermannstadt, Klausenberg, Kronstadt, Medevitch. Muplenbach, and Schätzburgh.§ This district suffered the usual fate of the lands through which the Mongols marched, and Wolff has collected much evidence from deeds, &c., to show what places chiefly felt the scourge. Among these may be mentioned the Castle of Zeuth Leleuth, now Zent Leley, near the Ojtosa Pass, and the districts about Weissenburgh (Alba Julia), Dolok, Klausenburgh, and Szolnok, the districts of Zeiden and Zeh on the Alt, &c.‖ He traversed the mountains and forests of Transylvania, captured Roudan, or Rodna, a rich town near the Royal silver mines, and then advanced on Varadin, where a great body of refugees was assembled. The Mongols took it; killed all the inhabitants without regard to age or sex. They committed dreadful sacrilege in the churches, ravished there the women they captured, tore down the tombs, destroyed the relics, desecrated the holy vessels, and tortured the priests. The place was converted into a desert, which they were forced to abandon on account of the dreadful effluvia from the corpses.

They then captured and destroyed a German bulwark on the Black Koros, called Thomas' Bridge (Pontem Thomas). While the army commanded by Kuyuk was ravaging Transylvania, that of Subutai had made the circuit of Wallachia as far as Orsova, and had crossed the mountains by the Mahadia Pass, on the road which leads from the Danube into the Banat of Temesvar, and advanced to the river Maros, where it captured the town of Czanad. It was probably this division which stormed the island on the Maros where a large number of refugees from Agra, Waydam, Geroth, and other towns had taken refuge. A general massacre took place here. Those who fled to the woods thought it safe to return on the third day to search for food among the ruins, but were set upon

* Wolff, 249. † Wolff, 155. ‡ Wolff, 156. § Wolff, op. cit., 323.
‖ Wolff, 324.

by some of the prowling invaders and killed. Having spent the winter in this neighbourhood, the Mongols in the early spring laid siege to Perg (*i.e.*, Pecksa *), where the inhabitants of sixty-nine villages had taken refuge, and also to the Cistercian monastery of Egres, which was fortified like a castle. Their army was largely increased by Hungarian, Russian, and Comanian prisoners, whom they forced to do the harder work for them. When the Hungarians were exhausted they put the Russians to the work, and when these were done the Comans. The town was at length captured and everybody destroyed except two young girls. The devastation is sickening to describe; many of the inhabitants had taken refuge in the forests, these were induced to return to their homes by the promise of the Mongols to spare their lives if they came back by a certain day. They were allowed to sow and reap the year's harvest, when they were all collected together and destroyed.

The various contingents which had marched through Moravia, Transylvania, and Wallachia, seem to have concentrated at Pesth.

Let us now follow the main army under Batu. This marched directly upon Hungary. Hungary then stretched from the Adriatic to the Black Sea, and from the Carpathians to the Balkan range. Bela the Fourth ruled over it, while his brother Kalmany, or Koloman, was dependent upon him, and had authority in Slavonia, Servia, Croatia, and Dalmatia. Moldavia and Wallachia, then called Comania; and Besserabia (*i.e.*, the land of the Bessi or Petchenegs), were also subject to the Hungarian crown.† Bela was a pious and weak prince, and had to control a strong-handed and turbulent aristocracy. At this juncture there was a bitter feeling against him, caused by his attempt to restrict their feudal rights and otherwise. Some of them had secretly intrigued to supersede him by offering the Hungarian crown to the Duke of Austria and the Emperor Frederick II., and having been punished, their families swelled the number of the discontented. Another cause of discontent was that the Comans under Kutan, whom we have already mentioned as having sought refuge in Hungary, were allowed by Bela to settle there on condition of their becoming Christians. They had traversed the country, and being robbers by profession, had laid their hands violently on many things not their due. And although at a Diet convened in 1240 it was decided that they should be scattered about the country to pasture the more desolate portions of it, and their chief had consented to be baptised, the people were very much irritated against them.

Thus in the face of this terrible scourge, the Hungarian nation was disintegrated and dissatisfied. Bela sent the Palatine of the kingdom, Dionysius Mederwary, Count of Zalnuk, with a body of troops to guard the passes of the Carpathians, and then convened a Council at Gran, which was attended by his brother Koloman and the great civil magnates

* Wolff, 331. Note. † Wolff, 277.

of the kingdom, and by the greater prelates of the Church; Matthias, Archbishop of Gran and Ugolin of Calocza, with a vast following of the lower clergy, which in Hungary seems to have been a very warlike body.*

Meanwhile Batu was advancing. He had, even while in Russia, sent a letter of warning to the King of Hungary. It was written, says the Monk Julian, "in heathen characters" (probably Uighur), in the Tartar speech, so that many in Hungary could read it, but none understood it. Julian had met a heathen in Moldavia who read it. It was to this effect:—"I, am Chaym (Sain), the messenger of the Heavenly King (*i.e.*, of the Khakan), who has given me authority over the earth, to raise up those who submit and to crush those who oppose me. I am surprised that you, King of Hungary, should have taken no notice of the three envoys I have sent you, and that you should have sent me neither envoy nor letter. I know you are a rich and powerful King, who have many warriors and a great kingdom; this makes it seem irksome that you should submit willingly to me, yet it will prove your best course. I have heard that you have taken the Comans, our dependents, under your protection. I charge you to cease harbouring them, and to avoid in favouring them making an enemy of me. It will be much easier for them, who have no houses and live in tents, to escape, than for you who live in houses and are settled in towns. How can you fly from me?" † This is probably the letter mentioned by Matthew Paris, which he says was delivered by an outlawed Englishman, who had joined the Mongols.‡ Batu now advanced with 40,000 warriors and forced the so-called Ruthenian Gates, *i.e.*, the passes in the neighbourhood of Bereckze, Munkacz, and Unghwar.§ They defeated and almost annihilated the force which had been entrusted to the Palatine. This was on the 12th of March, 1241. As usual, they pressed quickly on, and in three days had advanced, plundering and burning, within half a day's journey of Pesth.‖ Bela, having sent his Queen and children into Austria, ordered a general rendezvous of his troops at Pesth, a German town on the Danube. By a show of bravado the Mongols attempted to draw the garrison into a sortie. This irritated Ugolin, the Archbishop of Calocza, who ventured out, and allowed himself to be drawn into a marsh, where his followers were destroyed, he returned much chagrined, and annoyed also with the King, who had not supported him.¶

We are told that the Hungarians were persuaded that Kutan and his Comans had invited the Mongols into Hungary, and that they were persuaded that Comans and Mongols were the same race: a fresh proof of how thoroughly Turkish the army of Batu was. The people at length attacked the house where Kutan and his chief men were living; killed them, and threw their heads into the street. Their innocence was after-

* Wolff, 278. † Wolff, 274. ‡ D'Ohsson, ii. 133. § Wolff, 289.
‖ Wolff, 290. ¶ Wolff, 291.

wards fully proved. The peasants in the country made a fierce attack on the other Comans. The latter, driven to bay, retorted, and began a general ravaging of the country. Bulzo, Basilius, or Blasius, Bishop of Czanad, was, with a number of his people, going to the assistance of the King when he was attacked by them at Reiskemet. Most of his people were killed, and he barely escaped. They then devastated Steiermark, and having plundered the best towns in the land, Friburg, Stein-on-the-Anger (the Hungarian Szombately), &c., they passed with a large booty of gold, horses, and cattle through Hungary and Sirmium into Bulgaria.* Another bishop suffered at the hands of the Mongols. This was Benedict of Varadin. While he was on the march with a body of troops he heard that a body of Mongols had pillaged the town of Erlau, and carried off the episcopal treasure. He pursued them. Being inferior in numbers they dressed a number of puppets and put them on horseback, as they had done at Peruan, in the western campaign of Jingis. Feigning to be beaten they retired in the direction of these dolls, who were mistaken for supports by the Hungarians. The latter turned tail, and lost many of their number. †

Meanwhile the tragedy was thickening elsewhere. Bela had assembled his forces on the wide heath of Mohi, bounded on the east by the vine-clad hills of Tokay, on the west by the dark woods of Diosgyor, and on the north by the great hills of Lomnitz. The plain was watered by the Sayo, a tributary of the Theiss.‡ The Mongols had fixed their camp on the other side of this river, in the corner formed by it, the Theiss, and the Hernard, where their position was so hidden by brushwood, &c., that it could not be reconnoitered from the river side. The Hungarian army was very discontented, and many of the grandees apparently looked forward with complacency to the King being defeated. Several of the bishops acted as generals, the Archbishop Ugolin being especially prominent. Batu is said to have pointed out to his generals the ill-chosen position of the enemy's troops. Like a herd of cattle pent up in a narrow stable, there was not room to escape.§ The Mongols made their attack in the night; sent a division to turn one flank of the Hungarian army while another advanced against the bridge over the Sayo, and as their passage across the river was somewhat opposed, they cleared the opposite bank by a battery of seven catapults. They then advanced and overlapped the Hungarian army in the form of a half moon. The Hungarians seem to have been taken by surprise, and were panic-stricken. The Archbishop Ugolin, Koloman, and a few brave men, including the Templars, fought desperately, but the rest refused to leave the camp, and at length broke away. As they fled, the Mongols, as usual, assisted the retreat by opening their ranks; they then pursued them, and overtaking them when overcome with fatigue, destroyed a large portion of them. A space of two days'

* Wolff 294, 295. † Wolff, 295. ‡ Von Hammer, op. cit., 127. § Wolff, 298.

journey was strewn with corpses. Among the dead were the Archbishops of Strigonia or Gran, and Calocza, three bishops, and a vast crowd of lords. Bela escaped by the virtues of his horse to the country of Thurocz in the Carpathians, where he met his relative Boleslaf, the Duke of Cracow. The King's brother, Coloman, who had fought splendidly, escaped to his appanage of Dalmatia and Croatia, where he shortly after died of his wounds. Among the captured booty was the seal of the Hungarian Chancellor. This was used by Batu to prevent a muster of the inhabitants. A proclamation in the King's name, and signed with his seal, was issued: "Do not fear the rage and ferocity of these dogs; do not quit your houses; we have only been surprised; we shall soon, with God's help, recapture our camp. Continue to pray to God to assist us in destroying our enemies." This had the desired effect of preventing a general muster, while the Mongols overran the country. In the recent battle, the slaughter had been the most terrible that had occurred in Hungarian history. One authority says 65,000 men perished. Thurocz and the chronicle of Klostenburgh put the loss at 100,000. Riderless horses, with gorgeous trappings, rushed to and fro, and the Mongols divided a magnificent booty.* They now marched upon Pesth, which they captured.†

Pesth was not then what it has since become, the most important city in Hungary. That position was then filled by Gran or Strigonia, situated on the right bank of the Danube, and occupying in the commercial history of the middle ages a correlative position with Kief, Novgorod, Constantinople, &c., a great emporium of traffic where merchants from distant climes congregated, we are told that Frenchmen, Lombards, Greeks, and Armenians were gathered there; and a document in which Bela the Fourth renewed certain privileges to the Armenians after the retreat of the Mongols, is one of the first evidences we have of the enterprise of that indomitable race of pedlars in Central Europe. It was on the 25th of December, 1241, when the Danube was frozen over that the Mongols crossed the ice to attack Strigonia, or Gran; the old city was protected by ramparts and towers of wood. They battered it with thirty catapults, made a breach and filled the ditch with sacks of earth; the inhabitants set fire to all the wooden part of the town, destroyed large magazines of merchandise and buried much of their treasure. The enraged Mongols took a speedy revenge, they stormed the town and destroyed its inhabitants, many of whom were burnt over fires to make them disclose where their buried treasures lay. The citadel, defended by a gallant Spaniard, the Count Simeon, defied their attacks.

While Batu was engaged in capturing Gran, it would seem that Kadan was detached in pursuit of Bela. That unfortunate prince had taken refuge with the Duke of Austria, at Presburg. There he was detained and

* Wolff, 306, &c. † D'Ohsson, ii. 147.

compelled to pay a large ransom in silver and other valuables. Not satisfied with this cruel conduct, Frederick caused the western provinces of Hungary to be invaded while the eastern ones were being desolated by the Mongols. Bela on quitting Austria took refuge with his family in Croatia, where he spent the summer. Here he collected the chief treasures of his kingdom, which he sent on with his family into Dalmatia, whose towns were now crowded by Hungarian refugees. Bela with a great number of prelates and nobles went first to Spalatro and then to Trau.

Kadan first captured Buda, or Ozen, the twin town to Pesth, situated on the opposite side of the Danube. He then advanced upon Stuhlweissenburg, the burial place of the old Hungarian kings. They burnt the outskirts, but the town was saved, Von Hammer says on account of a sudden thaw, which partially laid the country under water. Some of the credit was also due to its Italian garrison. At all events the old tombs were spared for their later fate when the town was attacked by the Turks 300 years after.* The monastery of St. Martin of Pannonia, now called St. Martinsberg, situated two and a half German miles S.E. of Raab, was so well defended by its Abbot that the Mongols also passed it by. They were famous pursuers, and seldom gave their victims much breathing time. Their way now led them along the shores of the Platten See, the great Hungarian lake, and on towards Croatia; they broke through places that were virgin soil to hostile feet, and whose inhabitants went for shelter to the mountains and forests.

At a stream or lake called Sirbium by D'Ohsson, but corrected to Verbium by Wolff, and identified by him with the Verbacz or Verbas in the valley of Wintshutz and Bolitze, thirteen German miles N.E. of Spalatro, in consequence perhaps of some act of treachery, he collected all his Hungarian captives of both sexes, and made a general slaughter. Leaving the bulk of his army there, he went on with a portion only to the coast of the Adriatic.†

At Spalatro was collected a vast crowd of people with their wealth; they overflowed the houses, and were encamped in the squares and streets. The list of notabilities has a stately sound about it. Among the clerics were Stephen de Vancza, Bishop of Waizen, later Archbishop of Gran, and afterwards distinguished as the first Hungarian Cardinal; the Bishops of Agram, Funfkirchen, and Varadin; the Provost Benedict of Weissenburgh, Archbishop elect of Calocza, &c., &c. Among the laymen, Dionysius Ban of Slavonia and the Coastlands, and Count of Shumegh; the Palatine, Arnold; the High Steward, Wladislaf; the Treasurer, Matthaias: the Master of the Horse, Orlando; the Chief Cook, Roland; the Chief Herald, Tristram; the Chief Cup-bearer, Mauritius, &c., &c., with a vast body of others. When Bela came near the city the chief

* Von Hammer, 124. Wolff, 338, 339. † Wolff, 353.

inhabitants, under their Podesta, came out to greet him; but he did not intend staying there, although it was well situated for defence, being built on a peninsula, like many of the strongholds of the old Greeks and the Norsemen, but he took ship and retired to Trau, on the Gulf of Castello. Kadan approached Spalatro and hovered near it for some days, but did not attack it. He probably found it too strong. He had also heard of Bela's flight, so he advanced with his Mongols towards Trau. On the way he attacked the fortress of Clissa, but was sharply answered. The Mongols prepared to attack Trau with vigour, but seem to have found it unassailable, and found also that as Bela had taken refuge on shipboard, he was practically out of their reach. They marched through Herzegovina and Servia into Upper Dalmatia; passed through the district of Ragusa; laid Cataro in ashes; entered Albania, and ruined the towns of Doivach (Suagium) and Drivasto, 42.15 N.L., two German miles N.E. of Scutari. This was the most southern point reached by their arms in this expedition. Having been summoned by Batu to return, they made their way towards the beginning of May over the Glubotin mountains through Servia into Bulgaria.*

While Kadan was sent in pursuit of Bela, another body of Mongols made an excursion to the borders of Austria. They were met on the borders of the river March, in the district of Theben or Devin, by the Duke of Austria, and sustained a defeat, which is mentioned by the Chinese account in Gaubil, as well as by Haithon the Armenian Prince, and the Western chroniclers.† There is also an account in the narrative of Ivo of Narbonne, and others, which would make it appear that the Mongols made another raid into Austria, south of the Danube, and advanced as far as Vienna; but that the Duke of Austria collected a force of Bohemians, Carinthians, &c., and this caused them to retire. Among eight captives whom they secured was a renegade Englishman, who spoke seven languages, namely, his own tongue, Hungarian, Russian, German, Comanian (? Turkish), Saracenic (*i.e.*, Arabic), and Tartar (*i.e.*, Mongol).

Banished from England for some crime, he had wandered from Tana eastwards, and had entered the service of the Mongols as an interpreter.‡ Ivo's narrative seems to be not altogether consistent, but it is in itself highly probable that while encamped in Hungary the Mongols made some raids upon the eastern marches of Austria. It is more certain that during the pursuit of Bela, Subutai with another Mongol army made a terrible invasion of Southern Hungary, on the left bank of the Danube, and Transylvania. These proceedings were described by an eye-witness, Roger, a canon of Varadin, in a work styled *miserabile carmen.* At the sack of Varadin he took shelter in the woods, where he lived for a while a miserable fugitive, furtively returning at night to some ruined village

* Wolff, 365. † Wolff, 259-262. ‡ Von Hammer, op. cit., 127, 128. Wolff, 341-348.

to search among the corpses for food. When the Mongols offered to spare the lives of those who returned to their own villages, he preferred to go to their camp, where he entered the service of a Hungarian who had joined the invaders, and half naked he tended his equipage. Here he was in constant fear of death, and noticed how the Mongols preserved the houses and barns, the wheat and straw, and even the farmers when they intended to winter, and how they destroyed everything as soon as they left. They seem to have utterly wasted a large part of the country, and to have slaughtered its inhabitants without mercy. They now received orders to march homewards. Roger tells us that they traversed the forests to spy out and destroy everything that had escaped their first invasion, the captives were fed on the entrails, the feet, and heads of the cattle, which served for food to the Tartars. At length, hearing from the interpreters that after their retreat from Hungary they proposed to make a general massacre, Roger and his servant escaped and hid in a hole in the forest for two days, and then returned over the desolate country feeding on roots and herbs. After eight days they arrived at Alba (probably Alba Julia), where they found only human bones, and the walls of churches and palaces red with blood. The cause of the Mongol retreat was the death of Ogotai, which occurred on the 11th of December, 1241.* On hearing of this, Batu collected his various contingents together, and prepared to return towards the Volga. Before returning, the Mongols published in their camp a decree that all strangers, whether free or captive, were at liberty to return home. A crowd of Hungarians and slaves accordingly left the camp on a fixed day, but whether from some caprice or as a part of their general policy, they were pursued and cut to pieces.*

Bela did not return to Hungary until he was well assured of the definite retreat of the Mongols. He found his country a desert, in which famine was completing the work of the sword.

The battle of Lignitz, and the subsequent barbarities of the victors filled the empire with terror, and a crusade was preached against them, to which all were asked to contribute. Pope Gregory the Ninth issued letters to the faithful couched in the language of grief and terror: "Many things," he says, "the sad state of the Holy Land, and the deplorable condition of the Roman empire, occupy our attention; but we will not name them, we will forget them in the presence of the ills caused by the Tartars. The notion that they will eradicate the name of Christian shatters all our bones, dries up our marrow, &c., . . . we know not which way to turn."

The terrible apparition of the savage hordes gave rise to many hyperbolic descriptions. Vincent of Beauvais tells us "that before Batu invaded Hungary he sacrificed to the demons, one of whom who lived in an idol

* D'Ohsson, ii. 159.

addressed him and bade him march on hopefully; that he would send three spirits before him, before whom his enemies should not be able to stand;" and that this came to pass, the three spirits being the spirit of discord, the spirit of mistrust, and the spirit of fear.* Ivo of Narbonne has a marvellous account: he tells us, *inter alia*, that the Mongol princes who had dogs' heads ate the bodies of the dead, leaving only the bones for the vultures, which foul birds, however, despised and rejected these remnants. The old and ugly women were divided into daily portions among the common folk; the pretty young women having been ravished, had their breasts torn open, and were reserved as titbits for the grandees.†

These hyperbolic phrases of the European chroniclers may be matched by those of the Persians. In enumerating the various qualities of the Mongols, we are told by Vassaf that they had the courage of lions, the endurance of dogs, the prudence of cranes, the cunning of foxes, the far-sightedness of ravens, the rapacity of wolves, the keenness for fighting of cocks, the tenderness for their offspring of hens, the wiliness of cats in approaching, and the impetuosity of boars in overthrowing their prey;‡ or as Von Hammer says, we may enumerate their virtues in condensing the various qualities of the twelve animals that made up their Zodiac:— Thievish as mice, strong as oxen, fierce as panthers, cautious as hares, artful as serpents, frightful as dragons, mettlesome as horses, obedient as sheep, loving of their offspring as apes, domestic as hens, faithful as dogs, and unclean as swine.§ Gibbon tells us how the dread of their invasion spread to the further corners of Europe, and how through fear of them the fishermen of Gothia (*i.e.*, of Sweden) and of Frisia, in 1238, failed to attend the herring fishery on the English coast, and how in consequence the price of herrings was largely augmented.‖

Europe was then so divided, the great feud between the Emperor Frederick the Second and the Popes being one chief cause of it, and the extreme development of feudal notions being another, that, as D'Ohsson says, it is probable that it only escaped the fate of Hungary by the opportune death of the Khakan Ogotai. The severe discipline of the Mongols proved more than a match for the personal bravery of a few knights, hampered, if protected, by heavy armour, and an undisciplined crowd of peasants, their retainers. To their discipline they also added other soldierly virtues, fertility of invention, and very able strategy and tactics. In fact, if we only consider that the Mongols came from an obscure corner of Asia, had neither maps of the country, nor even any definite means of learning its topography; that they were complete strangers not

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* Wolff, 287. † Wolff, 344. ‡ Wolff, 126. § Von Hammer, Ilkhans, 44.
‖ Gibbon, viii. 15. Note.

only to Europe, but also to western modes of thought, &c.; that they did not prepare themselves for a campaign by a long series of experiments, but rushed over a country like an avalanche; that their commissariat and transport was adapted to the steppes and deserts of Asia and not to the very different state of things in Europe; we must consider it as little short of miraculous, not only that they should have been so successful, but also that their strategic plans should have been so scientifically laid. No doubt their terrible system of wholesale slaughter and cruelty cowed and unnerved their opponents; no doubt, also, they were served by Comans, Russians, &c., some of those vagabond and mercenary spirits ready enough to act as guides and pioneers to any invader who promises plunder. But granting this, we shall still not cease to wonder at the exploit, and to compare it as a military achievement with any in the world's history.

While Batu was absent in Hungary, the Kipchaks attacked the Mongol reserves on the Volga, commanded by Sinkur, his ninth brother, but were defeated. An army was sent in pursuit of the fugitives under Ilmika. This advanced into Daghestan beyond Derbend, and even into Shirvan.* Sinkur himself made a campaign on the Kama against the Bulgarians and their neighbours. It was probably to this occasion that we must refer the statement of Torfæus, who tells us that during the reign of Hakon the Second of Norway (1217-1263), there arrived in the country many Permian fugitives who had emigrated to escape the cruelty of the Tartars. These fugitives were settled about the Malanger Gulf.† Wolff says that the Mongol arms reached to the Upper Kama and the Wytshegda, and as far as Petschova.‡ Raschid mentions a campaign undertaken by the Mongol princes against the land of Uriungkut Badadj.§ Von Hammer has identified this with the land of the Eastern Urianguts, or Soyol;‖ but this seems to me to be altogether wrong, and Raschid's reference is probably to the Samoyedic and Finnic tribes of Permia or Archangel.

Having traced out the progress of the three military expeditions authorised by the Kuriltai of 1235, we will return once more to Ogotai. He proceeded to build himself a palace, called the Ordu Balik, or the city of the Ordu, at Karakorum, where he had fixed his court. The position of the celebrated city has been much debated and was discussed at great length by Abel Rémusat.¶ It is generally agreed that it was situated near the river Orkhon, or Orgon. Gaubil, from data furnished by the Chinese astronomer Ko-cheou-king, who lived in the reign of Kubilai Khan, places it in 42.21 N.L. and 103.40 E.L. of the meridian of Paris. Rémusat argues that the calculation is wrong, and

* Wolff, 382. D'Ohsson, ii. 629. † D'Ohsson, ii. 186. ‡ Op. cit., 383.
§ D'Ohsson, ii. 629. ‖ Von Hammer's Golden Horde, 129. Wolff, 383.
¶ Memoires sur plusieurs questions relatives a la Geographie de l'Asie Centrale. Paris, 1825,

places it 48.23.50 N.L. and 13.29 W.L., calculated from the meridian of Peking.*

The new palace was elaborately decorated with Chinese sculptures and paintings, it was surrounded with a park, and had four entrances, one reserved for the Emperor, the second for princes of the blood, the third for the women of the Imperial household, and the fourth the public entrance. Around it were the houses of the grandees, and beyond again the great city called Ordu Balik by the Emperor, but generally known as Karakorum. In 1235 it was surrounded with a wall half a league in circumference. Every day there arrived there from all parts of the empire, 500 carts of provisions for the Imperial household and for distribution. Relays of posts, thirty-seven in number, connected it with China.† In 1236 Ogotai inaugurated his new palace with a grand feast, at which Yeliu Chutsai, who had been entrusted with the administration of China, was especially honoured, and had the chief toast proposed to him by the Emperor. I extract from the life of Yeliu Chutsai in Rémusat's Nouveaux Melanges Asiatiques and from D'Ohsson's work some of the reforms that minister had introduced.

The Khakan proposed the issue of paper money; Kiao chao, his minister replied, the inventor of this kind of money had amassed a large fortune, and was known by the soubriquet of Lord Note, then things came to such a pass by the depreciation in value that it required 10,000 notes to buy one cat; this caused much suffering, and the example ought to be a caution, and if paper money was issued it ought to be limited to 100,000 silver ounces worth. The administration of affairs had fallen into great confusion during the Mongol supremacy. Yeliu Chutsai one day thus addressed the Emperor: "When one sets up a porcelain factory, one collects apt workmen for the conduct of affairs; we must do the same, and only lettered people are fit for this work. If we don't begin to employ such, the race will become extinct." The Emperor consented, and thus, says Rémusat, the vanquished had the doors of preferment open to them, and, as they were very superior in culture to their conquerors, the first step was taken in the long struggle by which the Chinese regained the control of the empire and eventually ousted their conquerors. The first appointments made in virtue of this scheme were those of magistrates and departmental judges. A uniform system of weights and measures replaced the arbitrary and irregular systems introduced at the caprice of each Mongol governor. One of his trusted functionaries having disappeared with his treasure chest, Chutsai was twitted by the Khakan: "You vaunt to me the philosophy of Confucius and the virtues which it puts in practice: is this a sample of the men it produces?" The minister replied, "The seer has founded his rules on the knowledge of virtue and right, and there is no ruler whose power is

* Pauthier, Marco Polo, i. 271. Note. † D'Ohsson, ii. 65.

similarly based. These virtues are to the empire what the sun and moon are to the sky. What signify the crimes of a creature who despises the laws of all times and all countries. Is our Government the only one under which such crimes are committed?"*

"The celebrated Pan chao, who wrote in the time of the Han dynasty, says, that a man does less service to the State who brings it an advantage than he who staves off a disaster, and that it is not so creditable to do good as to resist evil, and no one feels this more than he who has been accused of a crime."†

In a quarrel between two priests, one of them accused the other of being a deserter in disguise, upon which the other killed him; the great minister upon this had the murderer put to death. This displeased the Khakan, who went so far as to order Chutsai to be imprisoned, but he shortly after ordered his release. "No," said the Chancellor, "you have made me administrator of the affairs of the realm. You have ordered my arrest, I was therefore guilty; you ordered my release, I was therefore innocent: it is easy for you to make a plaything of *me*, but how am I then to direct the affairs of the empire?" And it required some pressure before he would consent to be restored to favour. By such consummate art, even if its philosophy were rather feeble, did the learned minister obtain mastery over the good-natured sovereign of the vast Mongol empire. In the words of Rémusat: "A Tartar by origin, a Chinaman by cultivation, he stood between the oppressed and the oppressors. He stood by the side of ruthless Jingis like a tempering providence, and his life was dedicated to pleading the cause of justice, of order, of civilisation and humanity before triumphant barbarism. Nor can we calculate the millions of lives which he succeeded in saving." Among his other reforms he arranged the tribute to be paid by the Chinese. On this subject he had a great quarrel with the Mongol grandees; he wished the old Chinese custom which imposed so much tax on each hearth or family to be retained, while they wanted the tax to be a capitation tax. The Khakan supported him and had an enumeration made, when it was found that in the conquered provinces there were 1,100,000 families. In China many fiefs were created, which were granted to the various members of the Imperial family and other grandees; they are thus enumerated by D'Ohsson from Hyacinth's History of the Yuens:—

In the province of Pehchehli: the department of Ta ming fu to the Khakan's son Kuyuk, Sing chau (Shun te fu) to Borotai, Ho kian fu to Khulgué, and Kuang ning fu (Tchang li hien) to Burgutt. In the province of Shan si: Ping yang fu to Ordu Batu (? to Ordu and Batu, the sons of Juji), and Thai yuen fu to Jagatai. In Su chuan: Ching ting fu to the Empress Dowager, and Ping chau (Ping hun) and Luan chau to Utsiken-Noyan. In Shan tung: a part of I tu fu (Tsing chau) and of Tsi nan fu to

* Rémusat, Nouveaux Melanges Asiatiques, ii. 64, &c. † De Mailla, ix. 230.

Ikho, and Bin chau and Lai chau to Adjitai. The Prince Kutan, Cheku (a relative of Ogotai's), the Princesses Alikha and Gatchin, the Princes Chalakhu, Jagatai Tankin, Mongu, and Khantcha, and the Noyans Angui Tsing, and Khoss Kissu received lands in the department of Tung ping fu, in Shantung.*

The princes of the blood had been wont to seize upon as many post horses as they needed, and to make requisition at their will for other articles. In 1237 Yeliu Chutsai fixed the number of horses a person of each rank was entitled to, and prescribed the use of passports or warrants, which were to be presented when any demand was made. He also renewed the old examinations in the various towns, and made proficiency in them the test of capacity for public appointments. Death was the penalty awarded to those who prevented their slaves from attending. He also founded two colleges, one at Yanking, the other at Pin Yang, in Shansi, where the Mongol youth were taught history, geography, arithmetic, and astronomy.† Such was the reform instituted in the empire by the Imperial Chancellor. Let us now turn to his master.

Ogotai, the powerful over-lord of the vast empire, gave himself up to luxury and excessive drinking. He only lived for one month in the spring at Karakorum, the rest of this season he spent at a place called Kertchagan, a day's journey thence, where his Persian architects had built a palace to rival that built for him at Karakorum by the Chinese. The summer he passed at a place called Ormektua. There is a mountain and station called Urmukhtui near the river Shara, a tributary of the Orgon, twenty-two leagues south of Kiakhta, on the way to Urga.‡ There Ogotai lived under a Chinese pavilion made of white felt lined with gold embroidered silken tissue; this tent, which would hold 1,000 people, was known as the Sira Ordu. In autumn he spent a month near the lake Keuke.§ The winter, the great hunting season, he passed at Ongki, where he had enclosed a space two leagues in circumference, with a ramp of earth and stakes. Into this the game was driven. Ogotai was an habitual drunkard. In vain his brother Jagatai and his minister Yeliu Chutsai counselled him of the danger he ran, the latter showing him a piece of iron corroded with wine as a warning of its effects on the stomach. In March, 1241, he fell ill, and on his partial recovery he granted a general amnesty to all prisoners and exiles, but his malady returned, and he at length died on the 11th of December, 1241, at the age of fifty-six, and was buried in the valley of Kinien‖ (*i.e.*, another name for the Imperial cemetery, whose site we have already described *sub voce*, Jingis Khan). He was a benevolent and very generous prince. "Everybody is a traveller here, it is well therefore to perpetuate oneself in the memory of men." "Money cannot stave off death, and, as we cannot

* D'Ohsson, ii. 70. Note. † D'Ohsson, ii. 72. ‡ D'Ohsson, ii. 84. Note.
§ Von Hammer's Il Khans, i. 55. Note. ‖ D'Ohsson, ii. 87.

return from the other world, we ought to deposit our treasures in the hearts of our people," were among his favourite mottoes. But, like all rich heirs, his generosity was apt to be prodigal. When Karakorum was being built he entered his treasury one day and found it full of money. "What use is this money to me," he said, "it only costs me pain to guard it," and he ordered all who wanted *balishs* (*i.e.*, silver coin) to come and help themselves. He always paid exorbitantly for what he bought, on principle, because he wished to encourage merchants to come to him, and bought the whole of a merchant's stock to distribute it in largess. In a freak of generosity he gave a beggar from Baghdad a thousand *balishs*, furnished him with horses to carry his coin, and also with an escort to protect him on his long journey home; the old man died on the way, and the Khakan ordered the money to be forwarded for his daughters.*

One day when hunting, a poor man gave him three melons, having no money by him he told his wife Monga to give him two great pearls that hung from her ears, and when she said he did not know their value, and that he had better return the following day, the Khakan said, "Can a poor man wait till to-morrow?" and ordered the pearls to be given him at once; they were immediately sold for very little, and the purchaser, who did not know their history, presented them to the Khakan as an act of homage, by whom they were returned to Monga. When an envoy from Fars brought him a present of two vases full of pearls, Ogotai produced a chest full, and ordered them to be served out in wine glasses to the guests at the evening banquet as a present.

Ogotai was also very good-natured: by the law of Jingis the punishment awarded to those who bathed in running water in the spring or summer was death; one day returning from hunting with his brother Jagatai, they found a poor Mussulman bathing; Jagatai would have had him killed immediately, but his brother secretly caused a silver coin to be thrown into the stream, and the Mussulman was allowed to plead that as a poor man who had lost his coin in the stream grace might be extended to him. Ogotai being privy of course to the deception.†

An enemy of the Mussulmans once came to him and said that Jingis had sent him to tell him to exterminate the Mussulmans; having thought a minute, Ogotai asked him if Jingis Khan employed an interpreter, he said "No." "And dost thou know Mongol?" he said he only knew Turk. "Thou art a liar then, for Jingis only knew Mongol," and he had him put to death.‡

One day some Chinese showmen were performing before him and exhibiting their celebrated shadow figures, one of these, a figure of an old man with a white beard dragged by the neck at the tail of a horse, was somewhat exultingly pointed out by the conceited Chinese as showing how the Mussulmans were treated by the Mongol horsemen.

* D'Ohsson, ii. 90. † D'Ohsson, ii. 93. ‡ D'Ohsson, ii. 94.

Ogotai stopped them, and having produced the richest articles in his treasury of Chinese and of Persian make, he showed them how inferior the former were; he said that many of his rich Mussulman subjects had many Chinese slaves, but no Chinaman had any Mussulman slaves. You know that by the laws of Jingis a Mussulman's life is valued at forty *balish*, while a Chinaman's is valued the same as a donkey; how dare you then insult the Mussulmans.

Ogotai was very fond of wrestling, and imported famous wrestlers from Persia, one of whom, Pilé, was especially celebrated. The Khakan gave him a beautiful girl for a wife, but he would not sleep with her; and on being asked why by the Khakan, he replied that having won such great fame at his court he did not wish to be beaten, but to retain his strength and preserve the favour of the Khakan; the latter replied that he wished to have more of his race, and that he would dispense with his trials of strength for the future.*

One anecdote is told which speaks of his severity. It was reported among the Uirats that the Khakan intended to marry their daughters to men of other tribes, and they immediately affianced them. When Ogotai heard of this he ordered all the girls above seven years old of that tribe, and those who had been married during the year, to be ranged in a row to the number of 4,000. Having picked out the fairest for himself and his officers, and sent others to the public brothels, he ordered all the rest to be scrambled for by his soldiers, and this before their fathers, husbands, and brothers, and it is said no one murmured. These anecdotes give one a good idea of some traits of Mongol life at this period. The chief wife of Ogotai was Turakina, by whom he had five sons, Kuyuk, Kutan, Kutchu, Karadjar, and Kashi; his two other sons, Kadan Ogul and Melik, were by concubines.†

Whether we rank him as a most fortunate conqueror, as a mighty potentate ruling an empire to which that of Napoleon or Alexander was very small, or as an administrator who managed to frame rules by which the vast mass was riveted together for a long period, we must concede to Ogotai the character of one of the greatest monarchs the world has seen. Nor does it detract from his position that most of the work was done for him by other hands; it is in the choice of fit servants that the masters of large empires oftenest fail. The great name of Jingis has at least in English literature almost eclipsed that of his son, nor can this be other than a very modest attempt to draw more attention to him.

KUYUK KHAN.

OGOTAI had named his third son Kutchu as his successor, but he had died in 1236 in China. He next named his grandson Shiramun, the son of Kutchu; but Ogotai's widow, the Empress Turakina, wished

* D'Ohsson, ii. 96. † D'Ohsson, ii. 99.

the honour for Kuyuk, her eldest son, who had distinguished himself in the campaign against the Kins and also under Batu, and who, according to the usual Mongol rule of succession, was the next heir. He had in 1241 received orders to return to Tartary, and heard of his father's death *en route*. Turakina now issued a summons to the different princes of the house to come to a Kuriltai for the election of a successor. Jagatai and those princes who were at hand appointed Turakina regent during the interregnum. This appointment was the beginning of long troubles to the Mongol dynasty. The regent commenced by displacing Chinkai, who had been Imperial Chancellor, and one of whose duties it was to take down daily the sayings of the Emperor. Her next act was more important. A Muhammedan merchant named Abd-ur-Rahman had gained her entire confidence. The taxes imposed upon China had been calculated and levied by the celebrated Yeliu Chutsai, and on the final conquest of the Kins had been fixed at 1,100,000 ounces of silver annually. Abd-ur-Rahman offered 2,200,000 to be allowed to farm them, and notwithstanding the opposition of Yeliu Chutsai, he was appointed head of the Imperial finances. Yeliu Chutsai died of grief at the prospect of seeing the fruits of his labours, for the improved condition of his country, thus sacrificed. This was in June, 1244, when he was fifty-five years old. It was suggested that one who had been so long Finance Minister must have accumulated a large fortune. They accordingly searched his house, but only found there books, maps, medals, stones with ancient inscriptions, and instruments of music, the surroundings in fact of a student. One of Ogotai's successors gave him the posthumous title of King of Kuana hing, and the style Ven tcheng.* His tomb still remains at the foot of the mountain Wan Shên, three leagues and a half from Peking. In 1757 the Government built a new temple on the spot, and also a monument with an inscription, the old one being decayed. In it are statues of himself and his wife. His, like that of Moses by Michael Angelo, has a majestic beard reaching to his knees.†

The empire soon after lost a very valuable servant in Massudbey, the governor of Turkestan and Transoxiana, which, though nominally attached to the Khanate of Jagatai, now that there was a minor on the throne of that Khanate, were more immediately under the Imperial control. Massud had been a capital administrator and had restored prosperity to those provinces so much ravaged by Jingis. He did not trust the new regime, and deemed it prudent to fly; he escaped to Batu Khan. The Regent also sent one of her favourites called Argun into Persia to replace Kurguz, its governor, who had long been obnoxious to her; he was imprisoned and Argun placed in his office. We are told that Turakina was entirely guided by the advice of one of her females, Fatima, a Persian who had been captured at the sack of Thus.

* D'Ohsson, ii. 191. † D'Ohsson, op. cit., 193. Note.

Temugu Utsuken, the youngest brother of Jingis, as the last survivor of his generation, had some claims to the throne. He seems to have made a feeble effort to obtain it, but was apparently so little encouraged that he converted his journey in search of a throne into one of congratulation.

The general Kuriltai had been summoned to meet at the place near lake Keukee, where Ogotai generally spent the summer. Its meeting was delayed until the spring of 1246 by the tardy march of Batu Khan, who was now the most important prince among the Mongols. He pretended that his horses' feet were bad, but his real reason was his hatred for the Regent and her son Kuyuk. After all he did not attend the Diet, which was held without him. We are told that the different routes that converged from all parts of Asia upon Sira Ordu, where the Kuriltai was held, were crowded with travellers; there came Utsuken, the brother of Jingis, with his forty-eight sons; the widow of Tului and her sons; the various descendants of Ogotai, Juji, and Jagatai; the military and civil governors of the Mongol possessions in China; Argun and Massud, the governors of Persia and Turkestan and Transoxiana; Rokn-ud-din, the Seljuk Sultan of Rum; Yaroslaf, Grand Duke of Russia; two rivals for the crown of Georgia, both called David; the brother of the Sultan of Aleppo; the ambassadors of the Khalif of Baghdad, of the Ismailyen Prince of Alamut, of the Princes of Mosul, Fars and Kerman, and Sempad, brother of Haithon, King of Cilicia, each bearing magnificent presents. "Among the great magnates two obscure monks were conspicuous by their humble dress and the greatness of their mission;" they came from the Pope and the council of Lyons to convert the Mongols, one of the two was Du Plano Carpino, who has described for us the ceremonies of installation.

Two thousand white tents were erected for the grandees, who were so numerous that they had barely opportunity to bow their heads and pass on. A vast multitude of the commonalty were camped outside them. The princes of the blood and great generals met in a large tent which would hold 2,000 people, surrounded at some distance by a balustrade covered with pictures. The tent had two entrances, one for the Emperor was unguarded, no one would have the audacity to attempt an entrance there; the other was guarded by soldiers with bows and swords. Each morning the assembly spent in discussing the business of the meeting; the afternoons were consumed in drinking kumis. Each day the members were dressed in a different colour. The first day in white, the second in red, the third in purple, and the fourth in scarlet. Some of the grandees were mounted on horses whose harness cost more than twenty silver marks.

Before his election Kuyuk was treated with great deference;* when he went abroad they sang songs in his praise and bent towards him wands

* Carpino quoted by De Mailla, ix. 243.

terminated by bunches of scarlet wool. When the time of election came the Regent and the members of the assembly repaired to a tent two or three leagues away from the Sira Ordu, called the golden tent, because its pillars were covered with plates of gold fastened with golden studs, carpeted with scarlet, and covered with drapery, and debated about the choice of an Emperor. Shiramun was the late Emperor's choice, but the Regent pointed out that he was still a minor, and persuaded them to elect Kuyuk. He coyly refused the honour for a while, according to the usual custom, and at length accepted it as Ogotai had done, on condition that they swore to maintain it in his family. According to Simon de St. Quentin and the Armenian Haiton, the grandees of the court placed him and his wife on a piece of square black felt, and having raised him aloft proclaimed him Khakan; this is evidently a very ancient and widespread custom.* The members of the assembly did homage by prostrating themselves nine times, and the vast multitude outside at the same time bent their foreheads to the ground. Kuyuk with his followers then left the tent and did obeisance three times to the sun. The ceremony concluded with a feast during which the newly-elected Khakan was seated on a throne with the princes on his right and the princesses on his left. The repast lasted until midnight, and the hall resounded with music and martial songs.† The banquet was renewed for seven days, and then a general largess was distributed, each one receiving a present according to his rank. Kuyuk wished to surpass the liberality of his father. We are told that he bought merchandise to the value of 70,000 balishes, and paid for it with drafts upon the conquered countries. It was lavishly distributed among the crowd; even the children and servants received presents. A second distribution was made, which did not exhaust the vast stores, and Kuyuk ended by ordering the remains to be given up to pillage.† Carpino says that there were placed on a hill, not far from the Imperial residence, more than 500 chariots filled with gold, silver, and silken robes, which were all distributed.

The first business gone into by Kuyuk was an inquiry into the conduct of his great uncle Utsuken, who, as I said, had some pretensions to the throne. Mangu, son of Tului, and Orda, son of Juji, were appointed to investigate the matter, and it led to several of Utsuken's officers being punished.‡

The election took place in August, 1246. Immediately afterwards the Kuriltai busied itself with repairing many of the breaches of government which had occurred during the regency. The Khakan severely reprimanded the members of the Imperial family who had abused their power, and given indiscriminately to some, exemption from taxes, to others, the right to levy them. The family of Tului was excepted from this censure,

* Compare the accounts of the election of Attila and of the kings of Hungary.

† D'Ohsson, ii. 197-203. ‡ D'Ohsson, ii. 203.

and received a special eulogium. He then invested Yissu Manga, son of Jagatai, with his father's Khanate, contrary to the directions of Jagatai himself, who had left it to his grandson Kara Hulagu. Kuyuk in altering the disposition said it was strange the grandson should be preferred to the son.* In 1247 he sent an army to Corea, whose King had refused to pay tribute; another army, under Subutai and Chagan, was sent against the Sung empire in China; a third, commanded by Iltchikadai, was sent into Persia. To raise it each of the princes of the blood had to furnish two men out of every ten, and Iltchikadai was ordered to raise a similar proportion in Persia itself; the kingdoms of Georgia and Rum, and the principalities of Mosul, Diarbekir, and Aleppo were placed under his exclusive jurisdiction, with the sole right of levying taxes there. Argun retained the government of Persia, and Massud that of Turkestan and Transoxiana, and each of them had his diploma sealed with the lion, as had also the various petty princes who acknowledged the Mongol supremacy and retained their independence. Abd-ur-Rahman was put to death; and the chancellary was apparently divided between Chinkai and Kaidak.†

Izz-ud-din Ki-kavuss, the Seljuk Sultan of Rum or Iconium, was deposed and replaced by his brother Rokn-ud-din Kilidjarslan. Georgia was divided between the two competitors who had come to the installation.

The ambassadors of the Khalif and of the chief of the Ismailyens or Assassins were sent home with severe threats for their masters, against whom many complaints were brought by the Mongol generals; the Kuriltai was then dissolved, and the several princes set out to their various duties.‡

The two Franciscan missionaries who attended the Kuriltai were John de Plano Carpino and Benedict, they had traversed Bohemia, Silesia, and Poland; living on alms, they were ill prepared to present themselves at a court where every one was expected to bring a present. The Polish Duke Conrad and his courtiers supplied them with rich furs as offerings, they then proceeded to Kief, and in six days arrived at the Mongol outposts on the Dnieper; the Mongol general sent them on to the court of Batu, and he forwarded them on again; they arrived at the Grand Ordu on the 22nd of July, 1246, five months after leaving the Mongol outposts on the Dnieper. They were admitted to an audience some days after Kuyuk's election with a party of other ambassadors, whose names were announced in a loud voice by the Chancellor Chinkai. They made the usual obeisance before entering, were searched to see they had no weapons, and instructed on no account to tread on the wooden threshold of the tent. The papal letters were then read; one of them exhorted the

* D'Ohsson, ii. 204. † Von Hammer, Ilkhans, i. 58. ‡ D'Ohsson, ii. 207.

Mongol chief to become a Christian, the other rated the nation severely for its cruelties to its enemies, and implored the Khakan not to molest the Christians any more. The Khakan dictated an answer, which was sealed with his seal and translated into Arabic. If we are to credit the version of it conveyed in a letter which the King of Cyprus received from the constable of Armenia and forwarded to Louis the Ninth, it was not very conciliatory: "God has commanded my ancestors and myself to send our people to exterminate the wicked nations. You ask if I am a Christian; God knows, and if the Pope wishes to know also, he had better come and see."*

Turakina died two months after her son's election; her death was followed by that of her favourite, Fatima; who was accused by one Shiré of having by her sorceries caused Kutan, the Khakan's brother, to be ill. He himself sent to his brother to complain of her baneful influence, and when he shortly after died, Chinkai reminded Kuyuk of his brother's message. She was ordered to be tried, and having confessed under the pressure of the bastinado, her eyes, mouth, &c., were sewn up; she was wrapped in a felt and thrown into the river. Her friends were also punished with death. It is strange that shortly after, her accuser, Shiré, was himself accused of having bewitched Kuyuk's son Khodja Ogul, and was put to death with his wives and children.†

Ssanang Setzen has a curious tale about a Kutan, or Godan as he calls him. He makes him succeed Kuyuk and reign until 1251;‡ but it is very clear that he has mixed up Kutan, the brother of Kuyuk, with Kutan or Godan, the brother of Khubilai. The latter was a very influential person, as I shall show later, in introducing Lamaism among the Mongols; and the story told by Ssanang Setzen of his intercourse with the Grand Lama is in accordance with what we know elsewhere of him. It is quite clear that Kuyuk was succeeded by his cousin Mangu, as Grand Khan, and that his brother Kutan died before him.

In the spring of 1248 Kuyuk set out for the banks of the Imil, his own special uluss, where he distributed largess widely. The widow of Tului suspected that the object of his march was an attack upon Batu, and put him on his guard, but Kuyuk died suddenly at seven days' journey from Bish Balig, the capital of Uiguria, aged forty-three. He was a great victim to gout, the result of drinking and dissipation. He abandoned the conduct of affairs entirely to his two ministers Kaidak and Chinkai, both Christians,§ and through their influence a great number of monks from Asia Minor, Syria, Bagdad, Russia, and the Caucasus were attracted to his court; his doctors also were Christians. Carpino saw before his tent a Christian chapel; Raschid, on the other hand, complains of the severities exercised towards the Muhammedans during his reign. The seal of Kuyuk

* D'Ohsson, ii. 207-214. † D'Ohsson, ii. 233, 234. ‡ Ssanang Setzen, 111.
§ D'Ohsson, ii. 234

bore these words: "God in heaven and Kuyuk on earth, by the power of God the ruler of all men."

Carpino describes Kuyuk as of middle stature, grave and serious in disposition, and as seldom laughing.*

The names of two of his sons are recorded, namely, Khodja Ogul and Nagu, but neither of them succeeded him.

In the life of Ogotai I carried down the Mongol campaign in Persia to the death of the great general Churmagun; he was replaced by Baiju, whose first campaign was against Ghiath-ud-din Kei Khosru, Sultan of Rum or Iconium; with him marched contingents of Armenians and Georgians. They attacked Erzerum, and after two months' siege, in which the walls were broken down by catapults, they captured it, put all the soldiery to death, and reduced the artisans and women to captivity. The following year the Sultan of Iconium advanced to meet them with 20,000 men; with him marched 2,000 Frank auxiliaries under the "Free Lance" John Liminata from Cyprus, and Boniface de Castro, a Genoese. A curious lesson for the crusades to teach, that Christian soldiers should so early be found doing the work of mercenaries for the Moslems. The Sultan advanced from Sivas, and encountered the Mongols near the mountains of Alakuh or Kussadag; with the first flight of Mongol arrows his army was seized with panic and fled. The Sultan sent his harem to Haithon, the Armenian chief of Cilicia, for protection, and then abandoned his camp with the baggage and treasure. The Mongols at first suspected it was a ruse to draw them into an ambush, and it was only after waiting for a day that they advanced and pillaged the abandoned camp, marched upon Sivas, which purchased easy terms by a prompt submission; Tocate and Cæsarea were successively sacked. Baiju now agreed to make peace upon the terms that the Sultan should pay the Mongols an annual tribute of 400,000 dinars, and a certain number of slaves, horses, and other valuables. This campaign lasted two months. In retiring from Rum the Mongols demanded a contribution in silver from the town of Erzenjan, which being refused, it was taken by assault and its inhabitants murdered. This campaign took place in June and July, 1243.†

Meanwhile another body of Mongols had made a diversion into Syria, where they advanced as far as Aleppo; they levied a contribution and retired. On their return they appeared before the town of Malattiya, but we are told its Prefect having collected a great quantity of money, of gold and silver vases, having further collected the reliquaries of the saints and other precious objects preserved in the Jacobite cathedral, altogether worth 40,000 pieces of gold, delivered them all to the Mongols, who thereupon retired. Soon after this Bohemund, Prince of Antioch, and many

* D'Ohsson, ii. 234.

† See Bar Hebræus quoted by D'Ohsson, op. cit., iii. 82. Von Hammer's Ilkhans, i. 111.

other Christian princes agreed to pay tribute to the Mongols. Their example was followed by Haithon the First, the King of Little Armenia or Cilicia, with whom the mother, wife, and daughter of the Sultan of Rum had taken refuge; the Mongols insisted that they should be surrendered, and Haithon had to comply; at the same time he received from them a diploma (*altamga*) constituting him a vassal of the Khakan. This was in 1244. The following year they overran the country north of lake Van, and took the town of Khelatt, which by order of Ogatai was made over to Thamtha, the sister of Avak, who had married the Prince Achraf (? the Prince of Damas). They soon after captured Amid, and, entering Mesopotamia, occupied Roha, Nisibin, and other towns, which were deserted by the inhabitants at their approach. This expedition, according to Chamchean, was made in summer, and the Mongols lost many of their horses and were obliged to retire.

Their dominion, however, constantly widened, for we find the Prince of Mosul sending word to the Prince of Damascus that he had concluded a treaty with them, by which Syria became tributary. The same year, *i.e.*, in 1245, news arrived at Bagdad that the town of Sheherzur, eight days' journey to the north, had been pillaged by them. In 1246 they advanced as far as Yakuba, but were there beaten by the troops of the Khaliph.*

Ruzutan, the Queen of Georgia, had never submitted to the Mongols; she remained in her impregnable fortress of Usaneth, and no cajolery could make her come out. Baiju thereupon determined to appoint a fresh ruler who should be more subservient, and chose a nephew of hers, a natural son of her brother George Lacha, the late ruler of Georgia; he sent an Armenian Vahram to bring him from Cæsarea, where he had been living for some years. The greater part of the Georgian princes, and the Armenian princes Avak, Chabanchah, and Alpugh, acknowledged him. They conducted him to Metskhitha, the ancient patriarchal city of Georgia, where he was crowned. They then marched to invest Usaneth, where the Queen, driven to bay, poisoned herself. The Armenian historian I have already quoted says that she was very beautiful, and that she had received offers of love from Batu, the Khan of Kipchak; she left her son to his protection.

At the inauguration of Kuyuk, the proteges of Batu and Baiju appeared, as I have said, to claim the throne. It was decided to divide Georgia between them. To David, son of Lacha, was given Georgia proper, with a certain authority over his cousin who ruled in Imeretia, Mingrelia, and Abkhazia, the boundary between the two being the watershed between the Kur and the Phasis.

At the same Kuriltai, Sempad, the brother of Haithon of Cilicia, who was sent to do homage, obtained the restitution of certain towns which had been taken from his brother by the Sultans of Rum.†

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* D'Ohsson, iii, 89. † D'Ohsson, op. cit., iii. 91.

At the council of Lyons, in 1245, it was determined to send some missionaries into Tartary, and accordingly Innocent the Fourth wrote to the Prior of the Dominicans at Paris to tell him to choose some suitable persons. There were numerous volunteers, from whom four were chosen, namely: Anselm of Lombardy, Simon de St. Quentin, Alberic, and Alexander. They received orders to go to the first Mongol army they should meet in Persia.* It was in 1247 that they reached the camp of Baiju, which Simon says was at a place named Sitiens, forty-nine days' journey from Acre.† They were charged with letters from the Pope to the Khakan, these were not addressed specifically and merely to the chief of the Tartars, which incensed the Mongols: "Does not your master know," they said, "that the Khan is the son of God, that Baiju Noyan is his lieutenant; their names ought to be known everywhere." They then required the monks to honour Baiju with three genuflections, but supposing that this would be interpreted into an act of homage, they refused, saying, they were prepared to pay him the same honour they paid their own master. The retort was a somewhat protestant one: "You who adore wood and stone ought not to refuse to adore Baiju Noyan, to whom the Khakan, the son of God, has ordered that the same honours are to be paid as to himself." The whole account is quaint, it is given at length by D'Ohsson in his second volume, the Pope's letters were translated into Persian, and from that language into Mongol. At length after long delays the monks were sent back to the Pope with the following answer: "By the order of the divine Khan; Baiju sends you this reply, know O Pope that your envoys have come and brought your letters. They have spoken in a haughty tone, we don't know if you ordered them to speak thus. Your letters contain among other things the following complaint, 'You have killed many people,' but see the commandment of God and of him who is master of all the earth. Whoever obeys us remains in possession of his land, of his water and patrimony .... but whoever resists us shall be destroyed. We transmit you this order, Pope, so that if you would preserve your land and water and patrimony you must come to us in person and thence pass on to present yourself before him who is master of all the earth. If you don't obey. . . .we don't know what will happen, God only knows," &c. With this document was sent a copy of the instructions furnished to Baiju of how he was to deal with those who obeyed or disobeyed the precepts contained in the letter, which were those of Jingis Khan. This correspondence is a good instance of the intolerable arrogance of the Mongols. The missionaries, says Simon (one of them), were treated as dogs unworthy of answer, the freedom of their language irritated Baiju very much, and he three times ordered their execution.‡

Meanwhile the Mongols continued their conquests. In 1252-3 they

* D'Ohsson, ii. 208. † D'Ohsson, op. cit., ii. 221. Note. ‡ D'Ohsson, op. cit., ii. 221-231.

entered Mesopotamia, pillaged Diarbekr and Meyafarkin, and advanced as far as Rees ain and Surudj, in which expedition they killed more than 10,000 men, and captured a caravan on its way from Harran to Bagdad. *Inter alia* they thus acquired 600 loads of sugar and of Egyptian cotton, besides 600,000 dinars.* The same year another body of Mongols ravaged the country in the neighbourhood of Malattya.†

Let us now turn to the doings of the civil governors of Persia.

Kurguz, whom I described as setting out towards the Imperial court, and as having retraced his steps when he heard of the death of Ogotai, unfortunately, as he was passing through Transoxiana, quarrelled with an officer of the Uluss of Jagatai. The latter threatened to report him to his mistress, the widow of Jagatai, and as he returned a somewhat saucy answer, which came to her ears, she was much irritated.

On the death of Ogotai, the chiefs of the Uluss of Jagatai sent Argun with orders to bring Kurguz alive or dead, he resisted; but was given up readily by the dependents whom his strong hand had controlled. His seizure was the signal for fresh anarchy in Khorassan and Mazanderan. He was sent on to the Khakan's court where his friends had disappeared, and thence remitted back to the Uluss of Jagatai, where after a show of trial he was put to death by order of Kara Hulagu, son of Jagatai. He is said to have abjured Buddhism in his later days, and to have become a Mussulman.‡ Argun was thereupon appointed governor of Persia by Turakina, the widow of Ogotai. He was a Uirat by birth, and had been sold by his father during a famine for a quarter of beef to a Jelair officer, who was tutor to Ogotai. As he knew how to write the Uighur character, he eventually entered the chancellary of Ogotai, and was by him charged with an important commission in China. He was also named commissioner to settle the dispute between Ongu Timur and Kurguz, which he decided in favour of the latter, and was appointed co-administrator with him; but Kurguz preferred to be supreme, and Argun retired to the court of the Jagatai princes.§

On his return to Persia he asked that Sheref-ud-din should go with him as Ulug Bitikudji, an office which he obtained through the influence of Fatima. Originally the son of a porter, in Khuarezm, he became secretary to Chin Timur, when he got his appointment in Khorassan.

Argun at once proceeded to Irak and Azerbaijan to relieve those provinces from the exactions of the Mongol governors. At Tebriz he received the submission of the sovereigns of Rum or Iconium, and of Syria, and sent commissaries to those countries to receive their tribute. Sherif-ud-din was an arbitrary, cruel man, whose exactions were pressed by torture and other means. He was equally hard on the Moslem ministers of religion, and on the widows and orphans, who had been

* D'Ohsson, iii. 92. † D'Ohsson, iii. 92. ‡ D'Ohsson, iii. 121.
§ D'Ohsson, iii. 122.

tenderly treated by Jingis; parents sold their children to pay the taxes, and where nothing else was to be had, the sheet was taken from the dying man.

At Rayi, the various treasures that had been collected by his agents were taken to the mosque into which the sumpter beasts were driven, and their loads were covered with the sacred carpets. Fortunately his reign was short, and he died in 1244.*

In 1246 Argun was summoned to the Kuriltai, where Kuyuk was elected Khakan. He went with many rich presents, and we are told the most acceptable of these to the court was a collection of the warrants, &c., which had been unlawfully granted during the interregnum, which exempted some from taxes and gave others the right of levying them, covering the country with petty tyrants. Argun was confirmed in the government of Persia. On his return he was met at Meru by a great number of grandees, and held a grand fête. On the death of Kuyuk fresh anarchy ensued, warrants for exemption and collection of taxes were again indiscriminately granted.

On the death of Kuyuk, Batu, who had set out and had gone as far as the Alak Tak mountains on his way to do homage to the Khakan, halted. Pending the assembling of a Kuriltai, Ogul Gaimish, the widow of Kuyuk, was appointed Regent with the consent of Batu. During the interregnum there arrived at the court an embassy from Louis the Ninth, who was then engaged in his crusade, and who like the rest of the world looked upon the Mongol chief as the great Prester John, who had been sent to assist him in his campaign against the Muhammedans. This embassy took with it some magnificent presents, including a tent fitted up as a chapel, made of scarlet cloth, embroidered with the chief events of the life of Christ; with it were sent chalices, books, and the vessels used in the service. He also sent a portion of the true cross. The two envoys, who were Dominicans, travelled through Persia and Transoxiana. They were well received by the Regent; but the whole affair was misunderstood by the Mongols, who looked upon it as an act of homage, and afterwards considered Louis, much to his chagrin, as one of their dependents.†

I have now to describe a revolution which caused very great mischief to the Mongols, and which led eventually in a large degree to the disintegration of their empire.

On the death of Kuyuk, measures were taken as usual to prevent the news spreading until the heads of the house had been informed of it; travellers were stopped, communications intercepted, and messengers sent off to tell Batu and Siurkukteni, the widow of Tului. I have already said that Batu, who was on his way to the court, halted at Alaktak, seven days' journey from Kayalic. There he called a general Kuriltai. The family of Ogotai objected, and said that it ought to have been summoned

* D'Ohsson, iii. 125. † D'Ohsson, iii. 236, &c.

in the ancient country of the Mongols, but they sent Timur Noyan, governor of Karakorum, to assent in their name to whatever was done. The result was somewhat unexpected.

Since Juji had quarrelled with his brothers Ogotai and Jagatai, there seems to have been a constant feud between the families. Tului and Juji had married two sisters, so that their children were doubly cousins, and naturally clung together. The Mongol world was divided into two sections, to each of which two of the great houses belonged. It is probable also that the family of Juji, the eldest son, never quite acquiesced in the appointment of the younger son Ogotai and his family to the headship of the whole house. At all events Batu did not disguise his dislike for the descendants of Ogotai; a good opportunity was now offered of putting them aside. At the Kuriltai, the general Ilchikidai reminded the assembly that they had promised never to elect a member of any other house than that of Ogotai so long as a morsel of his flesh remained. Khubilai, a son of Tului, replied that the wishes of Ogotai had already been contravened. Had they not put to death Altalun (the favourite daughter of Jingis) without trial, against the laws of Jingis, which forbade the killing of any of the royal house until he or she had been tried in the general assembly of the princes. Again, had they not raised Kuyuk to the Khakanship, against the will of Ogotai, who had named Shiramun as his successor.

The general Mangussar was the first who in the general assembly proposed that Mangu, the eldest son of Tului, should be raised to the throne. He spoke of his valiant deeds both in China and in the West under Batu. He was supported by Batu himself, and after the usual coy resistance was elected. Batu offered him the cup, and the assembly greeted him as Khan; the Kuriltai then adjourned till the spring following, when it was to meet again in the ancient territory of Jingis Khan, where all the princes of the house were to assemble to confirm the election. Meanwhile Ogul Gaimish, the widow of Kuyuk, and his two sons Khodja Ogul and Nagu were to continue Regents. They spent the interregnum in disposing in advance of the revenues of the empire, which was given up to anarchy. Khodja and Nagu disavowed the act of their deputy Timur Noyan, and with Yissu Manga, the son of Jagatai, who now ruled over his horde, refused to attend the new Kuriltai or to surrender the rights of the house of Ogotai. After vainly trying persuasion of different kinds, Batu at length ordered his brother Bereke to proceed with the installation of Mangu, and threatened those who disturbed the State with the loss of their heads.

There can be no doubt that this was a very arbitrary proceeding, and that it involved a complete departure from Mongol traditions. The princes had sworn to retain the chief Khanship in the family of Ogotai, and if Kuyuk usurped the throne which had been left to Shiramun by his grandfather, that excuse could not cover the additional injustice of excluding him from the throne now. It is not surprising that he and his

cousins, &c., should have objected to Mangu's pretensions, and should have conspired against him. During the festivities that succeeded the elevation of Mangu, a man entered the Imperial tent who said he had been in search of a strayed mule and had met with a caravan of carts laden with concealed arms. Having dexterously examined the drivers, he had ascertained that they were on their way to the Kuriltai with the princes Shiramun, Nagu, and Kutuku, of the house of Ogotai, who intended to take advantage of the feast to displace Mangu and his supporters; and that he had come with great haste to warn them. Upon this a force was sent out to meet the conspirators. When surrounded they pretended to be coming to do homage, and on being conducted before Mangu offered him nine presents, each consisting of nine articles, according to Mongol custom, which especially regards the number nine. They were ordered to dismiss their troops and were treated for some days with courtesy and took part in the feast, but were then put under arrest. When brought before Mangu himself for interrogation they stoutly denied the plot, but a special commission was appointed to examine the whole affair. This satisfied Mangu of their guilt. Hesitating about the punishment to be awarded he consulted an old counsellor of the family, Mahmud Yelvaje, who repeated to him the advice given by Aristotle to Alexander under similar circumstances, when he took Alexander into the garden and tore up the deeply rooted vigorous trees and let the saplings remain, namely, to destroy the principal conspirators and spare the others.

Seventy of the chief conspirators were put to death, among them were two sons of Ilchikidai, the governor of Persia. The father was arrested at Badghis in Khorassan, and being conducted to Batu, was also put to death. While the Imperial princes were generally put to death by being fastened in felts and then rolled and trampled, the Noyans were choked by having earth or stones forced into their mouths.* The three princes were saved, we are told, by the intercession of Siurkukteni, the mother of Mangu, whose good offices had been secured by Katakush, the mother of Shiramun.†

The following year, *i.e.*, in 1252, a Kuriltai was summoned at Karakorum for the trial of the princes, &c. Mangu was especially irritated against the dowagers Ogul Gaimish and Katakush, who refused to admit his claims, and who were accused of doing him harm by their sorceries. On being disrobed, the former reproached the judge Mangussar with having unveiled a body which had never been seen except by a sovereign. They were found guilty, fastened up in sacks of felt, and drowned.

Kadiak and Chinkai, the principal councillors of Ogul Gaimish, were put to death, and Buri, a grandson of Jagatai, was handed over to Batu, who had a private grudge against him, and had him killed.‡ The princes of the house of Ogotai were distributed in different parts of the

* Von Hammer's Ilkhans, i. 61. † Von Hammer's Ilkhans, i. 61. ‡ D'Ohsson, ii. 269.

empire. Khodja Ogul was given a yurt on the Selinga;* Nagu and Shiramun joined the army. The latter accompanied Khubilai in his expedition to China, and was eventually killed there to satisfy the jealousy of Mangu. Those members of Ogotai's family who had remained faithful to Mangu, namely, Kadan, Melik, and the sons of Kutan, not only retained their commands, but were each granted one of the Ordus and a widow of Ogotai's.† During the remainder of Mangu's reign the family of Ogotai seem to have acquiesced in his supremacy.

KAIDU KHAN.

THE distribution of the empire of Jingis among his sons has not been properly understood. Among nomadic races, territorial provinces are not so well recognised as tribal ones. A potentate distributes his clans, and not his acres, among his children. Each of these has of course its camping ground, but the exact limits are not to be definitely measured. We thus find in the legacy of power left by Jingis, which is given at length by Erdmann in his Temudjin des Unerschutterliche, that nearly all his relatives were remembered. Each of them has a certain number of Mongols assigned to him. The same rule was probably applied to his sons. Thus Juji, the eldest, received as his heritage the various tribes that formed the old Turkish Khanate of Kipchak. Jagatai received the various tribes of Karluks, &c., that formed the great empire of Kara Kitai. To Tului, the youngest, the homechild, were left the tribes of Mongol blood. While Ogotai, who was made Khakan or Grand Khan, had, besides his superior power, a special authority over the tribes that formed the powerful confederacy of the Naimans, and probably also of the ancestors of the modern Kalmuks. His Khanate was bounded on the south by the long chain of mountains commencing near lake Balkash, and successively called the Kabyrgan, Talki, Bogdo Oola, and Bokda Thian Shan ranges; having on its south the countries of Kayalic, Amalig, and Bishbalig, which belonged to Jagatai; on the west it was conterminous with that portion of the Khanate of Juji subject to Orda and his descendants, and known as the White Horde; on the east and north-east it was probably bounded by the river Jabkan and the Kooke Sirke Ula mountains; on the north its boundary was uncertain, but probably included the mountains where the headwaters of the Irtish and the Obi spring.

It thus included a large portion of Sungaria, or that portion of the Chinese province of Ili known as Thian Shan Pelu, a land very little known, of which the river Imil, the Black Irtish, the lakes Saisan, Kara Noor, Kizil Bashi Noor, and the Ayar Noor, with their [illegible]

* Von Hammer, Ilkhans, i. 62. † D'Ohsson, [illegible]

streams, form the chief water system. This was the special appanage of Ogotai and his family, or rather, to be more strictly correct, the camping ground of the various tribes that formed his uluss. These he held independently of his Imperial authority, and they passed no doubt to his sons and grandsons. I have said that after the arbitrary accession of Mangu and the punishment of the refractory descendants of Ogotai, that there was internal peace among the Mongols until that Khan's death.

On the death of Mangu, Khubilai was absent on an expedition in China, and his brother Arik Buka, who was governor of Karakorum, thinking it a good opportunity, raised the standard of revolt. He was joined by several of the discontented and dispossessed princes of the house of Ogotai, of whom Kaidu, the son of Kashi, the fifth son, was the most conspicuous. I shall describe the struggle between the two brothers in the next chapter, and merely say here that it ended by the suppression of Arik Buka.

When he submitted in 1264, several of the princes of the blood refused to recognise Khubilai, among whom Kaidu was conspicuous. He retired to the country watered by the Imil, and began to assemble some troops. D'Ohsson says that he was crafty and fertile in resources, and he gained the friendship of the princes of the house of Juji, with whose assistance he made himself master of the country about the Imil, the ancient patrimony of Ogotai and Kuyuk. Summoned to the presence of Khubilai he evaded the call, urging the usual Mongol pretext that his horses were too thin to bear the journey. After three years of evasion, and no doubt also of preparation, he felt himself strong enough to attack Khubilai as a rival for the Over Khanship of the Mongol empire, which, according to the will of Jingis and the oaths of his successors, was the special heritage of his family.

In 1265 Borak was appointed Khan of Jagatai, by Khubilai, to make head against Kaidu, but instead of this he made terms with him. The families of Ogotai and Jagatai being very closely connected, and having kept up the friendship which had existed between the stemfathers of their races, the two Khans who headed these two hordes now made an arrangement. Turkestan and Transoxiana were not attached to any of the four great hordes, but were governed immediately by an Imperial deputy, and formed an appanage of the Khakanship. As such, Kaidu, who claimed to be Khakan, exercised a special authority there. The territory of Borak was rugged and barren, and in consideration probably of his alliance he was permitted to have a joint occupation of the rich pastures of Transoxiana. Kaidu encamped a force between him and [illegible] as a precaution against further usurpations. He was called [illegible] against Mangu Timur of the Golden Horde, who [illegible] him, and meanwhile Borak seized upon Bokharah. [illegible] th Mangu, and a battle ensued between him and [illegible] in which Kaidu was surprised in an ambuscade

and beaten. Upon this Mangu Tumir supplied him with a contingent of 50,000 troops; the battle was renewed, and Borak defeated. The latter retired to Transoxiana, which he threatened to ravage, and made a requisition upon Bokharah and Samarcand. At this stage he received proposals of peace from Kaidu, through the intervention of Kipchak Ogul, a grandson of Ogotai, and a common friend. Peace was established, the two princes met, and held a grand fête in the spring of 1268 in the open country of Talas and Kundjuk, east of the Jaxartes. In the Kuriltai held here it was decided that Borak should hold two-thirds of Transoxiana, while the remaining third should belong jointly to Kaidu and Mangu Timur. It was decided that Borak should invade Khorassan, and that meanwhile all three princes should refrain from ravaging the ruined territory of Transoxiana, should impose no taxes on the inhabitants, and should pasture their flocks at a distance from the cultivated ground. The peace was confirmed by rinsing gold in the cup in which they drank their mutual vows.* The most important portion of the treaty for Kaidu, however, was probably the confession it implied, that he was rightful Khakan of the Mongols, and from this time on for many years we find him and his son treated as their sovereign by the Khans of Jagatai.

Abaka, the Ilkhan of Persia, acknowledged Khubilai as the rightful Khakan, and naturally excited the wrath of Kaidu, who eagerly joined in the plan of Borak for occupying Khorassan. He sent a large contingent with that prince. The invasion and its disastrous end will come properly in the history of the Khanate of Jagatai.

On his return home with the debris of his forces Borak was reproached for his want of skill by Kaidu, and excused himself by the misconduct of some of the younger princes who had deserted him. Borak was paralysed and had become a Muhammedan. He asked his sovereign to assist him with troops in taking vengeance on the wrongdoers. Kaidu went in person with two tumans, *i.e.*, with 20,000 men, and arrived at the camp of Borak, but before they could have an interview the latter died. Mobarek Schah and the chief men of the horde of Jagatai, upon this, took the oath of allegiance to Kaidu, who thus became more than ever the superior Khan of the horde of Jagatai, and controlled a most dangerously powerful force as the rival of Khubilai. He appointed in rapid succession Nikbey, Toka Timur, and Dua to the vacant throne of Jagatai.†

Marco Polo enlarges in many chapters on the long struggle that took place between Kaidu and Khubilai. Raschid tells us a desert of forty days' extent divided the States of Khubilai from those of Kaidu and Dua; this frontier extended for thirty days from east to west. Along this line were posted bodies of troops at intervals, under the orders of princes of

* D'Ohsson, iii. 428-431. † D'Ohsson, ii. 451.

the blood and generals. Five of these corps were encamped on the edge of the desert; a sixth in the territory of Tangut, near the Chagan Nur (white lake), situated in lat. 45.45 and E. lon. 96; a seventh in the vicinity of Karakhodja, a city of the Uighurs, which lies between the two States and maintains neutrality.* It may be concluded that Kaidu's authority extended over Kashgar and Yarkand, and all the cities bordering the south side of the Thian Shan, as far east as Karakhodja, as well as the valley of the Talas river and all the country north of the Thian Shan, from lake Balkash to the Chagan Nur, and in the further north between the Upper Yesseini and the Irtish.† Marco says of Khoten, "Ils sont au grand Kaan."

Khubilai was too much afraid of the power of his rival, and the terrors of his land, or too much engaged in organising his Chinese dominions, to interfere much with Kaidu. Many battles were no doubt fought on the frontier, but they were very indecisive. At length Kaidu commenced a more active policy. In 1275, in alliance with Dua, he entered the country of the Uighurs with 100,000 men and besieged the Idikut in his capital; he wanted him to ally himself with him against Khubilai, but he refused, and soon after receiving succour was able to resist the forces of Kaidu;‡ this succour seems to have been the army which was sent in that year by Khubilai under the command of his son Numugan, with the general Ngantung or Antung, a descendant of Mukuli. With them also went Gukdju, brother of Numugan, Shireki, son of Mangu, Tuktimur, and other princes. Numugan received the title of governor-general of the country of Almalig, *i.e.*, the very heart of the enemy's country. In 1277, Tuktimur, discontented with Khubilai, proposed to Shireki, son of Mangu, to place him on the throne; to this the latter agreed, and in the night the conspirators seized the Khakan's two sons and the general Ngantung. The two princes they handed over to Mangu Timur of the Golden Horde, and the general to Kaidu, whose party they joined with Sarban, son of Jagatai, and other princes of that horde and that of Ogotai.§ De Mailla, however, makes the princes fight a battle near Almalig, in which the party of Kaidu was successful, and then march upon Karakorum.‖ Marco Polo describes this battle at some length. His description is rather graphic of the Mongol system of tactics. He says that the practice of the Tartars in going to battle is to take each a bow and sixty arrows; of these, thirty are light with small sharp points for long shots and following up an enemy, while the other thirty are heavy with broad heads, which they shoot at close quarters, and with which they inflict great gashes on the face and arms, and cut the enemy's bow strings and commit great havoc. This everyone is ordered to attend to, and when they have shot away their arrows they take to their swords,

* Cathay and the Way Thither, 275. † Cathay and the Way Thither, 523. ‡ Gaubil, 168.
§ Raschid in Pauthier's Marco Polo, ii. 718. D'Ohsson, ii. 452. ‖ De Mailla, ix. 390.

and maces, and lances, which also they ply stoutly.* The threatening state of things on the frontier induced Khubilai to withdraw Bayan, his most trusted general, from China, to place him in command of the western army. He found the enemy encamped on the banks of the Orgon, and after some manœuvring Shireki was beaten and driven towards the Irtish, and Tuktimur among the Khirgises. Here he demanded assistance from Shireki, which was not forthcoming. He thereupon quarrelled with him, and set up Sarban, the son of Jagatai, as Khakan, so that there were now four pretenders to the high dignity, Khubilai, Kaidu, Shireki, and Sarban. Shireki was to weak to resist, and had to join the other princes in announcing the election of Sarban as Khakan to Kaidu and to Mangu Timur.

Tuktimur soon after met his end, he was trying to force Yubukur, the eldest son of Arikbuka, to recognise his nominee Sarban. This he refused, raised an army, attacked Tuk timur, who was deserted by his troops, and given up to Shireki, by whom he was put to death. He was celebrated for his bravery and his skill in archery. He rode a white horse, saying, men generally chose coloured ones so that the enemy should not see the blood from their wounds, but he thought that as women ornament themselves with red, so ought the blood of the horseman and his horse to form the parure of a warrior. Sarban, Yubukur and Shireki had several mutual struggles, in which they were alternately deserted by their soldiers. At length Shireki was handed over to Khubilai, and was transported to a desert island, where he died. De Mailla, Gaubil, and the Chinese authorities cited by Pauthier make Shireki be killed after an engagement with Bayan, by the latter's lieutenant Li ting. Sarban submitted to the Khakan, and was by him granted both men and lands. Yukubur also submitted to Khubilai, and Numugan was set at liberty.†

For ten years we hear of no decisive actions between the two great rivals Kaidu and Khubilai. The former continued to grow in power, and was undisputed master of the Khanates of Ogotai and Jagatai. He at last succeeded in forming a very powerful league against Khubilai. Among his allies the chief were Nayan, Singtur, and Kadan, whose appanages were situated north of Liau Tung in Mandchuria.

Jingis Khan had divided Tartary into two sections, eastern and western, the former was apparently partitioned among his brothers and uncles, and was divided into twenty departments. Of these Utsuken had nine, and his territory was comprised between the rivers Liau, Torro, and Kueilai, and also a part between Liautung and the river of Liau.‡

I have mentioned how at the accession of Kuyuk, Utsuken raised some pretensions to the crown and was apparently overawed by the strength of the opposition. He was succeeded by his son Jintu, he by his son

* Yule's Marco Polo, 390. † D'Ohsson, ii. 455.
‡ Gaubil, 206. De Mailla, ix. 431.

Tagajar, Tagajar by his son Agul, and he by his son Nayan, who, we are told, had greatly enlarged his heritage, and had gained great influence in Tartary. Those departments of Eastern Tartary which were not controlled by him were ruled over by the chiefs of the Tchalar (Jelair), Hongkila (Kunkurats), Mangon (Manguts), Goulou (?), and Ykiliasse (Kurulas).

Singtur was descended from Juji Kassar, and Kadan from Kadshiun, brothers of Jingis Khan. Nayan collected 40,000 men, with whom he awaited the arrival of Kaidu. He was to have joined him with 100,000, but Khubilai ordered Bayan to repair to Karakorum to hold Kaidu in check, while he himself marched against Nayan. He ordered a fleet of transports to sail from Kiang Nan for the river Liau with provisions. His army was divided into two divisions, one composed of Chinese under the order of the Niutchi general Li Ting; the other of Mongols under Yissu Timur, grandson of Bogordshi, the chief of the nine Orloks. He found the army of Nayan encamped on the river Liau and protected by a line of chariots. Having consulted his astrologers, who promised him a signal victory, he advanced rapidly and quite took Nayan by surprise. Marco Polo has a graphic account of the battle, from which, and from D'Ohsson's account, I shall quote. The aged Khakan was mounted on a great wooden bartizan, which was borne by four well-trained elephants, with leather harness and housings of cloth of gold. Over this tower, which was guarded by archers and crossbowmen, floated the Imperial standard representing the sun and moon. His troops were ordered in three divisions of 30,000 men each, and the greater part of the horsemen had each a footsoldier armed with a lance set on the crupper behind him, the whole plain seems to be covered with his forces. When all were in battle array on both sides, then arose the sound of many instruments of various music, and the voices of the whole of the two hosts loudly singing, and playing on a certain two-stringed instrument in the Mongol fashion, and so they continued until the great naccara of Khubilai sounded, then that of Nayan sounded, when the fight began on both sides. The naccara was a great kettledrum formed like a brazen cauldron, tapering to the bottom, covered with buffalo hide, often three and a half or four feet in diameter.* It is said that Nayan was a Christian, and that he bore the emblem of the cross on his standards. After a severe struggle he was completely defeated and taken prisoner. Khubilai ordered him to be sewn up in felt and to be beaten to pieces, the usual way of putting royal prisoners to death, so that none of their blood should be spilt. The defeat of Nayan caused great jeering among the Jews and Muhammedans, who cast jibes at the Christians for fighting under such an emblem.

The defeat of Nayan did not conclude the strife in the further East. The princes Kadan and Singtur (De Mailla says Hadan

* See Yule's Marco Polo, i. 303.

and Huluhosan, and Gaubil, Hatan, Tieko, Arlu, and Tulukan) continued the struggle for some time. They encamped on the river Liau, and threatened Liautung. Bayan received orders to watch Kaidu, and to prevent him joining his forces to those of the confederates. Against the latter Khubilai sent his grandson Timur, with the generals Yissu timur, Tutuha, Li ting, and Polohoan.* The confederates were attacked on the river Kueliei, and after a fierce battle, which lasted for two days, were utterly routed. A great number of chiefs and officers among the confederates perished. Timur was much praised by his grandfather, and by his affability gained the good opinion of the various tribes encamped on the rivers Liau, Toro, Kueliei, &c.† This battle was fought in 1288. The eastern confederates of Kaidu were thus dispersed.

Let us now turn to his own doings. Khubilai had recalled his best general, Bayan, from China, and ordered him to take command at Karakorum to oppose his great rival, but before he could arrive there, Kanmala, the son of Khubilai, who commanded the Imperial forces on the western frontier, was defeated by Kaidu, near the Selinga. The young prince was almost captured, and was only rescued by the bravery of Tutuka, a general of Kipchak descent, who had gained great renown at this time.‡ It is quite clear that Kaidu gained a substantial advantage on this occasion, and Khubilai, notwithstanding his great age, thought it necessary to go to the frontier in person. He set out from Changtu, and we are told that Tutuka was the first general who had the honour of commanding under the Emperor.§ There was no battle however, for Kaidu had meanwhile retired.

Khubilai died in 1294, and was succeeded by his grandson Timur. During the last years of the former's reign we hear of no engagement on the frontier, although the strife apparently continued, for we are told that Kaidu had occupied the country of Parin,‖ *i.e.*, the camping ground of the Mongol tribe of Barin in South-Eastern Mongolia. The Imperial general Chohangur, son of Tutuka, marched against him, and found him encamped on the river Taluhu;¶ his camp was defended by stockades of wood, behind which his troops were dismounted and on their knees, with their bows drawn ready to fire a volley. Notwithstanding this, Chohangur charged with such vigour that he captured the camp and drove the enemy out, and captured or killed most of them; he then retired, and encamped on the river Alei.** This advantage was balanced by a decided victory gained by Dua; as I have said, the western frontier was protected by a cordon of troops posted at intervals who might support one another. Taking advantage of the fact that three of these post commanders had met together at a feast and got

* Gaubil, 209. † Gaubil, 209. ‡ De Mailla, ix. 441. Gaubil, 211.
§ Gaubil, 211. ‖ De Mailla, ix. 469. ¶ De Mailla, ix. 469. ** De Mailla, ix. 470.

drunk, a division of Dua's army attacked the frontier. Kurguz, who commanded at that point, was overpowered, the usual assistance not being forthcoming, and barely escaped with his life. Dua was now deserted by some of his troops, who joined the Imperial standard, and by whose assistance his army was in its turn defeated. While Kaidu and Dua were thus struggling with the empire, they had also carried on a war on their western frontier against the Golden Horde. D'Ohsson says they fought fifteen battles there. *

In 1301 Kaidu invaded the empire with a very large force in conjunction with Dua and forty princes of the hordes of Ogotai and Jagatai. They were met between Karakorum and the river Tamir by Khaischan, Timur's nephew, and according to the Chinese accounts were defeated.† Vassaf says that Kaidu was victorious, but as he fixes the site of the battle in the neighbourhood of Kayalik, he probably refers to some previous engagement.‡ Shortly after this Kaidu died. He was regretted, says D'Ohsson, by his subjects for his humanity and by his troops for his bravery, and during his reign Transoxiana flourished. He had fought forty-one battles against the Khakan and other enemies, in most of which he had been victorious. We must never forget that he represented, according to the Yassa of Jingis Khan and according to all the sacred customs of the Mongols, the legitimate heir to the Khakanship, and this probably accounted for the breadth of country which acknowledged his authority. He not only had to struggle against Khubilai and his grandson, but also on his western frontier against the Golden Horde; the eastern portion of which was the heritage of Orda, the eldest son of Juji, and his family. It had descended to his great grandson Nayan, who carried on a vigorous fight with both Kaidu and Dua, and with them he fought fifteen battles in which he was much weakened.§ It was this war no doubt to which D'Ohsson refers,‖ where he says that in the long struggle between the hordes of Jagatai and Juji the troops on both sides sold their captives into Persia, where many Mongols were in consequence reduced to slavery. Marco Polo tells a quaint story about a daughter of Kaidu's, who was renowned for her fame in wrestling. She had sent challenges in all directions, offering to marry any man who should throw her, while he should forfeit 100 horses if he failed. In this way she had won 10,000 horses. He goes on to describe how a prince came from a distant land where he was renowned for his skill and strength, and was determined to win her or lose a thousand horses; that both Kaidu and his wife tried to persuade their daughter to allow herself to be beaten; that she refused; that the match came off in the presence of the royal pair, she dressed in a jerkin of sarcenet and he in one of sendal; and that after a long struggle she threw him on his back on the palace pavement; he lost his horses and

* D'Ohsson, ii. 515. † De Mailla, ix. 479. Gaubil, 230. ‡ D'Ohsson, ii. 516. Note.
§ D'Ohsson, ii. 515. ‖ D'Ohsson, iv. 430.

his wife, for she would not have him, and he had to return home much crest-fallen. She was afterwards employed in his fights by her father, and gave him great assistance.* Besides this daughter, Kaidu left fourteen sons; some accounts say forty.†

CHAPAR.

HAVING rendered the funeral honours to Kaidu, Dua, whom the latter had made his confidante, proposed to the princes collected round his corpse to appoint his eldest son Chapar, who was then absent, as his successor. He was under obligations to Chapar, for the latter had, on the death of Borak, urged upon Kaidu the claims of Dua for the vacant throne, and it was by his influence that he obtained it. Every one agreed with Dua's nomination. Each of the princes present sent deputies to accompany the corpse to its burial; and Chapar soon after arriving, the different princes, with Dua at their head, did homage to him. When he was installed, Dua suggested to him to recognise Timur as Khakan, and thus to put an end to the struggle which had for thirty years divided the family of Jingis Khan. This was agreed upon, and the princes of the two houses of Ogotai and Jagatai sent envoys to the Imperial court offering their submission;‡ but this submission was apparently only feigned on the part of Chapar. The following year he quarrelled with Dua, who probably wished to assert an independence inconsistent with his suzereign rights. Dua thereupon sent to Timur to offer him an alliance against his rival, and then proceeded to engage him. A battle was fought between the armies of the two hordes of Ogotai and Jagatai in 1306, between Samarkand and Khodjend, in which Chapar was defeated; but in a second struggle his brother and general Shah Ogul reversed the result of the previous struggle. Dua then sent word to Chapar that the war had been caused by the impatience of some of the younger people, and that he wished for peace; and he suggested that a joint council should meet to decide who were the authors of the strife, and to punish them. Chapar consented, and fixed upon Tashkend as the place of meeting. Shah Ogul upon this dispersed his troops, but the envoy of Dua came with an army, attacked and defeated him. He had been encamped in the eastern part of the territory of the Golden Horde, which pertained to Kendshi, the son of Ordu, with whom Chapar was on good terms. The victorious troops now proceeded to ravage that territory, and to sack and ruin the towns of Taraz, Bénéki, Kundjuk, and Tchekel. At the same time the army of the Khakan Témur broke through the Altai to attack Chapar himself, who, with 100,000 men, was encamped in the neighbourhood of the river Irtish and the Ak tag mountains, and who did not know of the alliance between the two princes. On the eve of the battle Chapar was

* Yule's Marco Polo, ii. 395. † Yule's Marco Polo, ii. 382. ‡ D'Ohsson, ii. 518.

deserted by the greater part of his army, and had to escape with 300 horsemen to the territory of his enemy Dua. The latter received him with honour, but he also accepted the homage of his chief vassals, and appropriated the greater part of his territory.

Dua died directly after, in 1306, and was succeeded after an interval (*i.e.*, in 1308-9) by his son Guebek; he was hardly installed before he was attacked by Chapar, in concert with the other princes of the house of Ogotai, who no doubt deemed this a good opportunity for regaining their lost power. Chapar was beaten in several fights, and forced to escape beyond the Ili, and into the territory of the Khakan Timur. This victory finally broke the hopes of the house of Ogotai.* During the reign of his successor, Kuluk Khan, Chapar and other Mongol princes repaired to the Chinese court, where they did homage:† thus surrendering effectually the claims of Ogotai and his descendants to the supreme Khanship of the Mongols. With this notice apparently ends the material we possess for the history of the house of Ogotai. Its wide domains were appropriated by the Khans of Jagatai, while the clans who obeyed it were scattered, the greater part became the subjects of the same Khans; others joined the horde of Kipchak, and became renowned in after times as the main strength of the confederacy of the Uzbegs.

The family of Ogotai was however by no means extinct, but became only unimportant and obscure, and it is a curious fact that when the great Timur lenk had conquered the greater part of Central and Southern Asia, and he like other great conquerors wished to preserve a decent show of humility, that instead of entirely displacing the Khans of Jagatai, whose servant he had been, he retained the title and office of Khan as a mere puppet, a *roi fainéant*, while he himself like the Merovingian mayors of the palace had all the authority. It is more curious to find that he displaced the family of Jagatai from the position, and put on the titular throne a descendant of Ogatai's named Siurghatmich, who was apparently succeeded by his son and grandson,‡ thus restoring once more to the family of Ogotai, in name at least, the honours that had been so long appropriated by others.

Note 1.—KARAKORUM.—The position of the capital of Ogotai has recently been a good deal discussed. It must be remembered that Ogotai did not found the city. It was there long before his day. It had been the capital of the old Uighur empire before it was destroyed by the Hakas and before the Uighurs migrated to Bishbalig, and we are expressly told that Ogotai found ancient ruins there when he began to build, among which was an inscription stating that there had stood the palace of Buku,

* D'Ohsson, ii. 521. † D'Ohsson, ii. 533. ‡ Erskine's History of India, i. 68 and 540.

Khan of the Uighurs in the eighth century.* I myself believe that the Hakas who overthrew the Uighur empire were the ancestors of the Naimans, and that at the accession of Jingis, Karakorum was within the Naiman territory and probably one of their chief places. Since I wrote this chapter and quite recently some light has been thrown on the very crooked question by the Russian traveller Paderin, whose account has been analysed by Colonel Yule. He tells us that besides the authorities used by Rémusat and by Ritter, Paderin also used the itinerary of a Chinese named Chang Chun, who in 1222 travelled from North China to Tokharistan, passing by Karakorum; and that of another Chinese traveller named Chjan de Khoi. They afford some important data. Among these are the following: 1, Karakorum was more than 100 li to the south-west of the lake Ugei Nor, this being a lake of clear water about 70 li in circuit; 2, that it stood in a valley which had a circumference of 100 li, surrounded by hills, and having the river Khorin running through it; 3, that in going from it to the river Tamir, the traveller passes a hill called Horse's Head (in Chinese, Ma-tu; in Mongol, Morintologoi), and another called Red-ear (in Chinese, Khun-er; in Mongol, Ulan Chihi); 4, that north of it there was a palace near a lake called Tsagan Gegen. During his stay at Urga, M. Paderin had ascertained that the names Kara Balghassun, Ugei Nor, Morintologoi, Ulan Chihi, and Tamir were all yet extant.

The 11th of March brought the traveller to the Ugei-Nor. This lake, about eight miles from east to west, and a little less from north to south, lies towards the north side of a wide valley enclosed by low hills. The valley is called Toglokho Tologoi; it is some forty-five to fifty-five miles in length from east to west, and twenty-five to thirty-five miles in breadth. The Orkhon River, fordable stirrup-deep, traverses the valley, and the lake discharges into it by a stream called Narin. The ground near the river is swampy, and west of it there is a series of saline lakes called Tsagan-Nor (White Lakes). Some willows and poplars grow on the banks of the river.

The hills forming the western boundary of the valley are called Ulintu, Obotu, and Ulan Khoshu. On the south and south-east are the Khadamtu Hills, sprinkled with clumps of trees having leaves like pines. The hills on the east and north are insignificant, only one having a name, viz., Khityin-Khada, "Monastery Hill." This is so called from a *kuren* or fortified enclosure at the north-west end of the lake Ugei-Nor containing a Buddhist temple, the residence of the Khutuktu Orombyin Gegen. This little *kuren* is of remarkable construction, and looks as if it might have been the palace of a Khan in days of yore. The basement of the temple, both in materials and in style, resembles the ruins near the river Karukha.

M. Paderin diverged from the post track at Ugei-Nor station to visit

* D'Ohsson, ii. 64.

the ruins of Kara Kharam or Kara Balghassun (for it is known by both names), and rejoined the track at the next station westward, called Ulan-Khoshu.

Four hours' smart riding, estimated at thirty-five to forty miles, brought him to the ruins, lying in the same valley,* and some four or five miles from the west bank of the Orkhon, with a fine grassy plain intervening, which, in places, rises into frequent hillocks. The remains consist of a rampart enclosing a quadrangular area of about 500 paces to the side, and still retaining traces of indented battlements. The rampart is of mud, and in some places apparently of sun-dried brick. Inside the area, on the eastern side, is a tower or mound rising above the wall; the general height of the latter being about nine feet. There are traces of a small inner rampart running parallel to the north and south sides of the square. Besides these there were to be seen no monuments or relics of antiquity.

Mongol traditions, M. Paderin observes, rarely preserve any memory of ancient times. They do not in general go beyond a vague statement that such a spot contains the bones or the treasure of Gesser Khan (as is commonly said of the tumuli scattered over the southern Kalkha country); or that such another is the relic of a fine monastery, or of the palace of Jingis Khan. Of this place, the Mongols, with M. Paderin, could only say that it was very old, and that probably Jingis Khan had lived there; but one sharp Lama came forward saying it was the city of Togon Temur Khan. Now it is a fact (already alluded to) that at least the son of this last of the Jingizide Emperors did, shortly after their expulsion from Cambaluc, establish himself at Karakorum.

But the dimensions, distances, geographical position, and aspect correspond with the old data. Thus, the place does lie southward of the Ugei-Nor from 100 to 120 li;† the traveller leaving it for the westward does cross a river (indeed two rivers) called Tamir, and on his way to that river does pass hills called Horse's Head and Red Ear. It answers all the looser conditions collected by Abel Rémusat (see Ocean Highways for July, 1873, p. 170); the most definite tradition met with by M. Paderin connected it with Togon-Temur Khan; and the place is still known as Kara Balghassun (Black Town) and Kara Kharam‡ (Black Rampart), both which seem to involve memories of the ancient and proper name.

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* The original translation says "nearly in the south-east end of the valley." This is a little difficult to reconcile with the other indications, including the Chinese notices and the Jesuit map. But in another passage also the traveller says he rode from Ugei-Nor to the ruins nearly south-south-east, so I have tried to accommodate the sketch map to this. Yule, op. cit. Note.

† The Chinese traveller quoted by Mr. Paderin says south-west indeed, whilst *he* says south-south-east, as we have already noted.

‡ The transcription from the Russian is Kherem. But I presume that, as often in French spelling, the *e* here represents the neutral vowel—the short *a* in America.

M. Paderin supposes the old name Karakorum to have been merely a corruption of Kara Kharam, with the meaning just given.* But the Archimandrite Palladius, probably the best authority, in a short appended note, does not assent to this, observing that in the transcription of the Mongol text of the biography of Ogotai Khan the name of the city is rendered Khara Khorum,† whilst the Chinese authors of the Mongol period are unanimous that the chief *ordu* of the Mongol Khans got its name from the nearest river.‡ On the other hand, Kara Kharam, or Black Rampart, is evidently applicable, in that form, only to the deserted site.§

I have taken the liberty of extracting this account almost verbatim from Colonel Yule's graphic narrative. I would remark, that the doubts he throws out in one of the notes about the existence of a range of mountains called Karakorum, in the neighbourhood of the Mongol capital, are hardly justified.

Alai ud din says, "the Uighurs believe that their nation inhabited, originally, the banks of the river Orkon, which rises in the mountains called Karakorum, whose name has been given to the town recently founded by the Khan (Ogotai). . . . These are in the Karakorum mountains. There is an ancient ditch, said to be the ditch of Pijen, and on the banks of the Orkon are the vestiges of a town and palace formerly called Ordu Balik (*i.e.*, the Town of the Ordu), and now Mau balik (*i.e.*, Bad Town, or Ruined Town)."‖ Alai ud din died in 1284, and this last phrase makes it clear that the city of Ogotai had already become ruinous.

Again, Raschid says that in the Uighur country there are two chains of mountains, one called Bucratu Turluk, the other Uskun-luk-tang-im between which are the mountains Karakorum, whose name was given to the town which Ogotai Khan built, and near these mountains is another called Kut-tag.¶

Again, Klaproth, in his criticism of Schmidt's views about the Uighurs, gives an extract from the Su chung kian lu, from which I take this sentence, "Iduchu is the title of the ruler of the Kao tchang, who formerly lived in the land of Uighur. Here are found the mountains Chorin; two rivers flow from them called the Tuchula (Tula) and Sieling ga (Selinga)." **

* A similar suggestion is made by Mr. Ney Elias, J.R.G.S., xliii. 122.

† As in the Western Asiatic writers, *e.g.*, Rashiduddin and Ibn Batuta.

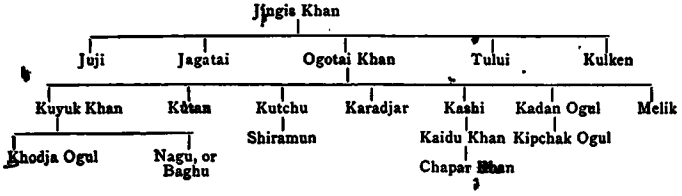
‡ See Ocean Highways, as quoted above. My remarks there are thus corroborated. But I have found a passage which may be the origin of Mr. Grant and Sir H. Rawlinson's association of the name of Karakorum with mountains. D'Ohsson cites from Rashiduddin a passage which speaks of "the great Altai and the Karakorum Mountains." And M. d'Avezac, just after quoting this, assumes that the town was called so from being at the foot of the Karakorum Mountains. (Réc. de Voyages, &c., iv. 518, 519.)

§ Colonel Yule, Geographical Magazine, i. 138. ‖ D'Ohsson i. 430. ¶ D'Ohsson, i. 436.

** Klaproth Beleuchtung und widerlegung der Forschungen ueber die Geschichte der Mittel Asiatischen Volker des Herren Schmidt. Paris, 1824. Page 48.

These extracts seem to show that the Kentei Khan chain was otherwise known as Karakorum, and that it was probably from it that the capital city of the Uighurs and of Ogotai was named.

Note 2.—The following short table will clear up somewhat the relationship of the several Mongol princes mentioned in this chapter.



CHAPTER V.

MANGU AND KHUBILAI.

MANGU KHAN.

IN the previous chapter I have described the circumstances which led to the choice of Mangu as the successor of Kuyuk. It seems strange, that with the well known loyalty of the Mongols, no rebellion should have broken out among the tribes in favour of the dispossessed princes. It was probably prevented partially by the renown Mangu had already gained in his various wars, by the high character of his mother, and by the further fact, that nearly all the Mongol army proper was the heritage of Tului, and that he could therefore rely on its feudal attachment to himself, as Tului's eldest son. I have described how Mangu was chosen. His inauguration took place on a day marked as a propitious one by the astrologers. The day fixed was the 1st of July, 1251, and while the princes cast their sashes over their shoulders and bent the knee nine times, their example was followed by 10,000 warriors outside. Mangu ordered that this day all should forget their quarrels, should leave their work, and give themselves up entirely to pleasure. The general holiday was to extend to the rest of the world as well as to men; horses were not to be ridden, nor cattle worked; animals were not to be killed for food; there should be no hunting nor fishing; no disturbing of the earth, nor troubling the calm and purity of the water.

This was followed by a feast, which lasted for seven days, during which the guests each day wore a differently coloured costume. Each day 300 horses and cattle, 5,000 sheep, and 2,000 cartloads of wine and kumis were consumed.

Mangu now appointed his chief officers: Mangussar was made chief judge; Bolgai, a Nestorian Christian, was made chancellor, and given charge of the finances and of the department of home affairs. The chancellary was divided into many departments, with Persian, Uighur, Chinese, Tibetan, Tangutan, and other secretaries charged with the correspondence. Kunkur, son of Juji Kassar, was made governor of Karakorum. Mangu's brother Khubilai was made lieutenant-general

in the country south of the desert. Chagan commanded the troops on the frontiers of the Sung empire; Dandar in Suchuan and Khortai in Tibet. A Buddhist named Khai-yuan was given charge of the Buddhist affairs in China, and one Tao-li-cheng of those of the Taotse sect. The Tibetan lama Namo was made chief of the Buddhist faith in the empire, and given the title of Hoshi, or Institutor of the monarch. Mahmud Yelvaje was made administrator of the Mongol possessions in China, and his son Massud, who had restored the prosperity of Transoxiana, was confirmed in his government. Argun was also confirmed in his vast authority. The latter made a fresh report on the miserable condition of his province, induced by exorbitant taxes. The state to which Persia was reduced may be gathered from the fact that while in China and Transoxiana the poorest could afford to pay a gold piece annually, and the richest fifteen; in Persia, the minimum had to be reduced to one dinar and the maximum to seven. Mangu confirmed the law of Jingis and Ogotai, which exempted the priests and monks of the Christians, Muhammedans, and idolators, as well as the old and the very poor. D'Ohsson says that the rabbis were not included in the exemption, to the great mortification of the Jews.* He also restricted the powers of the minor governors to exact taxes, and withdrew the many illegal warrants for their collection that had been issued since the death of Jingis. The extravagance of Kuyuk had left the empire largely indebted to the merchants who flocked to the Mongol court. Mangu ordered this debt to be paid, and it amounted to 500,000 silver balishs.

In February, 1252, Mangu lost his mother, to whom he had given the title of Empress. She was a Christian, but very tolerant, and had given a thousand golden balishs to found a Muhammedan college at Bokharah, where 1,000 students were taught, and had endowed it handsomely. She had been very much respected by the Mongols, especially by Ogotai. She lived with her fourth son Arikbuka, near the Altai, and on her death was buried near her husband and Jingis Khan. Mangu had raised his father Tului to the rank of Emperor, and given him a title in the temple of his ancestors.

About this time the Idikut of the Uighurs, who was a Buddhist, was falsely charged by a slave with the intention of killing all the Mussulmans at Bish Balig and in Uighuria. He was summoned before Mangu, and under the influence of torture said he was guilty; he was sent back to Bish Balig, and there beheaded by his own brother in the presence of an immense crowd, and to the great satisfaction of the Mussulmans. Two of his principal officers were also put to death; a third escaped death by the clemency of Mangu, but his wives and children, and all his goods were seized by the exchequer, and he himself sent on a mission to Egypt. It was the Mongol custom, when a criminal's life was spared, either to

* D'Ohsson, ii. 365.

send him to the army, where his life might be made useful, or on a mission dangerous in itself, or to some insalubrious country. Okenje, the brother of the executed prince, who had also been his executioner, was appointed to succeed him.

On his arrival in China, Khubilai began to search out and try and cure the abuses that had everywhere sprung up. He had recourse to a learned Chinaman named Yao-chu, who composed for him a moral and political treatise in which the duties and obligations of princes, and the abuses that prevailed in the country, were set out. He became the constant adviser of Khubilai.

Since the days of Ogotai, the Mongols encamped on the frontier of the Sung empire had made no fresh conquests, but had made many invasions into Suchuan, Hukuang, and Kiangnan for the sake of pillage, in which they had taken several towns, and having sacked them retired with their booty. In this way they had caused great ravage, and the provinces on the border of the two empires were marked by deserted towns and uncultivated fields. Khubilai made his soldiers cultivate these provinces, supplying them with cattle and ploughs.

In 1252 Khubilai received Honan and the province of Kung-chang-fu in Shensi as an appanage, with orders to march upon Yunnan; another general was assigned a campaign in Corea. The same year Mangu made a solemn sacrifice to the sky on the summit of a mountain, after receiving instruction from the Chinese in the ceremonies used on such occasions. Early the next year he published a general amnesty, and at a Kuriltai assembled at the sources of the Onon it was decided to send an army into Persia under the orders of Khulagu, the brother of Mangu. At the same time a body of troops was sent to the frontiers of India. The Mongols had two years before taken and sacked Lahore, and some time after made an incursion into Scinde.

At the end of 1253 the friar William of Ruysbrok (otherwise known as Rubruquis) and his companions arrived at the court of Mangu. I will transcribe his account where he adds to what I have previously taken from Carpino's narrative. The tent where the Khakan sat was hung with golden tissues and warmed by a chafing dish, in which were burnt the thorns and roots of wormwood, the fire being made of dried dung. The Khakan was seated on a small couch, robed in a rich fur dress, which shone like the skin of a sea calf. He was of middle stature, with a somewhat flat turned up nose, and was about forty-five years old. His wife, who was young and good-looking, was seated by him with one of her daughters called Cyrina. Several children were on another couch close by. The Khakan asked the friars what they would drink, wine or terasine (made of rice), or kumis, or ball (hydromel); they replied they would drink whatever the Khakan pleased. He gave them some terasine, of which they drank a little to please him; their interpreter, they naively complain, drank too much, got drunk, and forgot himself. The Khakan

next had his falcons brought out, and placed them on his fist, admiring them for some time; he then ordered the friars to speak. Their address was full of well-worded flattery, *inter alia*, they said that according to the statutes of their order they were bound to tell men how they ought to live according to the laws of God; that they had come to ask permission to settle in his territory in furtherance of their duty, and to pray for himself, his wives, and children. If he did not wish them to settle, they begged that he would at least allow them to stay until they had recruited from the effects of their long journey. After a while the interpreter got too drunk to be intelligible, and the friars suspected that Mangu himself was rather maudlin. He proved, however, very gracious, gave them liberty to stay two months, and to go to Karakorum if they chose.

Rubruquis noticed that Mangu and his family took part indiscriminately in the services of the Christians, the Muhammedans, and Buddhists, to make sure of the blessings promised by each religion. The Christianity was that of the Nestorians, and to what depths this form of religion had sunk may be collected from some very graphic anecdotes related by our traveller. On one feast day Mangu's chief wife with her children entered the Nestorian chapel, kissed the right hand of the saints, and then gave her right hand to be kissed, according to the fashion of the Nestorians. Mangu was also present, and with his spouse sat down on a gilt throne before the altar, and made Rubruquis and his companion sing; they chanted the *Veni sancti spiritus*. The Emperor soon after retired, but his wife stayed behind and gave presents to the Christians. Terasine, wine, and kumis were then brought in; she took a cup, knelt down, demanded a blessing, and while she drank the priests chanted; they then drank until they were drunk. Thus they passed the day, and towards evening the Empress was drunk like the rest. She went home in a carriage escorted by the priests, who continued chanting and howling.

On another occasion Rubruquis with the Nestorian priests and an Armenian monk went in procession to Mangu's palace; as they went in a servant was bringing out some of the smoked shoulder blades of sheep, used in divination by the Shamans; they carried in a censor, with which they censed the Emperor, and then blest his cup, after which all drank. The other members of the family were successively visited. The Nestorian notion of Christian worship was to place a cross on a piece of new silk on an elevated place, and then to prostrate before it.

The three sects before mentioned were always proselytising, and their great ambition was to win over the Khakan, but he was neutral and urged toleration on all. He one day told Rubruquis that everybody at his court worshipped the same God, the one and eternal, and they ought to be allowed to adore him in their own way, and that by distributing his favours among men of all sects he showed that all were acceptable to

him. The historian Alai-ud-din would persuade us he chiefly favoured Muhammedans, while Haithon and Stephen Orphelian insist that he favoured the Christians the most.

But all three religions, Christian, Muhammedan, and Buddhist, were only luxuries indulged in by the court; the Mongol nation continued to practise Shamanism, which remained the State religion. Rubruquis mentions that the chief of the Shaman priests lived at a stone's throw from the Emperor's palace, and had charge of the carriages which carried the idols.

These Shamans practised astrology and foretold eclipses, they pointed out propitious and unpropitious days. They purified with fire everything destined for the use of the court as well as the presents offered to the Khakan, of which they had a certain portion. They were summoned to births, to draw horoscopes, and to sick beds to cure diseases. If they wished to ruin anyone they had only to accuse him of causing any misfortune that should happen. They summoned demons, while they beat their drums and excited themselves until they got into a state of ecstasy. They pretended to receive from their familiars answers, which they proclaimed as oracles.*

At Easter, Rubruquis followed the Khakan to Karakorum, which seemed to him less than St. Denis in France, whose monastery he tells us was ten times as large as the palace of Mangu. In Karakorum were two principal streets: in one, styled of the Muhammedans, fairs and markets were held; the other, styled of the Chinese, was occupied by artisans. The city contained several public buildings, twelve pagan temples of different rites, two mosques, and a church. It had an earthen rampart pierced by four gates; near the gates were held markets; at the eastern one, millet and other kinds of grain were sold; at the western, sheep; at the northern, horses; and at the southern, oxen and carts. The palace, surrounded by a brick wall, stretched north and south. Its southern side had three doors. Its central hall was like a church, and consisted of a nave and two aisles, separated by columns. Here the court sat on great occasions. In front of the throne was placed a silver tree, having at its base four silver lions, from whose mouths there spouted into four silver basins wine, kumis, hydromel, and terasine. At the top of the tree a silver angel sounded a trumpet when the reservoirs that supplied the four fountains wanted replenishing. This curious piece of silversmith's work of the thirteenth century, Rubruquis tells us, was made by a Parisian silversmith called William Boucher, who had been captured at Belgrade in Hungary; 3,000 marks of silver were spent in making it. Beside this silversmith, Rubruquis met many Christian Hungarians, Alans, Russians, Georgians, and Armenians at Karakorum. After a stay of five months he prepared to return, bearing with him the Khakan's answer to the

* D'Ohsson, ii. 302.

letter of Louis the Ninth, which was couched in moderate terms, but ended up as usual by bidding him put no trust in the remoteness or strength of his country, but to submit.

The friars were seventy days in reaching the court of Batu. Travelling along the public way and bearing the Khakan's letters they were furnished both with conveyances and food gratis, but the road was a deserted one; Rubruquis tells us he did not see a single village on the way where bread might be bought, and for two or three days lived on kumis alone. He at length recrossed the Caucasus, and reached his monastery at Acre, whence he sent an account of his voyage to Louis.

About the same time Mangu received a visit from Haithon, the King of Little Armenia, which comprised Cilicia, Comagéne, and several towns of Cappadocia and Isauria. He also travelled by way of the Caucasus, calling upon Batu and his son Sertak on the way. He was well received, and by his persuasion the Mongol exactions in the two Armenias were restrained.

We may now turn our attention once more to Persia.

On the death of Kuyuk fresh anarchy had ensued; warrants for exemption and collection of taxes were again indiscriminately granted. In 1250 Argun, with the chief functionaries of Persia, repaired to the Kuriltai, where Mangu was elected Khakan. He reported the confusion that was caused by the malpractices just named. The Khakan required that the governors of each province should report on its condition. They all agreed that extortionate taxation was the cause of their ruin, and that it would be well to introduce a capitation tax, graduated to the wealth of the inhabitants, like there was in Transoxiana. This was decided upon, the lowest limit being one dinar, and the highest ten. The proceeds of the taxes were to pay the soldiers and to organise the system of posting on the public roads, so carefully looked after by the Mongols.

Argun was again confirmed in the government of Persia, and received a new diploma, marked with a lion's head. Persia was divided into four provinces, each under a Melik, who all had separate diplomas, as had also the lesser functionaries. Each one received from the Khakan robes of Chinese silk.

The Melik Chems-ud-din Mohammed, Prince of Gur, and connected with many of the old princely families of Persia, was assigned the government of Eastern Persia. He was present at the election of Mangu, and was received by him with great ceremony. He gave him the government of the country of Herat and its dependencies, which extended from the Oxus to the Indus, and comprised the provinces of Meru, Cabul, and Afghanistan. Beside a robe of state and three *paize* or diplomas, he gave him 10,000 dinars, an Indian sabre, a lance of Alkhatt (a district of Yemama or Bahrein, where the lance poles are made which come

from India), a mace with the head of a bull on its summit, a battle-axe, and a dagger.*

At the great Kuriltai held in 1252, at the accession of Mangu, it was determined to send an expedition into the West, under the command of Mangu's brother Khulagu, to punish the Ismailites, &c. Each of the princes of the blood was ordered to furnish one man in ten out of his army to form an army for Khulagu, each contingent being commanded by the near relations of the prince who furnished it; a tugan or 100 mens of flour and an utre or fifty mens of wine were provided for each man. Besides these there were 1,000 engineers to work the war machines. Kitubuka was sent on with an advance guard of 12,000 men in the autumn of 1252 towards Kuhistan. Khulagu himself set out in February, 1254. Leaving Karakorum he marched for seven days over the snowy range of Khanggai to the river Hoen Muren, on which he proceeded in boats to the Arungu, which falls into lake Kizilbash; then by larch-covered mountains to a town called Pfuhle in the Chinese narrative of the expedition, "near which is a mountain where the wind blows so hard that travellers are sometimes blown into the lake;" then through a narrow pass to Almalig, where he was feted by the princes of the house of Jagatai, and especially by Organa, the widow of Kara Hulagu. On his arrival in Turkestan he was similarly feted by its governor, Massud, the son of Yelvaje. Having summered his horses, he encamped in the beautiful district of Kianigul, *i.e.*, the Mine of Roses, near Samarkand,† where he spent forty days, and feasted in a magnificent tent built up of gold and silken tissue, where he gave himself up to drinking and dissipation. The feast was somewhat marred by the death of Suntai, his brother.‡ Khulagu was commissioned by the Khakan to exterminate the Imailyens or Assassins, and then to pass on to subject the Khalif. Having arrived at Kesh, the patrimony of the ancestors of Timurlenk, he received the submission of Argun, the governor of Khorassan, and of the various grandees and nobles, and issued a summons to the sovereigns of Western Asia. "We have come," he said, "to destroy the Molahids, *i.e.*, the heretics.§ If you come in person with your troops you will save your country and family, and you shall be rewarded. If you hesitate, I will, with the help of God, after I have destroyed this people, return and treat you in the same way." After crossing the Oxus he organised a lion hunt, and as the horses were terrified with this new game, he mounted his hunters on camels. Ten lions were killed.

The Ismailites or Assassins were a particular sect of that division of the Shia Muhammedans known as Ghilats. They were distinguished mainly by a secret cultus, a peculiar hierarchy, and an implicit obedience to the Imam. This most implicit obedience was aggravated by the

* D'Ohsson, iii. 131.

† Von Hammer's Ilkhans, i. 88. ‡ Von Hammer's Ilkhans, i. 88. § D'Ohsson, iii. 139.

system of assassination which they organised, and which became the terror of Western Asia; the chief officers and more prominent men of its various courts wearing coats of mail under their clothes as a precaution, and still suffering decimation. The long struggle and intercourse they had with the Khuarezm Shahs is detailed by D'Ohsson, but it forms no part of our present subject.*

Leaving the Oxus, Khulagu advanced to Sheburghan, south-west of Balkh, a fruitful district famed for its water melons. There he spent the winter, and held another reception in another sumptuous tent, presented to him by Argun.†

Kitubuka had been sent on, as I have said, with an army of 15,000, and had invaded Kuhistan, the chief seat of the Assassins. There he had laid siege to Girdkjuh (*i.e.*, the Round Mountain), a fortress situated in the district of Kumus, three parasangs from Damghan.‡ He invested it after a new fashion; having made a ditch and rampart round it, he placed his army behind it, and behind this again another ditch and rampart, so that he had a protection both in front and rear. He apparently made this camp his base, and sent out columns to attack the other fortresses of the country; among these were Shahdis, Turim, Rudbar Shirkiuh, Shir, and Sirkiuh.§ Girdkjuh still held out. One of the garrison escaped, and sent to Alaeddin, the Grand Vizier, to ask for help. He sent two leaders, each with 110 troopers; one to escort three mens of salt, the other three mens of Henna. The latter was needed not to dye the nails and beard with, but as a preservative against a disease then prevailing there, it having been discovered that those who drank of water in which Henna had been infused would escape the disease.‖ They succeeded in getting in.

Khulagu sent the Lord of Herat, Shems-ud-din Kest, to summon the fort of Sertacht. It was surrendered by its governor, who was invested with a seal with a lion's head, and was then sent against Tun, one of the finest cities of Kuhistan, situated two days' journey from Meshed, on the road to Kerman, with a moated castle in the centre, surrounded by houses and a market-place, and outside these cornfields and melon gardens. Kitubuka and Kuli Ilkai were ordered there with their battering machines. In twelve days it was captured.¶ The inhabitants were put to the sword, except the children and young women, and the besiegers then joined Khulagu at Thus.** At Thus he was again magnificently entertained by Argun, and then went on to Radegan, where food and wine were poured upon him from the rich districts of Meru, Yesrud, and Dahistan. As he passed by Kabuskan, which had been laid waste

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* D'Ohsson, iii. 141-189. † Von Hammer, op. cit., i. 91. D'Ohsson, iii. 140.
‡ Von Hammer's Ilkhans, i. 93. § Von Hammer's Ilkhans, i. 93, 94.
‖ Von Hammer, op. cit., i., 94. ¶ Von Hammer, op. cit., i. 95. ** D'Ohsson, iii. 190.

by the previous Mongol invasion, he ordered canals to be dug, the mosque to be restored, and a bazaar to be built, and bade the Vizier Seifeddin superintend the work. He then moved on to Bostam, one of the three main towns of Kumuss.

Kuhistan was the chief seat of the power of the Ismailites. Khulagu, on his arrival, ordered it to be overrun. At Thus he received Shahinshah, the brother of the Ismailite chief, who came to offer his submission. Khulagu ordered him to dismantle several of his fortified places, to receive a Baskak or Mongol governor in his dominions, and to come in person and submit. The chief of the Assassins began to dismantle the walls and gates of some of his fortresses, as Meimundiz, Lemsir, and Alamut. The latter demand was evaded. Khulagu sent a special embassy to renew it, which returned with many promises and some hostages, but with no definite offer of submission. At length his patience was worn out, and he ordered his troops to advance. They took the fort of Shahdiz. The chief of the Assassins still prevaricated. Instead of sending his son as a hostage, he tried to palm off a natural son he had had by a Kurdish slave upon the Mongol conqueror. His object was delay, in the hope that winter would intervene and stop the operations of the Mongols; but Khulagu was not to be detained. He ordered all the different contingents to enter the province of Rudbar, and laid immediate siege to the strongly fortified town of Meimundiz.* Catapults were placed on the various commanding heights, and the attack was prosecuted with vigour. Rokn-ud-din, the chief of the Assassins, now proposed terms to Khulagu. He himself wished to surrender; but a tumult in the town prevented him. Both the vigour of the attack, and the unusual mildness of the season, disappointed the besieged, and they at length agreed to give in. Rokn-ud-din, with his chief ministers, went to the Mongol camp and surrendered all his treasure, and the town was evacuated. He was well treated by the Mongols, but was obliged to give orders for the surrender of all the fortified places in Rudbar, Kumuss, and Kuhistan. More than forty castles were thus surrendered, and then destroyed. Alamut and Lemsser, two of the strongest, alone remained. Alamut (*i.e.*, the Falcon's Nest) was situated on a craggy height, north-east of Kazvin. A large circuit of ruined walls and towers still attest its former grandeur. It resisted for a while, but its garrison at length grew frightened, and offered terms. The Mongols entered the place, so strong from its situation among high and scarped mountains. Its library was celebrated, containing the gatherings of the various Ismailite princes. The copies of the Koran, the astronomical works, and works of value were preserved; but the service and the theological works of the sect were mercilessly destroyed.† The fortress, which dated from the year 860, was demolished

* D'Ohsson, iii. 194. † D'Ohsson, iii. 198. Von Hammer's Ilkhans, i. 103.

with great trouble. Soon after the fortresses of Kuhistan, to the number of fifty, were surrendered and demolished; and this was followed by the submission of the Ismailite fortresses in Syria. Rokn-ud-din was now powerless and useless to the Mongols, and they began to treat him badly. So long as his strongholds held out it was easier to cajole him into surrendering them than to spend blood and treasure in their capture. He had lately married a Mongol woman of low extraction, and Khulagu would not have scrupled to put him to death but for his solemn promises to him. He relieved him from anxiety by expressing a wish to visit the camp of Mangu Khan. He went, and was badly received, the Khakan refusing him an interview, and he was murdered on his way home again. His subjects were distributed among the Mongol soldiery, and were put to the sword as directed by the Grand Kuriltai. Even the children in the cradles were slaughtered. Only a few escaped in the recesses of Kuhistan, where their descendants still lived in the beginning of the sixteenth century, when they are mentioned by Mohammed of Esfézar,* but practically they were exterminated. The princes of Asia Minor, Syria, and of the Franks were relieved from their levies of black mail, and Muhammedanism escaped a dangerous schism; but the terror they inspired survived long enough, and the word assassin in Western languages (a corruption of Hashishin, by which the Ismailites of Syria were known) still bears witness to their ancient renown.†

Khulagu now went to Kazvin, far famed for its melons and its handicraftsmen, where he held a grand feast in honour of his victory, and rewarded his faithful dependants. He then turned to the next object of his expedition, namely, the subjection of the Khalif. In this he was seconded by the learned astronomer Nassir-ud-din, of Thus, a follower of Ali (*i.e.*, a Shia). From his camp in the environs of Kazvin, Khulagu marched to Hamadan, where he met the Mongol general Baiju, who came to do homage. He was received with the scornful taunt, "Since you took the command from the hands of Churmagun, what enemies have you conquered, what country have you subjected? What have you done, except to frighten the Mongol troops, with the grandeur and power of the Khalif?" He replied, on his knees, that he had done what he could, and had subjected the kingdom of Rum (*i.e.*, the Seljuk sovereignty of Asia Minor), and that he had not ventured to attack Baghdad because of its strength and population, and the difficulties of the way.‡

Khulagu despatched an embassy to summon the Khalif to submit. The latter was a pious man, but wanting in energy. He claimed as his delegates all the sovereigns who professed the Moslem faith, and who received investiture at his hands. Mostassim was the then Khalif, and the princes who owned his supremacy were the Sultans of Egypt and

* D'Ohsson, iii. 202. † D'Ohsson, iii. 202. ‡ D'Ohsson, iii. 206.

Rum, the Atabegs of Fars and Kerman, the Princes of Erbil and Mosul, and several others of less account; but the rulers of Rum, Fars, and Kerman had already submitted to the Mongols. The Khalif had besides this a more serious domestic difficulty. He had recently persecuted, and treated with great indignity, certain Seyid captives, descendants of Ali. His vizier, who was a Shia, was much scandalised at this, and entered into correspondence with Khulagu. At the same time he dissembled his animosity, and tried to persuade his master, the Khalif, that as all the Mussulman princes were his feudatories, and were ready to sacrifice both their troops and their wealth in his service, there was not much use in a large standing army. The luxurious Khalif meddled little with affairs of State, and allowed the vizier to scatter the considerable army his father had left him, and it was in this condition when the news of Khulagu's march arrived. At the same time the so-called Little Devatvar (*i.e.*, vice-chancellor) made a cabal with many other chiefs to replace the Khalif by another prince of the house of Abbas, and to undermine the influence of the vizier. News of this conspiracy came to the Khalif's ear, and although matters had proceeded to great lengths, he wrote the vice-chancellor an autograph letter, in which he told him he considered the charges to be calumnies, and that he retained the highest confidence in him. His letter brought a submissive answer, and on the Devatvar presenting himself he was well received. His justification was proclaimed in the city, and his name was inserted in the Khutbé immediately after the Khalif's.*

The letter of Khulagu complained that the Khalif had not furnished him with a contingent in his war against the Ismailites. It went on to remind him of the great empires that had already succumbed to the Mongols, that each of their rulers was always welcome at Baghdad, as he also expected to be. He urged that the moon only shines in the absence of the sun. Do not strike a nail with your fist, he said, nor mistake the sun for the puff of a candle, or you will repent; but the past is past. He then bade him raze the walls and fill the ditches of Baghdad, and go to him in person, or else to send his vizier and chancellor to do homage. He told him that if he obeyed his behests, then he should preserve his states and troops; but if he preferred to fight, or refused to obey, they would see what was the will of God.† According to Raschid, the Khalif replied that Khulagu had been seduced by the good fortune of ten days into supposing himself the arbiter of the world. He, too, reminded him of the vast power of the Mussulmans, of which he was the head. He did not wish for war, as he did not want his people to suffer from the march of armies, and he counselled him to listen to the voice of peace, and to return to Khorassan.‡ The envoys who bore this message were accompanied by the Mongol envoys. The latter were maltreated by the people, who awaited them

* D'Ohsson, iii. 215. † D'Ohsson, iii. 215. ‡ D'Ohsson, iii. 218.

outside the gates of Baghdad. When Khulagu heard of it, he is said to have remarked, the Khalif is as tortuous in his policy as this bow, but with the help of God I will chastise him until he becomes as straight as an arrow. He dismissed the envoys with the message that God had given the empire of the earth to Jingis Khan and his descendants, and as their master refused to obey, there was nothing for it but to prepare for war. The vizier now counselled the Khalif that he should appease the Mongols by magnificent presents; the Devatvar advised a different policy. With Suleiman-shah, the generalissimo of his forces, and some others, he reproached the Khalif with his weakness and debauchery, reminded him of the terrible fate of the cities already ravaged by the Mongols, and begged that troops might be at once raised. The Khalif consented, and the vizier gave orders for a levy, but he secretly added that there was no hurry, and the thing might be done leisurely. Meanwhile the Khalif addressed another note to Khulagu, in which he enumerated the many disastrous expeditions which had set out with the object of taking Baghdad, and warned him to avoid the same fate.*

Khulagu's march lay through the snowy mountains which separated the two Iraks, the defiles of which were guarded by the fortress of Deriteng (*i.e.*, narrow defile) †. The Mongols, according to their usual policy, seduced the governor by fair promises into their power, and then persuaded him to march out the garrison, when they completed their perfidy by a general massacre.‡ Before marching, Khulagu consulted Hossam-ud-din, an astrologer, who had been sent with him as his adviser by the Khakan, his brother. Hossam was probably a Muhammedan. He foretold that grave disasters would follow upon the expedition; among other things, that the sun would not rise; that there would be drought, earthquakes, pestilence, &c. He was rash enough to fix a date for the occurrence of these misfortunes, and to offer to risk his head on the result. Khulagu waited for the day. Hossam's prophecies were falsified, and he was put to death on the 23rd November, 1262.§ The Bakshis or Buddhist doctors of the Mongols counselled a confident advance, and this advice was strengthened by that of Khulagu's favourite astrologer, Nassir-ud-din, who was a follower of Ali, and who told him that he should replace the Khalif on the throne. Khulagu now determined to advance, and he ordered the different Mongol armies to converge upon Baghdad. Baiju, who with his Mongols had been engaged in Asia Minor in reducing to obedience certain towns of the Seljuk Sultan Rokn-ud-din, who was a protegé of the Mongols, crossed the Tigris at Mosul, and joined a second body of Mongols under the command of Boka Timur, of the Noyan Sugunjak, and the three princes of the house of Juji, who commanded the special

* D'Ohsson, iii. 221. † Von Hammer's Ilkhans, i. 145. ‡ D'Ohsson, iii. 224.
§ D'Ohsson, iii. 225.

contingent of that horde. They formed together the right wing of the attacking force. The army which had been on the frontiers of Luristan, under Kitubuka and Kudussun, formed the left wing; while Khulagu, with the chief dignitaries of Persia, took command of the centre. Having once more summoned the Khalif, who now offered to pay tribute, but would not go in person, and leaving his heavy baggage at Hamadan, Khulagu marched through the Kurdish mountains, taking and sacking the town of Kermanshahan on the way.* He halted for thirteen days on the banks of the river Holvan, while Kitubuka overran the greater part of Luristan.

A conference was held between Khulagu and some of his generals at Thak kesra, and it was noticed that when they left him they consulted the fissures in burnt shoulder blades of sheep, the usual Mongol mode of divination, to see what would be the result.† They commanded the right wing, and now crossed the Tigris at Tacut, and so great was the hurry and panic of the inhabitants to get across the river and take refuge in Baghdad, that the boatmen received golden bracelets, tissues of gold, and large sums of money for the passage. This Mongol army was attacked by one of the Khalif's divisions, under the vice-chancellor, whom I have previously named. The Mongols retired as usual, and then succeeded in flooding the country behind the Moslem army, which was attacked and utterly defeated. The vice-chancellor reached Baghdad with a handful of men. He was ordered to repair the walls and to barricade the streets. The vast city was now invested by the Mongols; they surrounded the town with a rampart and ditch, the ditch being on the inside. This work was constructed in twenty-four hours. Out of the bricks which strew the neighbourhood, probably the debris of the old Mesopotamian empires, they constructed mounds upon which to place the battering engines. The bombardment commenced on the 30th of January, at all points, and a great breach was effected in the tower A'djemi, a tower flanking one of the gates. The Khalif sent one of his favourites, and the patriarch of the Nestorian Christians, to offer the terms formerly proposed by Khulagu, but these were now refused, and the attack was pressed. Palm trees were cut down to furnish projectiles, while stones for the catapults had to be brought from a distance of three or four days' journey to the north, from Jebel hamrin and Jelula.‡ Letters fastened to arrows were shot into the town, stating that clemency would only be extended to the Kadhis, the Muhammedan doctors, the Sheikhs, Alevis, and non-combatants. On the 1st of February, the Mongols captured, by assault, all the wall on the eastern side of the city. The vice-chancellor and a body of 10,000 men tried to escape down the river, but the Mongols were expecting and repulsed them with a shower of stones and pots of naptha, and they were forced to return to Baghdad. The Khalif now saw that

* D'Ohsson, iii. 228. † D'Ohsson, iii. 228. ‡ D'Ohsson, iii. 234.

resistance was hopeless, and he sent several deputations offering terms; but Khulagu refused to see them. He demanded that Suleiman Shah, the generalissimo of the Khalif's troops, and the vice-chancellor, should be sent to him, and on their arrival he ordered them to return and bring out all their forces. Under pretence that they were sending them into Syria, they persuaded many of the soldiery and others to come out; but they were distributed among the Mongol companies, and as usual put to to the sword.* Eibeg, the vice-chancellor, and Suleiman Shah shared in the common fate. The latter was first jeered at by Khulagu. You, an astrologer, who know the forecast of the stars, why did not you warn your master? The Khalif, was the pathetic answer, followed his destiny, and listened not to the counsel of his servants. With the latter also perished 700 of his house. The heads of three of the chief victims were cruelly sent to the Prince of Mosul, an old friend of Suleiman Shah, with orders that they should be exposed on the walls of his palace;† an order that he was forced to obey. The Khalif, with his three sons and 3,000 grandees, now repaired to the camp of Khulagu. He was followed by a vast crowd of his people, who were massacred as they left the gates. On the 13th of February the sack of Baghdad was inaugurated. The Mongols entered from every side, fired the houses and slaughtered the inhabitants, except the Christians and a few strangers. On the 15th, Khulagu entered the city, and gave a grand feast in the Khalif's palace, where he ironically treated his captive as his host. The latter produced 2,000 rich robes, 10,000 dinars, and many precious stones; but Khulagu pressed for the hidden treasure, when a basin filled with large gold coins, each of the weight of 100 miscals, was produced. The Mongols, we are told, found in the kitchens, &c., many vessels of gold and silver, which they valued only as if they had been copper or tin. In the harem were found 700 women and 1,000 eunuchs. Mostassim begged to be allowed to keep those wives upon whom neither the sun nor moon had shone, and he was allowed to select 100. D'Ohsson tells us that Khulagu returned to his camp, where were collected the vast number of precious objects which had been amassed by the Abassides during their rule of five centuries.‡ The sack of Baghdad lasted seven days, during which the greater part of the mosques were fired. At length Khulagu ordered the massacre and destruction to cease. The number of the dead, we are told by Raschid, was 800,000, a frightful hecatomb when we consider that Baghdad was then the eye and centre of the Muhammedan world; that there its riches, its literature and culture had their focus; at a time when the Christian world was almost barbarous, and when the Mussulmans were without doubt the foremost of civilised communities. The Christians escaped the massacre under the instructions of the Nestorian patriarch, and had taken refuge in a church which was spared. This clemency was probably

* D'Ohsson, iii. 237. † Von Hammer's Ilkhans, i. 152. ‡ D'Ohsson, iii. 240.

due to the influence of Khulagu's chief wife Tokus, who was a Nestorian Christian.* We are told that among the assailants the fiercest probably were the Georgians, who enlisted in the Mongol armies, and who had many old scores to pay off against the Muhammedans. On the 20th of February, Khulagu left Baghdad because of its tainted air. The Khalif's fate is differently reported: Raschid and Novairi relate that he was put to death with his eldest son and five eunuchs near Vacaf, by being sewn in a sack and trodden under foot by horses until he died, because, as the latter says, the Mongols never shed the blood of sovereigns and princes.† The Persian historians, Nikby and Mirkhond, agreeing in this with the Armenians, have a more romantic story. They tell us that Khulagu placed before Mostassim a seat covered with gold pieces, and ordered him to eat them. "But you cannot eat gold," he said. "Why then have you kept it," said the Utilitarian conqueror, "instead of distributing it to your troops? Why have you not converted these iron gates into barbs for your arrows, and advanced to the banks of the Jihun to dispute my advance?" "It was the will of God," said the Khalif. "What will happen to you is the will of God also," said Khulagu; and he left him to starve before his dishes loaded with gold and precious stones.‡ Thus perished Mostassim, at the age of forty-six, after a reign of fifteen years. He was the thirty-seventh of the Abassidan Khalifs and his death caused a terrible gap in the Muhammedan world. For three years the Moslems remained without a spiritual head. Founded in 762 by Al Mansur, the second Abassidan Khalif, Baghdad became not only a spiritual and literary metropolis, but also a commercial one. From Bussorah it received the productions of India and China, while those of the north came to it by way of the Tigris and Euphrates.

Khulagu appointed governors to take charge of the captured city, Ibn Alkamiyi, the vizier, retained his post. He is accused of treachery by the majority of the Moslem historians. Of the sect of the Rafizis, it was natural that he should delight in the overthrow of the Abassidan dynasty and the reinstatement of that of Ali; and the proverb which was inscribed on the books used in the Muhammedan schools, "Let him be cursed of God who curses not Ibn ul Alkamiyi," had probably a good justification. He died three years after the capture of Baghdad, and was succeeded by his son Sheref-ud-din.§

Besides Ali Bahadur and the vizier Ibn Alkamiyi, other Mussulmans seem to have won the confidence of Khulagu, and we are told that Fakhr ud din of Damghan was made Sahib Divan, Ahmed ben Amram prefect of the districts east of Baghdad, and Nizam ud din Abd ul Muemin was made chief judge. A curious story is told of Ben Amram by Mirkhond. A slave of the governor of Yakuba, he was one day employed

* Von Hammer's Ilkhans, i. 152. † D'Ohsson, iii. 243. Note. ‡ D'Ohsson, iii. 243. Note.
§ D'Ohsson, iii. 249.

(about twelve months before Khulagu's arrival) in the menial office of tickling the soles of his master's feet when asleep (a common form of luxury in the East), when he himself fell asleep. On awakening he told his master that he had dreamt that the Khalifate and Mostassim were no more, and that he himself was governor of Baghdad. This ridiculous pretension was rewarded by a kick from his master. During the siege of the town, the Mongols having begun to run short of provisions, Ben Amram sent a note fastened to an arrow into Khulagu's camp stating that if he were to ask for him to come to his camp he would hear of something useful. The Khalif was applied to and made no difficulty. Ibn Amram when taken before Khulagu said that if he so ordered, provisions should be forthcoming. He took one of the Mongol officers to a place near Yakuba, where there were underground granaries containing enough to supply the besieging army for fifteen days. His reward, in accordance with the dream, was the government of Baghdad, says Mirkhond; in reality he was governor of the districts east of the city.* When the main part of the Mongol army, evacuated Baghdad the Noyan Ilga and Kara Buga remained behind with 3,000 horsemen to re-establish order and to bury the dead.† The Friday after the capture, the preacher who read the Khutbé in place of the usual prayer for the Khalif pronounced the following words; a curious proof surely of the intensity of meaning the Mussulmans attach to the duty of submission to the will of God, "Praise be to God who has destroyed by death great beings, and has condemned to destruction the inhabitants of this place;" concluding thus, "O, my God, help us in our calamity than which Islamism and its children have not felt their equal. But we came from God and we return to God." When master of Baghdad Khulagu proposed this question to the Muhammedan doctors: "Which is preferable: A just sovereign who is an unbeliever, or a true believer who is unjust;" they agreed that the just infidel was preferable to the unjust Mussulman.‡ During the siege of Baghdad the inhabitants of the town of Hillé, who were Shias, sent envoys to him stating that, according to the tradition of their ancestors, the twelve Imams and the Khalif Ali, he was fated to conquer Irak Areb and its sovereign, and offered their submission. Khulagu detached Buga Timur, his brother-in-law, with a Mongol force to visit them. The people of Hillé threw a bridge across the Euphrates and went out to meet him with some pomp. This shows how bitter the hatred of the two great rival sects must have been, for this occurred during the siege of the metropolis of Muhammedanism. Seven days after leaving Hillé, Buga Timur appeared before Vassith, which, having shut its gates, was taken by assault and sacked. This was followed by the submission of Shuster Bussorah and other towns of Khuzistan. At the desire of his first minister Seif-ud-din Betikji, Khulagu posted a guard of 100 Mongols at the tomb

* D'Ohsson, iii. 247. Note. † D'Ohsson, iii. 248 ‡ D'Ohsson, iii. 255.

of Ali to protect it from sacrilege.* During the siege of Baghdad Khulagu had dispatched Oroktu Noyan to capture Erbil, a flourishing city situated between the two rivers Zab, two days' journey from Mosul. Its commander came to his camp to offer his submission, but the Kurdish garrison would not allow him to re-enter it. The unlucky governor was put to death by the Mongols who then laid siege to the town. They were assisted by a contingent sent by the Prince of Mosul. The garrison fought well, but the place was at length captured, and its walls razed.† On the 17th of April Khulagu rejoined his Aghriks (*i.e.*, the camps where the baggage, women, &c., were left) at Hamadan. He was master of a vast booty collected from Baghdad, the Ismailite fortresses, and the towns of Rum, Georgia, Armenia, Kurdistan, and Lur, and he built a strong fort as a treasure house on a scarped island in the midst of the lake Urmia in Azerbaidjan. He sent his brother, the Khakan, a portion of the booty, and announced to him his intention of marching upon Syria and Egypt.‡ At Méraga, he received the homage of Bedr ud din Lulu, Prince of Mosul, who came to him with rich presents. He was a diplomatic and wily old gentleman, and flattered Khulagu much by taking the ear-rings out of his own ears and fastening them on those of his suzereign. He died shortly after his return to Mosul.§ Luristan was then divided into two provinces, the greater of which was governed by the Atabeg Tekélé. Having expressed his grief at the fate of Baghdad, he became an object of suspicion to Khulagu and fled. His brother set out with some companions to appease the Mongols, but was imprisoned and his cortege destroyed. Tekélé, the Prince of Lur, was seduced by fair promises to capitulate. Khulagu actually sent him his own ring as a token of his sincerity, but, like many others who had trusted to Mongol promises, he was put to death. The Prince of the lesser Luristan was more lucky. He took part in the capture of Baghdad, and was rewarded by the investiture of his estates. At this time the Princes of Fars and the two rival Seljuk Sultans of Rum, Rokn-ud-din Kilidj Arslan, and Iz-ud-din Keï Kavus, came to do homage. The latter, who had reason to dread the reception he should meet with, was very diplomatic. He had his own portrait painted on the soles of a pair of socks, which he presented to the Mongol chief as a token of his humility, at the same time, prostrating himself and begging that Khulagu would honour him by placing his august feet on the head of his servant. The partition of the empire between the two brothers was confirmed, and they returned home with rich presents, part of the booty from Baghdad.‖ Nassir ud din, a famous astronomer, was ordered by Khulagu to build an observatory in the most convenient position. He had impressed upon Khulagu the

* D'Ohsson, iii. 255, 256. Von Hammer's Ilkhans, i. 156.
† Von Hammer, op. cit., i. 158. D'Ohsson, iii. 257. ‡ D'Ohsson, iii. 257.
§ D'Ohsson, iii. 259. ‖ D'Ohsson, iii. 262. Von Hammer's Ilkhans, i. 160.

necessity of forming new astronomical tables, and that observations should be continued for at least thirty years, as Saturn's term of revolution was of that length. He compared the different ancient tables; the earliest of these were those of Enerdjese, then fourteen centuries old. After these came those of Ptolemy. There were also the observations made at Baghdad in the reign of the Khalif Meimun; those of Tebani, in Syria; and, lastly, those of Hakemi and Ibn al A'lem, in Egypt, made 250 years before. Nassir ud din chose a site near the town of Meraga, with him were associated four famous astronomers, namely, Mueyed ud din Ben Urzy from Damascus, Nedjm ud din Katib from Kazvin, Fakhr ud din, a native of Meraga, from Mosul, and a second Fakhr ud din, a native of Akhlatt, from Tiflis. The observatory was furnished with armillary spheres and astrolabes, and with a beautifully executed terrestrial globe showing the five climates. The tables that were calculated at this observatory were published in the next reign under the name of Zidj Ilkhani. They showed an error of forty minutes in the previous calculations of the sun's place at the beginning of the year. It is a curious proof of the interchange of Eastern and Western thought under the influence of the Mongols, that Nassir-ud-din studied the era and astronomical rules of the Chinese for the composition of these tables, from the Chinese doctor Fao Mun Dji, otherwise known as Sing Sing or learned, one of the Chinese learned men Khulagu had brought with him. Khulagu was somewhat frightened at the expense of the observatory, the instruments of which alone cost 20,000 dinars. He was convinced of its utility by a curious experiment. Standing on a hill, beside his astronomer, the latter rolled a copper bowl to the bottom. The noise of this greatly frightened those who did not know its cause, while the astronomer and his master were perfectly at ease. "See the use of the stars," said Nassir ud din, "they announce what will happen, and those who know can take precautions, and are not panic-stricken like those taken by surprise."*

Argun, the governor of Persia, had in the latter part of 1258 gone to the Khakan's court to defend himself from the charges of his intriguing enemies. These he completely answered, and his answer was confirmed by the Armenian Prince Sempad, who happened to be then at the court. He returned to Persia when Mangu set out on his Chinese expedition, and when there regulated the taxes on a new principle, the maximum for the richest being 500 dinars, while the minimum for the poorest was one dinar. He repaired to Georgia, where David, the son of the Queen Ruzudan, whom we have previously named, had revolted against the Mongols, they had sent an army against them. The Georgians were beaten. Argun was present on this occasion, and reported to Khulagu how matters stood there. By him he was entrusted with an army with which he returned to Tiflis.

* D'Ohsson, iii. 266.

Meanwhile many of the Christians, especially those of Tacrit, who had been well treated after the siege of Baghdad, were accused by the Mussulmans of concealing treasure, and the charge proving correct, they were mercilessly killed, and we are told the Mussulmans reoccupied the cathedral of Tacrit. But notwithstanding this their condition was very much improved by the Mongol occupation. By the Moslems they were treated with great indignity, the many restrictions and insults they had to bear are enumerated in some detail by D'Ohsson.* Like the Crusaders, the Eastern Christians saw in Khulagu and his Mongols the avengers of their many wrongs, and they welcomed them accordingly.

In the year when Baghdad fell a terrible famine and pestilence devastated the provinces of Irak Areb, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Rum, doubtless caused by the Mongol ravages.† [illegible]

Syria was at this time ruled over by Nassir Saladin Yussuf, a great grandson of the great Saladin. He had inherited the principality of Aleppo in 1236, at the age of six years, and in 1250 had taken possession of that of Damascus, which belonged to the Egyptian Sultan. In a subsequent struggle with the latter he was defeated. The Khalif interposed as mediator, and he agreed to surrender to the Sultan, Jerusalem, Gaza, and the coast as far as Nablus. He had sent a richly laden Embassy to the court of Mangu, but had not yet done homage to Khulagu. After the terrible campaign against Baghdad he dared no longer delay, and sent his son with the vizier and other officers, who took presents and a letter to the Prince of Mosul to intercede for him. He excused himself for not going in person by representing the danger his country was then in from the attacks of the crusaders. The young prince was detained during the winter, and returned to his father, bearing a long letter, which is interesting as an example of arrogant and offensive language.

The sting of the letter was increased by having some of its emphatic phrases taken directly from the Koran, and the astronomer Nassir ud din had the credit of its composition. I take the letter and its answer from D'Ohsson, marking as he does the extracts from the Koran by italics.

"In the name of God, Creator of heaven and earth. Be it known to you, Prince Nassir, that we arrived at Baghdad in the year 655, and that we have made its sovereign prisoner. He had behaved badly towards us. He repented, and confessed that he deserved to die. Greedy of wealth he has ended by losing everything. His avarice has made him lose his precious heritage. According to the adage, *he who has reached his fate begins to decline.* Our prosperity, on the contrary, is increasing.

"O Prince Nassir, Seif ud din, son of Yagmur, Alai ud din El Kaimari, and you chiefs and warriors of Syria, be it known to you that we are God's troops on earth. That he created us in his wrath, and that he has given us authority over those who have incurred his anger. That you

* D'Ohsson, iii. 278, seq. † D'Ohsson, iii. 271.

might learn from the fate of other countries, and find a lesson in others' misfortunes. Submit *before the veil is rent asunder*, for we are not touched by tears nor moved by entreaty. God has erased pity from our hearts. Woe to those who are not with us. You know how many nations and peoples we have conquered and destroyed. To you, flight; to us, pursuit; but whither will you fly? What land will protect you; nothing shall save you from our arms. Our steeds are like flashes of lightning, our swords thunderbolts, our breasts hard as rocks, our warriors numerous as the sand. Those who resist us repent it. Those who ask our favour find it. Our empire is respected and our vassals are safe. If you receive our laws then everything is in common between us. If you resist us you will at best have but your own. He who warns is justified; fortresses are no barriers to us, nor will armies stay us. Your curses against us will not be favourably listened to, for you use forbidden meats. You keep not your word. You break treaties, and you betray the faith. You are heretics. You love impiety and rebellion. Note that you are doomed to misfortune and to fall. *The day is coming when you shall receive the ignominious punishment of your arrogance, your ill deeds, and your wickedness.* You believe we are infidels; we know you are bad. The Almighty has subjected you to our dominion. Those whom you most honour are vile in our eyes. Misfortune and woe to those who set themselves against us. Grace and safety to those who come near us. We have conquered the earth from the east to the west, and spoiled those who possessed its wealth. *We have captured all the ships.* Choose then the safe path, and submit before war lights its fires and throws their sparks over you, for you will meet with terrible calamity. In the wink of an eye your land will become a desert, and you will find no refuge. The angel of death will be able to proclaim, *Is there one among them who still has the least sign of life, or whose voice can utter the least murmur.* We are chivalrous in warning you. Be quick then and confess your fear that you be not taken unawares. Be on your guard, and when you have received our letter read the commencement of the *Bees* and the end of the *Sad*. We have scattered the diamonds of our words. It is for you to reply; and safety to him who follows the path of safety." *

To this letter, in which the arrogance of the Mongols is mixed up with the bitter hatred of a Shia for a Sunni Muhammedan, and which we are told by Vassaf is a model of Arabic style, Nassir responded with scornful and incisive phrases. His answer ran thus :—

"*Oh, my God, master of empires, thou givest dominion to whom thou willest.* Assist us. Praise be to God the ruler of the universe. Blessing and greeting to the Coryphæus of his messengers, the last of the prophets, Muhammed, the untaught, and all his family.

* The Bees and the *Sad* are the titles of two chapters of the Koran. The former commences with the words, *Divine vengeance is coming; do not hasten it.* The other ends with the words, *This script is a warning to mortals. You will see one day that it prophecies truly.*

"We have noted the letter of your Ilkhanian and Sultanian highness (whom may God teach the right faith and make him love the truth), announcing that you were created by the wrath of God, and sent against those who have incurred his anger. That you are not affected by entreaty, nor softened by tears, and that God has erased pity from all your hearts. Here indeed you confess your greatest infamy, for this is the character of devils, and not of sovereigns. This impromptu quotation shall confound you. *Oh, infidels, I do not adore that which you adore.* You are cursed in all the sacred books, you have been described in atrocious colours. You have been pointed out by all the heavenly apostles, and we have known you since you were made. You are infidels as you have suspected, and *the curse of God is it not upon the infidels?* You say we are heretics, that we have betrayed the faith, that we are given up to rebellion and wickedness. We are reminded of those who are careless of consequences. It is as if Pharaoh, he who denied the true faith, had exhorted men to obey God. We are the true faithful. Men cannot impute any transgressions to us; we are open to no suspicions. It was to us the Koran was sent from heaven. It is our God who is eternal. We believe in the revealed word, and know how it ought to be interpreted; but as to you, the fire was created for you, even to consume your skin. *When the skies shall break in pieces, the stars be dispersed, the mighty deep be confounded, and the tombs overturned, then the soul shall see the whole panorama of its life.* Is it not strange to threaten lions with blows; tigers, hyænas, and heroes with the vengeance of ragamuffins? Our horses are from Barka; our swords from Yemen; our prowess is known from the east to the west; our horsemen spring like lions, and our horses overtake all whom they pursue; our swords cut in pieces, and our blows are like thunder peals; our skin is our coat of mail; our chests are our cuirasses. Insults do not vex our hearts, nor will menaces frighten us. Obedience to God implies resistance to you. If we kill you our duty will be done. If we are killed paradise awaits us. You say, *Our breasts are like rocks, we are numerous as the sand.* Is the butcher then afraid of the sheep, because they are so numerous? Will not a small spark fire a big house of logs? We shall not shrink from death in order that we may survive in ignominy. If we live we shall be happy; if we die we shall be martyrs. *Is it not thus that the soldiers of God triumph?* You demand from us the obedience we owe to the chief of the faithful, the vicar of the prophet. We shall not obey you. We prefer to go and join him. You ask that we submit to you *before the veil is torn*, and that you await our coming. The words of this phrase are ill assorted. If the veil is to be destroyed, if our fate is to be accomplished, it will surely be when we adopt the worship of idols in the place of the true God. You have indeed advanced such strange arguments that it would not be strange if the *skies should break asunder, the earth should open, and the mountains should fall down.* Tell your

scribe, he who wrote your letter, you have exceeded all decency, notwithstanding your circumcision; but we make as little account of your prose as of the sound of the rabab (*i.e.*, a kind of Persian violin), or of the buzzing of a fly. You have repaid your benefactors with ingratitude, and you deserve your punishment. *Truly we note their speech, and we will repay them with interest.* You sport with us with your menacing phrases. You were ambitious of exhibiting your rhetoric. It is to you it may be said, you have followed one thing so closely you have forgotten the rest. You have written, *The wicked shall one day be overtaken by their destiny.* Such is your apostrophe. Here is our answer: The commandment of God shall be fulfilled; do not hasten it. The Prince Nassir Seif ud din ibn Yagmur, Alai ud din el Kaimeri, and the other chiefs and warriors of Syria, they do not refuse the challenge; they await impatiently the neighing of the horses and the charge of the warriors, for they have sworn to meet you. It is not necessary to jump into hell, for it is a bad resting-place; nor to strike a helmet-plume with a sword, they all bid me tell you. If your arms are eager for the fight there is no need of verses, of writing letters, or of composing histories. We await you. God grant the victory to whom he will. We shall not scatter diamond words, but we say what comes to our lips, and we excuse him who stammers. Greeting." *

There could only be one issue to such a correspondence, and that one came speedily.

Khulagu set out from Tebriz; with him went Salih, the son of the Prince of Mosul, who had married the daughter of the Khuarezm Shah Jelal-ud-din. Kitubuka commanded the advance guard, Sinkur and Baiju the right wing, Sundjar the left wing, and Khulagu himself the centre. He set out on the 12th of September, 1259, and went by way of Alatagh, which lies between Ararat and Erzerum. He then marched to Akhlath, north of Lake Van, a town famous for its apples. The Kurds of the tribe of Hukkiari who garrisoned it were slaughtered.† Entering Diarbekr he took Jezirat, while his son Yashmut laid siege to Mayafarkin. The Mongols had a long score to wipe off in the case of its prince. Notwithstanding that he had been invested by the Khakan Mangu himself with his principality, he had proved very treacherous; he was charged with having crucified a Syrian priest who bore a yarlig (passport) from the Imperial Chancellary; of having driven away from his country the Mongol commissaries or prefects; of having sent some troops to assist the Khalif. He had more lately been to Damascus to ask Nassir to fight the Mongols. Roha (the ancient Edessa), Harran, and Nisibin were successively occupied, and the inhabitants of Sarudj, who had sent Khulugu no envoys, were put to the sword.‡ He wintered his army near Roha and there held a reception, which was attended by the

* D'Ohsson. iii. 294-306. † Von Hammer's Ilkhans, i. 174.
‡ Von Hammer's Ilkhans, i. 174. D'Ohsson, iii 309.

kings of Armenia, the Seljuk sovereigns of Rum, &c.* Meanwhile Nassir enlisted in his service the various bands of fugitives who now took refuge in Syria. He posted his army at Berzé, a little north of Damascus. It was a turbulent and disjointed body of Arabs and Turks, and so little attached to him that a portion of it tried to murder him. He sent his wives and treasures for safety into Egypt, and was imitated in this by many of his soldiers. Under pretence of escorting them, many of them fled and did not return again, such was the terror inspired by the Mongols. The army of Nassir was practically disbanded. He applied to the Sultan of Egypt for succour. That country after many revolutions was now governed by Kuttuz, who had once been a slave, had risen to the rank of general, and then usurped the supreme authority: he agreed to assist Nassir in any way he would suggest.†

Khulagu, who was master of Mesopotamia, continued his advance and marched in the spring towards Aleppo. He crossed the Euphrates at four famous fords—Malatia (the ancient Melitene), Kalaatol Rum (*i.e.*, the Roman Castle), Bire (the ancient Birtha), and Kirkesia (anciently Kirkesion). He captured certain forts on the river, namely, Menbedsh, Nedshm, Rakka, and Jaaber, and slaughtered their inhabitants.‡ Having left garrisons there, he advanced towards Aleppo. A division of his army made a diversion; received the submission of Maaretnaaman, Hama, and Hims; the sultans of the two latter towns finding refuge in Egypt.§ As the Mongols drew near to Aleppo a good many fugitives escaped to Damascus, where a pestilence was raging. The garrison made a sortie and the Mongols adopted their ordinary ruse of a feigned retreat, which led the Mussulmans into an ambuscade, where many of them perished. Khulagu now arrived in person and summoned the commandant to surrender, in a conciliatory but probably treacherous letter; the only reply he received was: "Between us there is only the sword." The besiegers threw up works of contravallation, and in a single night surrounded the town with a rampart and ditch. Twenty catapults were placed in position, and after an attack of seven days the city was taken by assault and given up to pillage for five days; when the carnage ceased, the streets were cumbered with corpses. Those who had taken refuge in the Jews' synagogue, in one of the Muhammedan convents, and in the houses of four grandees, who were probably traitors, escaped. It is said that 100,000 women and children were sold as slaves. The walls of Aleppo were razed, its mosques destroyed, and its gardens ravaged. The citadel held out for a month: in it were captured many distinguished prisoners and a vast booty. Several of the Mongol chiefs were wounded in the face, and Khulagu complimented them, saying, "A red gown is a woman's pride: so is blood the warrior's brightest ornament."

* Von Hammer's Ilkhans, i. 174. † D'Ohsson, iii. 315. ‡ Von Hammer's Ilkhans, i. 181.
§ Von Hammer, op. cit., i. 182.

Bar Hebræus, whose history is so well known, was at this time the Jacobite patriarch of Aleppo, but he was absent at the time of the siege, having gone to pay his respects to Khulagu.* After the fall of Aleppo, Hamath surrendered its keys and received a commissary from Khulagu. Nassir, who was still at Berzé when Aleppo fell, by the advice of his generals now retired towards Gaza to await assistance from the Egyptian Sultan. He ordered the chief men of Damascus to fly and take refuge in Egypt. They generally obeyed, and sold their possessions at a great sacrifice. Such was the scarcity of transport however, that Macrizi tells us a camel sold for 700 silver drachmas. The inhabitants of Damascus now sent a deputation to Khulagu with rich presents and carrying the keys of the city. He caused the Kadhi Mohayi ud din, the chief of this deputation, to be dressed in a state robe of golden tissue and named him Chief Justice of Syria. He returned to Damascus and read out a decree of Khulagu, promising their lives to the inhabitants. Khulagu sent two commanders, one a Mongol the other a Persian, to take charge of Damascus, with orders to spare the inhabitants and to obey the counsels of Zein-ul-Hafizzi, its governor. Shortly afterwards Kitubuka and a body of Mongols garrisoned the town, and after a short siege captured the citadel, which had refused to submit, and killed its commanders. Kitubuka was a Kerait and a Christian, and we are told that he very much favoured the Christians, who began to be very independent in their manners towards their recent masters the Mussulmans. They publicly drank wine even in the great fast of Ramazan; they sprinkled with holy water the dress of the Muhammedans and the doors of the mosques; they made the followers of the prophet stoop to the cross in their processions; they sang psalms in the streets, and proclaimed that their faith was the only true faith, and even destroyed mosques and minarets in the neighbourhood of their churches; all this under the patronage of the Mongol general. Khulagu named the Eyoubit Prince Ashraf, who had been deprived of his patrimony of Hims by Nassir, Lieutenant-general of Syria.

After the fall of the citadel of Aleppo, Khulagu summoned Harem, situated two days' journey on the way to Antioch, to surrender, promising their lives to the inhabitants. They replied that they did not know his religion and how far he was bound by a promise, but that if he would send them a Muhammedan with authority to swear on the Koran to spare them, they would surrender. Khulagu thereupon sent them Fakhr ud din Saki, the late commander of the citadel of Aleppo, when they surrendered; but piqued by their want of faith in his word he had them all destroyed, notwithstanding the promise; even the children at the breast were killed. We are told that only an Armenian artificer of some fame escaped.

* D'Ohsson, iii. 321. Von Hammer's Ilkhans, i. 184.

Khulagu received at Aleppo the news of the death of the Khakan Mangu, his brother, and he set out on his march eastward, leaving Kitubuka in command of the Mongol forces in Syria; he named Fakhr ud din governor of Aleppo, and Baidera governor of Damascus.

Haithon, the Armenian king and chronicler, tells us that Khulagu's departure took place just as he was meditating a campaign against the Saracens, who occupied Jerusalem, which he intended to restore to the Christians.* In measuring the success of the Mongol arms under his banner we must not forget what several facts already mentioned, and many others which I have not named, make quite clear, namely, that the Mongols were assisted at every turn by the treachery of the Mussulmans. The bitter strife between Shia and Sunni often made the Mongol a welcome visitor when he came to destroy the hated rival, and caused as much disaster to the common cause as the internecine fight between the Jesuits and Dominicans in China did at a later day. These melancholy exhibitions repeat themselves in the histories of nearly all religions, but the moral of their tale is seldom so bitterly pointed as in the case we have described.

Khulagu, as is well known, received the investiture of his conquests and of the country south of the Oxus. He founded an empire there, known as that of the Ilkhans. Like the Khans of the Golden Horde, the successors of Batu, they for a long time acknowledged the suzereignty of the Khakan of the Mongols in the East, but their special history is not a part of our present subject. I have traced out Khulagu's campaign in some detail, inasmuch as he was fighting as the general of the Khakan Mangu his brother, and enlarging his empire by the conquests he made in the West. The internal history of his dominions, after he became their sovereign, I may perhaps treat in a succeeding volume. Now we must return to the East, and continue the story of Mangu Khan.

I have already said that Khubilai had been commissioned in 1252 to march into Yunnan, a country divided into several petty kingdoms which had not been subdued by the Sung emperors. Its primitive tribes still preserve a peculiar culture and idiosyncrasy in art which has been recently illustrated at South Kensington, and of which very interesting specimens were presented to the Christie Museum. These tribes are divided by the Chinese into the Pe man, *i.e.*, white barbarians, and U man, *i.e.*, black barbarians, the latter were called Kara djang, *i.e.*, black people, by the Mongols.†

Khubilai assembled his main army in Shensi in 1253. With him went Uriangkadai, the son of the great general Subutai, as director of the military operations. They traversed Suchuan and its almost inaccessible mountains, and reached the river Kincha which waters the northern portion of Yunnan. This they crossed on rafts, and received the

* D'Ohsson, iii. 328. Note. † D'Ohsson, ii. 317.

submission of the chiefs of the Mussu man and Pe man barbarians.* They then marched against Tali, the capital of Nanchao. Having heard that a general of the Sung dynasty had once taken a town without killing a man or even disturbing its trade, Khubilai was piqued to try and imitate him. He unfurled his silken banners before the town and forbade his soldiers to kill any one. Presently the town surrendered. The two commanders who had caused the Mongol heralds which summoned it to be killed, alone lost their lives. Khubilai now left the army to rejoin his brother, the Khakan.†

Uriangkadai continued the campaign. He fought several successful battles against the Eastern Thibetans, who are described by De Mailla as a warlike and powerful race.‡ Having defeated and incorporated their troops in his army, he found them very useful in his struggles with the neighbouring tribes. In the end of 1254 he rejoined Mangu apparently at Kokonoor, and gave an account of his campaign. In 1256 he returned and subdued the Kue man and U man tribes. The Lolos and the King of Aya now submitted, and he proceeded to defeat the tribes of the kingdom of Alu, by whose conquest he won five large towns, four arsenals, eight departments, four provinces, and thirty-seven hordes.§

Towards the end of 1257 the Mongols attacked the kingdom of Annam or Tungking (Tonquin), they advanced to the river Tha, which flows through it, and where the Tonquinese army was encamped with a great number of elephants. Having crossed the river on rafts the Mongols attacked their enemy, who fled. They then took Kiaochi, the capital of Tonquin, they there found their envoys, who had been grossly ill-treated and almost strangled with bamboo cords; in punishment for this conduct the town was given up to pillage. Having rested his army for nine days he returned northwards to the court of Mangu to escape the summer heats. The previous year a Kuriltai had been held, at which largess had been freely distributed, the festivities lasting for two months. The same year, *i.e.*, in 1256, the King of Corea went in person to Mangu's court to do homage.‖

In 1257 Mangu began to be jealous of his brother Khubilai, whose wise and generous measures had won the respect of the Chinese. He removed him from the governorship of Honan, which he gave to Alemdar, a Mongol in high office at Karakorum. Khubilai was naturally irritated, but his Chinese counsellor Yaochu told him the first subject of the empire ought to set an example of obedience. He advised him to return with his family to his brother's court. The latter was deeply touched by the submission, and revoked the commission of Alemdar. At a Kuriltai summoned in 1257 at Kabur Kabukcher, in the centre of Mongolia, Mangu declared his intention of marching in person against the empire

* De Mailla, ix. 258. † D'Ohsson, ii. 316.
‡ De Mailla, op. cit., 260. § De Mailla, ix. 262. ‖ D'Ohsson, ii. 321.

of the Sung, which had given great cause of offence to the Mongols. Some of their envoys having been kept in prison for many years and only released as a favour after their unsuccessful siege of Hochau, the Sung authorities wishing thus to show their anxiety for peace. Before setting out, Mangu visited the ancient ordu of Jingis Khan and made a sacrifice to the colours and kettle-drums, his old gauges of victory there collected. He also appointed one Kitat governor of Russia, and dismissed him with a present of 300 horses and 500 sheep.*

He set out for China in 1257, leaving his brother Arikbuka in command of Karakorum with Alemdar as his coadjutor. Having sacrificed to the sky and received the renewed homage of his brother Khubilai and his other dependants, who then returned to their several posts, he crossed the Yellow River on the ice, entered Shensi, and encamped near the mountain Liupan where Jingis died. There he gave audience to the various officials of that great province, and received news from Khulagu of his successes in the West. He thereupon invested him with the government of the country south of the Oxus.† Having passed the three summer months there, and also left behind his heavy baggage, he advanced with 40,000 men (which number was purposely exaggerated to 100,000) in three divisions upon Suchuan; he himself went towards San kuan, by way of Lu chau; his brother Muke Ogul towards Mi tsang kuan, by way of Sian chau; and Burtchak, the commander of the third division, towards Mian chan, by way of Yui koan. Two other armies made diversions in Kiang nan and Hu kuang. Khubilai was at the head of the former and Thugatshar, son of Utsuken, of the latter. Uriangkadai was ordered to march from Tunking and join Khubilai at Vu chang fu. The campaign commenced with a doubtful struggle in the neighbourhood of Ching tu fu, in Suchuan, in which both sides gained successes. Niuli, who commanded the Mongol advanced guard there, at length compelled his adversary to retire. He received the submission of several towns in the district of Ching tu fu, and was raised to the rank of a general for his conduct.‡ He now rejoined his master, who was laying siege to Khu chu yai. After an attack of ten days one of its gates was opened and the Mongols entered by stealth; Yangli, the commander, was killed and his army fled. The treacherous officer who had opened the gate was rewarded with a State robe and the command of a small town in the district of Pao-ning-fu. The troops were rewarded with presents of wine and meat, and the general Vang-te-cheng with a belt of jade.§

Mangu now captured the defile of Chang-ning-shan, and was soon after joined by the other divisions of his army, which had overrun considerable districts of Suchuan. They then proceeded to take many important

* D'Ohsson, ii. 324. † D'Ohsson, ii. 325. De Mailla, ix. 266.
‡ D'Ohsson, ii. 326. § D'Ohsson, ii. 327.

towns of that province. The first day of the Mongol year (February 18th) 1259 was celebrated in the Imperial camp, pitched at the foot of the Chung-kué mountains, with a great fete, at which it was discussed whether they should brave the summer heats in these southern latitudes or return northward. It was determined to remain, and they proceeded to lay siege to Hochau, a great town situated at the confluence of the rivers Kialing and Féu. During March and April the town repulsed several assaults. In May there happened a terrible storm, during which it rained for twenty days. Outside the town the Sung troops also fought bravely, they destroyed the bridge built across the river Féu by the Mongols, and having collected a thousand boats at Chung-king-fu they advanced along the river Kia-ling; this flotilla was however attacked and dispersed by the Mongols. The siege lasted for two months longer, but it was unavailing. It had already cost the besiegers very dear, their army was suffering from dysentery, with which Mangu himself was attacked. He determined at length to raise the siege, and to merely blockade the town. A few days after he died of dysentery, aggravated probably by the Imperial vice of the Mongols, that of drunkenness.

This account of his death, which is that given in the Tong kien kang mu, is perhaps the correct one. The official history of the Yuen dynasty says he died at the mountain Tiao yui, one league to the east of Ho-chau, while Raschid tells us he died of dysentery.* De Guignes and Gaubil both assert that during the siege of Ho-chau the Khakan ordered a general assault, and himself drew near to scale the walls, when there came on a great storm, which caused the ladders to fall. The Mongols lost a large number of men, and the Emperor's body was afterwards found pierced with many wounds.† The Syrian chronicler Abulfaragius says he was killed by an arrow; while the Armenian Haithon says that while besieging an island in the Chinese seas, divers made holes in the bottom of his ship, which sank, and with it the Khakan.‡ The Khakan's brother, Moku Ogul, determined to raise the siege, and to retire into Shensi with the corpse of Mangu. The other Mongol generals who were in Suchuan did the same.§ The Kang mu says the Imperial corpse was carried on two asses; while Marco Polo tells us that the inhuman custom of slaughtering the people met with on the way was carried out in his case, and that 20,000 thus perished.‖ For four days funeral honours were paid to the corpse in the tents of Mangu's four wives, where it was placed on a throne, where the attendants broke out into tears and groans. He was buried at Burkan Kaldun, near his father and grandfather. By his first wife, Kutuktai, he left two sons, Baltu and Orengias; and by two concubines two other sons, Shireki and Assutai.¶ He is described as of a severe

* D'Ohsson, ii. 332. † Gaubil, 121. De Guignes, iv. 136.
‡ Yule's Marco Polo, i. 216. De Mailla, ix. 274, 275. Note. § Gaubil, 121.
‖ D'Ohsson, ii. 333. Note.

character, speaking little, and eschewing extravagance and display. The chase was his favourite amusement, and he often avowed that he preferred the simple life of his ancestors to the luxury of southern sovereigns. He was very superstitious, and much under the influence of the Shamans and others at his court.* With the usual Mongol toleration, he also patronised the other religions. Several anecdotes are told which illustrate the vicious influence and power of the Shamans. Rubruquis was told at Karakorum by a lady of Metz, named Paquette, who had been captured in Hungary and was in the service of one of Mangu's wives, that one of these princesses having received a rich present of furs, these were purified by fire. According to custom the Shamans had retained a portion. One of the waiting women thought they had kept too much, and told her mistress, who was very wroth with them. Some time after the latter fell ill, and the Shamans revenged themselves by declaring she had been bewitched by the maid who had denounced their theft. She was seized and subjected to torture for seven days. Meanwhile the princess died. The accused maid then begged they would kill her too, saying she wished to follow her mistress, to whom she had done no harm; but the Khakan would not consent, and she was set at liberty. The Shamans then chose another victim. They accused the nurse of her child of having killed her. She was the wife of one of the principal Nestorian preachers. Put to the torture she confessed that she had used a charm to gain the good-will of her mistress, but that she had never done her any harm. She was nevertheless condemned to death and executed. Some time after, one of Mangu's wives having given birth to a son, the Shamans who drew his horoscope predicted a long life for him, and that he would become a great and prosperous monarch. The prince having died in a few days, his mother summoned and severely reproached the Shamans. They excused themselves by laying the blame on the magical arts of the nurse who had been put to death. The princess was furious, and wished to wreak her vengeance on her children. She had left a son and daughter, and orders were given that the former should be killed by a man and the latter by a woman. Mangu was much annoyed by these executions; he ordered his wife to be imprisoned for seven days, and then banished from the court for a month. He also ordered that the man should be executed who had killed the boy, and that his head should be suspended about the neck of the woman who had killed the girl. She was then beaten with hot firebrands and put to death.† The Nestorians, as I have said, were little better than the Shamans in their superstitious practices. They attended with the Shamans at the great annual feast of the 9th of May, when white cattle were consecrated. They recited the offices in Syriac, which they did not understand. They are accused by Rubruquis of being corrupt, liars,

* De Mailla, ix. 275. † D'Ohsson, ii. 302. Note.

usurers, practising simony, and great drunkards. Some of the sect were polygamists. Their patriarch lived at Baghdad, but they had a special bishop in China. As he only made his visitation very seldom, hardly more than once in fifty years, they profited by his arrival to have their young sons ordained, even in the cradle, so generally too, that nearly all the men were priests; and Rubruquis confesses that the Mongol bonzes were more respectable than they.*

Mangu was a severe disciplinarian. In the campaign in Suchuan he forbade his troops to pillage, and having learnt that his son Assutai had in hunting overrun a field of grain, he severely reprimanded him, and had several of his companions beaten. A soldier was put to death for having taken an onion from a peasant. He, on the other hand, distributed largess freely among the soldiers.†

In this account I have adopted the form of the name Mangu, which is well known in the West, but according to Schmidt it is the Turkish form. The native form, which is found in Ssanang Setzen and on Cufic coins, is Möngkè; in Arabic orthography, Mungka.‡ The name in Turkish means eternal; in Mongol, silver.§

KHUBILAI KHAN.

THE death of Mangu was most unexpected, and as the Mongol habit was not to name a successor until after the Khan's death, it is hardly to be wondered at that the death of the sovereign under such circumstances in such a vast empire was a very serious matter. The custom seems to have been to call a Kuriltai as soon after the chief's death as possible, and there to choose a successor; a custom well adapted to a small pastoral tribe, but pregnant with confusion when applied to a great heterogeneous empire. In the present case the difficulty was greater, inasmuch as Mangu's brothers, to one of whom the succession would devolve according to the Mongol theory of succession, were scattered far asunder. Khubilai was prosecuting his campaign in China, Khulagu was busy in Syria, while Arikbuka was in command of Karakorum, the Mongol capital, and probably also of the main body of troops of Mongol blood, and was in this position no doubt sorely tempted to displace his elder brother Khubilai from the succession.

* De Mailla, ix. 253. † D'Ohsson, ii. 333. ‡ Ssanang Setzen, 394. Note 11.
§ D'Ohsson, ii. 333. Note.

Mangu had assigned to Khubilai the district of Honan chau, north of the Great Wall, for a summer residence. There in 1256 he built himself a palace, some temples, &c., on a spot chosen for him by a Chinese astrologer. This new town, situated some twenty-two leagues N.E. of the most northern gates of the Great Wall, was widely known as Shangtu or Kai ping fu. Thence he set out in the latter part of 1258 to take his part in the war against the Sung empire. He marched leisurely through Honan, and having divided his army into two bodies he captured several fortresses near Ma ching, in Hukuang, where he received news of the Khakan's death.* He determined, notwithstanding this, to advance. We are told he climbed the mountain Hianglu, whence he surveyed the course of the river Kiang. He noticed how the river was crowded with Chinese ships beautifully appointed, and was reminded by one of his generals named Tong-wen-ping that the Chinese were abundantly confident that the Kiang was an insurmountable obstacle which heaven had planted there as a barrier to himself. He volunteered to force the passage. With his brother and a body of determined men he boarded some large barges, crossed the river amidst a terrible din of drums, and pressed the troops on the other side so vigorously before their fleet could come to the rescue, that the Chinese abandoned the further bank, and Khubilai with the main army crossed over and proceeded to lay siege to Wu chang fu, the capital of Hu kuang.

The Sung Emperor now began to be frightened, and sent a large force under the general Kia-se-tao to the relief of Wu chang. The new general was no soldier but a literary character, who disgusted the army by his appointments. He made secret advances to Khubilai, and promised that his master would become the vassal of the Mongol Khakan if he would raise the siege and retire. Khubilai at first refused, but messengers arrived at his camp with news that intrigues were in progress at Karakorum to place his brother Arikbuka on the throne. This news prevailed with him. He agreed to retire on condition that the Sung Emperor acknowledged himself his vassal, and paid him an annual tribute of 200,000 ounces of silver and 2,000 pieces of silk. It was further agreed that the river Kiang should be the boundary between the two empires. Khubilai set out with his cavalry, and left his infantry to await the arrival of Uriangkadai. The latter general had been ordered after the campaign in Tunking to march and meet Khubilai before Wu chang. He marched victoriously from one town to another until he arrived in Northern Hu kuang, when the convention concluded by Khubilai caused him to retire behind the Kiang. His rear guard was treacherously attacked by Kia-se-tao as it was crossing the river; the latter hid from his master the humiliating conditions of peace, and persuaded him his valour had caused the Mongol retreat.†

* Gaubil, 123. † De Mailla, ix. 281.

Khubilai pitched his camp under the walls of Pé-king and sent to his brother for men, provisions, and money; these he received, as also very reassuring messages. Arikbuka had summoned a Kuriltai in the great Ordu of Mangu, in the Altai, to do the last honours to the deceased Khakan, and to this he invited Khubilai, who excused himself. It is probable that he had some ulterior object. Either he had secured the votes for himself or wished to get Khubilai into his power. At all events the latter and his friends called a special Kuriltai at Shangtu. There assembled his brother Mukė; Kadan, son of Ogotai; Togatshar, son of Utsuken noyan, and others. Neither Khulagu nor the descendants of Juji and Jagatai were summoned, the excuse being that they were too far off, and all agreeing that the circumstances admitted of no delay, they proceeded to elect Khubilai to the office of Khakan. He was then forty-four years old. The election was followed by eight days' feasting, when as usual largess was distributed among his supporters. This election was the beginning of a long strife among the Mongols, which ultimately crumbled their power. It was no doubt against the whole theory of their hierarchical government, that the Khakan should be elected by only a section of the Royal house, and although Khubilai both by his age and his acquirements was entitled to the position, and it would seem to have been allowed by both Khulagu and Bereke, it gave a colourable excuse to both Arikbuka and the descendants of Ogotai and Jagatai to oppose him.

When Arikbuka, who was at Karakorum, heard that Khubilai had had himself proclaimed Khakan of the Mongols, he sent Alemdar to collect an army among the northern hordes, and sent him considerable sums of money and silk to distribute among the soldiers. He also collected large stores of grain in the country of Koan chong.* Kuntukai, who had 60,000 men in the country of Lupin, having been placed there by Mangu, declared for him, and persuaded the Mongol commanders stationed at Ching tu, the capital of Suchuan, and at Ching kin to do the same. Arikbuka finding he was so well supported had himself proclaimed Khakan at Karakorum.† Among his supporters were the chief widow and three sons of Mangu, the late Khan, and the grandsons of Jagatai. Khubilai had appointed Apisga, son of Buri, to the khanship of Jagatai, and sent him home with his brother, but they were intercepted in Shensi and handed over to Arikbuka, who shortly after had them both killed.

Meanwhile Khubilai was not idle, he appointed one of his best generals, called Lien hi hien, a Uighur by birth, to be governor of Shensi and Suchuan. Kadan, son of Kuyuk, asked to be allowed to serve under him. He went at once to Si ngan fu, the capital of Shensi, where he proceeded to counteract the influence of the partisans of Arikbuka. He published the decrees by which he had been named governor;

* De Mailla, ix. 283. † De Mailla, ix. 283, 284. Gaubil, 133.

took rigorous steps to put down the nascent rebellion; and seized some of the more important rebels. Khubilai had published a general amnesty, but Lien hi hien was determined that the chief offenders should not escape, so he hastened to have Liau ti ping and Halukai killed in prison, and then with Turkish unction, and according to custom, he walked in front of the messengers who brought the amnesty and had it proclaimed. Kuntukai finding it was not possible to possess himself of Si ngan fu, crossed the Hoang ho, captured the town of Kan chau, and having been joined by Alemdar with a body of troops from Karakorum he marched southwards towards Suchuan, which he hoped to secure, but he was attacked to the east of Kan chau by the Prince Kadan, who had posted himself so as to cut off the enemy's retreat to Karakorum, a cloud of dust assisted the latter, but after a fierce and long sustained struggle they were surrounded and completely beaten. Both Kuntukai and Alemdar were killed, and Shensi and Su-chuan were effectually secured for Khubilai.*

After several ineffectual attempts at conciliation, Khubilai marched in the end of 1261 with the Princes Kadan and Togatshar into Tartary. They encountered the forces of Arikbuka at a place called Simutu. In a sanguinary battle the latter were defeated with the loss of 3,000 men. Arikbuka fled towards the Kirghises, and Khubilai subdued several of the refractory tribes in the north.† In his distress Arikbuka had appointed Algu, the son of Baidar, Khan of Jagatai, which was still governed by the widow Organa. He bade him send him arms and provisions, and to guard his eastern frontier so that neither Khulagu nor the Golden Horde should send assistance to Khubilai. But being hard pressed in the country of the Kirghises he sent to Khubilai, saying that his horses were worn out, and that he only waited until Khulagu, Bereke, and Algu came to do homage, to come himself. Khubilai replied, that if sincere, he need not wait, and having left a body of troops at Karakorum to escort him if he should go, he himself returned to Kai-ping-fu.

The influence of Chinese culture upon the Mongol sovereigns begins to be very marked in the reign of Khubilai. He was a great patron of learned men, and the annals contain many anecdotes of his intercourse with them. He had at his court a distinguished Chinese literate, named Changté hoei. He one day asked him, "Is it true that the Liao dynasty fell through the Ho chang, and that it was the literates who brought down the Kin?" "I can't speak for the Liao," said Changté, "but in regard to the Kin it was not so; among their ministers they had but few literates. Most of the ministers, and these too the all powerful ones, were military men. Of thirty suggestions made by the literates, hardly one was adopted. The good or ill government of a country depends on those to whom power is intrusted. Can the fall of the Kin then be

* Gaubil, 135. De Mailla, ix. 285. † De Mailla, ix. 298. Gaubil, 138.

ascribed to the literates?" The Emperor acceded to this argument. On another occasion the Emperor inquired how it was that those who practised agriculture, notwithstanding their constant toil and zeal, were always so very poor. It is not surprising, was the reply. Agriculture has always been encouraged by the State; it draws its chief wealth from it; but the labourers are constantly harassed by the exactions of those under whom they work, and the best part of the crop goes to pay the taxes and the cost of collecting them.

Yesterday, Khubilai once said to one of the literates, there was an earthquake. The princes do not sufficiently attend to these things; can you tell me why they are? There are five causes, was the answer. First, because the princes permit low and bad people to be about them, who sacrifice everything to their own interests; that they have too many women in their palaces; that intriguers and cheats combine against the public interest; that justice is too severe in its punishments; and, lastly, that war is made too rashly, without inquiring properly into its justice. One only of these reasons would suffice. Heaven loves a king on his throne like a father his son. It causes the earth to quake as a warning of impending punishment; but if kings put away flatterers, tolerate only sincere and truthful people, limit the number of their wives, drive away intriguers, &c., soften the rigours of justice, and only undertake war tremblingly and when compelled, and with the assent of heaven and their subjects, they will have nothing to fear from such presages. Khubilai appointed Se tien ché, a man of great repute for probity and integrity, who had a command in Honan, to be Minister of State. He also ordered the literates who had been captured by the Mongols and reduced to slavery to be released. There were several thousands of them.* He was the first of the Mongol Khakans to definitely abandon Shamanism and to adopt Buddhism as the State religion, an example which was followed by many Mongols. The Buddhist priests were called Lamas by the Mongols, and in January, 1261, Khubilai promoted a young Lama, called Mati Dhwadsha, more widely known by his title Pakba Lama, or Supreme Holy Lama. He was born at Sazghia, in Thibet, and belonged to one of its best families, that of the Tsukoans, who had for more than six centuries furnished ministers to the kings of Thibet and other western princes, and by his wisdom, &c., won the confidence of Khubilai, who not only made him Grand Lama, but also temporal sovereign of Thibet, with the title of King of the Great and Precious Law and Institutor of the Empire. Such was the origin of the dignity of Grand Lama.† Khubilai divided China and Liao tung into ten departments, each with its officers and mandarins. He also ordered that the head of each bureau should be a Mongol.

Wang ché, the King of Corea, after a long resistance had submitted to

* De Mailla, ix. 291. † Gaubil, 137. De Mailla, ix. 287.

the Khakan Mangu, and had sent him his son Wangtien as a hostage. He was now dead, and Wangtien asked Khubilai for his father's kingdom and was duly invested with it. The turbulent Coreans at first refused to receive him and were determined to break the Mongol yoke, and it was only when Wangtien agreed to assist them in this that they would accept him. When the revolt was reported to Khubilai he wrote Wangtien a conciliatory letter, in which he represented to him the vast power of the Mongols, that of all the kingdoms of the earth the Coreans and the Sung alone bearded his authority, that the latter had trusted to the strong country of Hu kuang and Suchuan and their brave inhabitants to protect them, but that most of their strong places had been captured, and they were now like fish out of water and like birds in the fowler's net. He recalled how he had granted him his father's throne, spoke of the folly of resistance, and the ingratitude he had shown him. He said he did not wish to ravage his country, and that he was willing to pardon the offenders. At the same time he released the Corean prisoners taken in the last war, and sent back those who had emigrated on account of the troubles of their country, and forbade the soldiers on the frontier to molest the Coreans. This conciliatory policy had its due effect, and for the future Wangtien sent an annual embassy to Khubilai to congratulate him on the New Year.*

Arikbuka having recruited his horses in the latter part of 1261, again marched against his brother; the latter collected his forces, and the two armies met on the borders of the great desert of Gobi, in a place called Altchia Kungur, near the mountains Khudja Buka and the lake Simultai.† Arikbuka was completely defeated; but Khubilai forbade a pursuit, saying, that reflection would bring repentance, but misinterpreting this action, which he thought showed weakness, he returned and was again defeated; this time on the borders of that portion of the desert called Alt, near the hills Silguilk.‡

Arikbuka now had to face another enemy, namely, his protegé Algu, the Khan of Jagatai, who quarrelled with him and espoused the cause of Khubilai. He at once marched against his new enemy, leaving instructions with the spiritual chiefs of the Christian, Buddhist, and Moslem religions at Karakorum, whose courage he doubted, to surrender that city on the approach of Khubilai, which they accordingly did. Khubilai confirmed the privileges granted them by Ogotai and Mangu. Arikbuka now had a considerable struggle with Algu and occupied a large part of his dominions, but his cruelties so disgusted his soldiers that they went over to Khubilai, and stripped of troops and resources he determined at length in 1264 to submit to his brother. He prostrated himself, as was customary, at the door of the Imperial tent. Having entered, and being bathed in tears, he was addressed by Khubilai. "Well, my brother, which

* De Mailla, x. 291-294. † D'Ohsson, ii. 351. ‡ D'Ohsson, ii. 351.

of we two have justice on our side?" "Formerly it was I, now it is you," was the reply of Arikbuka. The next day was appointed for the trial of the latter and his chief supporters. He then confessed that he had been tempted to usurp the supreme authority by some of his generals, who represented to him the remoteness of his brothers Khubilai and Khulagu from the centre of authority, and the ease with which it might be usurped. Ten of the generals were put to death, but the life of Arikbuka was spared at the solicitation of his brother, a judgment which was acquiesced in by Khulagu and Bereke. Arikbuka then did homage, but died a month after, and was buried with his father Tului and his grandfather Jingis. This was in 1266, and was followed directly afterwards by the deaths of Khulagu, Bereke, and Algu, the chiefs of the three great dependencies of the empire. Khubilai appointed Abaka to succeeded his father Khulagu in Persia; Mangu Timur, the grandson of Batu, was given the khanship of the Golden Horde; while the Horde of Jagatai was given to Mobarek Shah, the son of Kara Hulagu.*

On the submission of Arikbuka, Kaidu, the representative of the house of Ogotai, still held out, as I have already described in the former chapter, and provoked a long and severe struggle in the north. Meanwhile Khubilai determined to subdue the portion of China still governed by the Sung dynasty. We have already mentioned the treaty by which Kia-se-tao, the Sung minister, agreed that his master should be tributary to him, a treaty which he did not disclose to his master, and managed to keep secret by having everybody put to death who was aware of it. In 1260 Khubilai sent an envoy to notify his accession to the throne, and to announce that he wished the treaty fulfilling. This envoy was imprisoned; upon which the Mongol chief issued a proclamation calling attention to the bad faith of the Chinese and bidding his troops make ready. His scheme was delayed by his war with Arikbuka and by the revolt of one of his generals named Li-tan.†

Li-tan was a Chinese of considerable repute, and had been appointed viceroy of Shang tung and the conquered parts of Kiang nan, with the title of King of Thsi kiun, by the Mongol Khakan. He murdered the Mongol soldiers who were with him, recalled his son, who was a student at Kai ping fu, and having repaired the fortifications of Thsi nan and Itu (Thsing chau fu), in Shang tung, he declared for the Sung. The Mongol general Apichi was sent against him, and besieged him in Thsi nan. The siege lasted for four months, during a portion of which the garrison fed on human flesh. In despair Li-tan killed his wife and concubines, and then threw himself into a lake adjoining the city, but was taken out alive and killed.‡

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* D'Ohsson, ii. 351-359. † De Mailla, ix. 298.
‡ Yule's Marco Polo, ii. 100. Pauthier's Marco Polo, 442. Note. D'Ohsson, ii. 382. Gaubil, 139.

Early in 1263 Khubilai built a Tai miao, or Hall of Ceremonies, at Yenking. This was meant for the ancestor-worship prescribed by Chinese custom. He gave honorary titles to each of his ancestors, beginning with Yissugei, who was styled Liei-tsu; Jingis was styled Tai-tsu; Ogotai, Tai-tsong; then Tului was interposed, with the title of Juei-tsong. Although he had not occupied the throne, he was deemed as the legal successor. Kuyuk came next, with the title of Ting-tsong; and, lastly, Mangu, with that of Hien-tsong. Each of them had a tablet, with his name upon it, set up in a separate chamber, while the Lama priests were ordered to recite prayers before them for seven days and seven nights. This afterwards took place annually.*

The Mongols hitherto had used either the Uighur or the Chinese characters in writing their language.[1] Khubilai ordered the Lama Pakba, whom he had so much honoured, to construct a special alphabet, so that his people might be like those of the Liao and the Kin dynasties, who each had a writing of their own. The Lama acquitted himself well, and the new character was published in 1269, when Pakba received the title of Tapao fa wang.† About this time Lien hi hien, a faithful officer of Khubilai, was disgraced. He had been required to submit to the precepts of the Lama religion. He objected, saying that he had always been a faithful disciple of Confucius, two of whose precepts were directly at issue with the teaching of the Lamas, namely, that which prescribed that subjects should be faithful to their sovereign, and another that children should be obedient to their parents. Khubilai did not gainsay this. Sometime after a Lama magician claimed to have discovered a specific for immortality. He was encouraged by Khubilai. Lien hi hien, on the other hand, raised strong objections to encouraging such impostors, who, he said, had brought much evil on the State, and injured the health of those Emperors who had been misled by them. Khubilai was displeased with his frankness, and it became easy for those who had become discontented through his integrity to intrigue against him. He was exiled from the court. The chief of his enemies was one Ahama (Ahmed), a native of the West, who had by his address raised himself to considerable authority at the Mongol court. He was at the head of the Imperial finances, and is described as a shrewd, artful, and crafty man, with a persuasive manner and address. Under his control the treasury was full, but the people were oppressed, and he became almost supreme in the empire. Khubilai was served by others, however, of greater integrity. One of them called Hiu heng, was appointed head of the Imperial college. He is praised for the tact and skill with which he filled his office, in which he treated the opinions of the young scholars with a respectful demeanour, as if they were older men, and taught the young Mongols the various duties and ceremonies pre-

* De Mailla, ix. 301. † De Mailla, ix. 311, 312.

cribed by the Chinese moral classics; the behaviour incumbent upon intercourse with superiors, equals, and inferiors; the precepts of charity and humanity, &c. So famous did his system become that his scholars were picked out for the more arduous duties of the State. In 1271 Khubilai gave his dynasty the Chinese name of Yuen, that is, original or chief; he also chose a calendar name for the years of his reign. He surrounded himself with learned men, founded a central academy for the empire of the first literati, and schools for the young in all the provinces. He appointed a commission to write the history of the empire and to reclaim the Mongols; he had some of the Chinese classics and an abridgment of Chinese history and chronology translated into Mongol. This was done by Hiu heng.* He encouraged the learned men of every nation and creed. Jemal ud din, a Persian astronomer, drew out a calendar and presented the Emperor with beautiful astronomical instruments. Gaisui, from the kingdom of Fu-lin, *i.e.*, the Byzantine empire, was the chief physician, while one of the chief mandarins was put at the head of the bureau of mathematics. Khubilai appointed commissioners to regulate the number, rank, and pay of the mandarins and the principal offices of State, such as the Imperial censors, the ministers of rites, of justice, of public works, of war, &c.

Let us now turn once more to the Sung empire, against which, as I have said, Khubilai had long meditated a campaign. The Sung Emperor Li tsong died in 1264 and was succeeded by his nephew Chaoki, who took the name of Tu tsong. It was not till 1267 that Khubilai fairly began his attack. The plan of the campaign was entrusted to a very noted Chinese general called Liau-ching, who had deserted the Sung cause and been appointed governor of Kuei chau, a town on the frontier of Hu kuang and Su chuan, by Khubilai.† He advised that they should commence with the siege of Siang-yang, called Saianfu by Marco Polo, situated on the river Han, in Honan, and commanding the great military road from Shensi, decribed by Marco Polo as a very great and noble city, ruling over twelve other large and rich cities. On the opposite side of the river was the city of Fan ching. In October, 1268, an army of 60,000 men sat down before and invested it, the lines embraced a mountain three leagues from the city, while forts were built on mountains to the south and east of it; but meanwhile the river was open, and a flotilla of Chinese vessels managed to re-victual the place, a good many of the ships were afterwards captured and destroyed. After a blockade of twelve months, it was found necessary to extend the blockade to Fan ching, which communicated with Siang yang by several bridges. The besieged were left to their own resources for some time by the listless Kia-sé-tao, who kept the Sung Emperor ignorant of what was going on. At length he sent an army under Fan-wen-hu to relieve

* De Mailla, ix. 320. † D'Ohsson, ii. 383.

it. Its advance guard was cut to pieces by the Mongols, and the rest of the army disbanded and fled. Khubilai also reinforced the besiegers, and, according to Raschid, opened the prisons, and marched 20,000 criminals to assist in the siege. After an investment of four years the city still held out, but they began to need salt, straw, and silk. A brave plan of supplying these things was suggested by the Chinese governor of Ngan lo; he sent a flotilla of boats, three abreast, the centre one laden with these articles, the outside ones filled with armed men: this broke through the Mongol barriers and arrived safely.* Gaubil says the Chinese took advantage of a flood, by which the Han overflowed its banks, to re-victual the place, but that the relieving fleet was severely defeated on its return.†

After the siege had lasted three years, Khubilai by the advice of a Uighur general called Alihaya, sent to his nephew Abaka, in Persia, for some engineers skilled in making catapults, called mangonels by Marco Polo. Two such engineers were sent to him, and they constructed machines which threw stones of 125 Chinese pounds, or 166 pounds avoirdupois.‡ These were placed before Fan ching, and made holes of seven and eight feet deep in the walls; a practicable breach was soon effected, and the city was taken by assault after a stubborn defence, in which the Chinese generals, as on many other occasions, died heroically. The defence was carried on from street to street, and the victors captured little more than a pile of ruins. Gaubil has the quaint remark, that the long catalogue of Chinese officers who distinguished themselves, may be interesting to Chinese or Tartar genealogists, but would be dreary to a European.§ The catapults were now ranged before Siang yang, and the besieged were terrified at the terrible pounding they gave the towers and walls, and began to get discouraged. Khubilai offered them terms and praised their gallant defence. Upon this they surrendered, and their brave commander Liu-wen-hoan was made governor of the district of Siang yang. Soon after this, in August, 1274, Tu-tsung, the Sung Emperor, died, and was succeeded by his second son Chao-hien, who was only four years old. Khubilai now issued another manifesto, in which he recalled all his endeavours to preserve peace, and the constant bad faith of the Sung authorities. He then organised two armies, one under Tolohoan, and some subordinate officers were ordered to march towards Yang chan, in Kiang nan; while the other under Bayan and some other generals was given the duty of conquering Hu kuang. The two armies probably numbered 200,000 men. Bayan was the son of Gueukju, of the Mongol tribe of the Barins; he had passed his younger days in Persia, and had accompanied some ambassadors from Abaka a few years previously. Khubilai was charmed with his merits, and in 1265 named

* De Mailla, ix. 319, 325. † Op. cit., 149.
‡ Gaubil, 155. Yule's Marco Polo, ii. 121, et. seq. § Op. cit., 156.

him Minister of State.* Bayan advanced with a large flotilla along the river Han as far as Ngan-lo, which was capitally fortified, the river being blocked by chains and armed vessels. Seeing that he could not capture it without great loss, he landed his boats, dragged them overland to the lake Teng, and re-entered the Han below Ngan-lo, thus effectually turning it. The Chinese army which was sent to oppose him was defeated at Tsiuen tse hu, and its commander killed. The Mongols then summoned the city Cha-yang, but their messenger was killed, and his letter, written on yellow paper, ignominiously burnt. Bayan then brought up his fire balistas, called Kiatchipaos, and favoured by a high wind he set fire to the town, which was stormed and its garrison put to the sword. The heads of the decapitated soldiers were ranged in view of Sin hing chau, the sister city of Cha-yang, on the other side of the river, which was next attacked, and bravely defended.† When it was at length taken, its commander stabbed and then threw himself into the flames; with him perished 3,000 of his soldiers, whose courage was admired by Bayan. He was distinguished among successful Mongol commanders by his humanity, and he ordered them to be buried. This happened in December, 1274.‡ Bayan assembled a council at Tsai tien to deliberate on the best method of crossing the Kiang, and officers were sent to inspect the place where the Han falls into the Kiang, *i.e.*, Hankau. Hia kué, the Sung general, had fortified the strongholds on the river, especially Chafu keou, which seems to have been the key to the position, and had collected a considerable fleet in the river. It was determined to cross the river there, but to hide the design a feint was made against Han yang, and while the Chinese general marched quickly towards this place, Bayan despatched one of his commanders, who by forced marches suddenly appeared before Cha fu kai, which he surprised, and thus gained a footing for his army on the banks of the Kiang. The Mongols then laid siege to Yang lo, which they attacked with great vigour. While Bayan was engaged there and keeping the Chinese general Hia kué employed in watching him, he despatched Atchu with a flotilla to make a descent on the further bank of the Kiang; he completely defeated the general Ching pong fei, and forced him to retreat into Wo-chau. When this news reached Hia kué he fled towards the East in his boats, and having burnt them, escaped to Liu chau. The Mongols were now in their usual luck; they speedily captured Yang lo and Han yang, and Bayan, having crossed the Kiang with the main army, rejoined the intrepid Atchu. Together they laid siege to Wo-chan (Wu-tchang-fu). Its garrison were dispirited by the recent defeat of their companions, and terrified by a conflagration on the river, in which 3,000 boats were fired by the Mongols, and after a short delay surrendered the town. Two of the officers who counselled resistance would have been killed by the

* D'Ohsson, ii. 397. † Gaubil, 159. Note. ‡ Gaubil, 160. De Mailla, ix. 340.

Mongols but for Bayan, who praised their integrity. The commanders of several towns on the Kiang, who had formerly been subordinates of Liu-wen-hoan, whose defection I have already mentioned, now surrendered their charges. The Mongol policy was generally to reinstate them in their commands. Kia-sé-tao, the chief minister of the Sung empire, grew more and more unpopular, and it was out of contempt and hatred for him that several of the Sung officers went over to the Mongols. He now saw that a desperate effort was necessary, withdrew 100,000 taels of gold and 500,000 of silver from the treasury, and proceeded to tax everybody, even the princes, the Ho-chang and the Tao-se, to equip his army,* and after a short delay he advanced against the enemy. He also prepared an immense fleet laden with silk, silver, &c., which occupied a space of 100 li. This fleet entered the Kiang by the mouth of Sin ngan chi, and was ranged in order at Wu hu hien, in Kiang nan. He now sent envoys to Bayan with oranges, the Chinese fruit lutchi, and other southern fruits, and offered to conclude peace on the terms formerly proposed. Atchu, who was present, advised his leader not to listen to the advances of the treacherous Chinese minister. Bayan sent word back that he should have sent the envoys before he crossed the Kiang, and that if he desired peace he had better come in person. This he of course did not. The surrender of the town of Chi chau, which now followed, is memorable for an act which ought to be recorded by those who would raise the repute of women for heroic conduct. Its commander, Chao mao fa, was pressed to surrender by one of his subordinates; he refused. Some time after, suspecting that his subordinate was carrying on secret intrigues with the enemy, and feeling that resistance could not be prolonged, he assembled his relatives and friends at a feast, and told them that he could not survive the disgrace of surrendering the city. He bade his wife Yong chi seek a place of refuge somewhere. She replied that she felt enough of courage to show herself worthy of him. He laughed, but he laughed in vain, for having distributed his goods among his relatives, she retired with him, and they committed suicide together. Bayan was much touched by this act of heroism, and himself performed the funeral ceremonies for them on his knees, amidst the praises of the Chinese.†

Kia-se-tao now ordered a general rendezvous of his boats at an island on the Kiang, situated near Chi chau. They assembled to the number of 2,500, while he and the main army were close by. Bayan advanced on both banks of the river, and when opposite the island, poured in such a volley of missiles, while at the same time a sharp attack was made by a flotilla of boats, that the Chinese were thoroughly beaten, and the river dyed with their blood. The Mongols captured an immense booty.‡ This

* De Mailla, ix. 344. † De Mailla, ix. 349. Gaubil, 163.
‡ De Mailla, ix. 350. Gaubil, 164.

defeat greatly discouraged them, and was followed by the surrender of many towns of Kiang nan and Che kiang. Among other towns surrendered was Kien kang, the modern Nan king. Its governor, who wished to die in the service of the Sung, took poison at a feast where he had collected his friends and relatives. One of the Mongol officers found in his house a memoir, addressed to Kia-se-tao, containing an elaborate plan for opposing the Mongols. When this was shown to Bayan, he was surprised, and said, "Is it possible the Sung had such a sage councillor among them. If they had followed this advice we should not have been here;" and he ordered his family to be treated with respect, as that of a faithful subject. He prohibited the pillaging of his goods, and his body was buried with those of his ancestors.*

The hot season was now at hand, and Khubilai wished Bayan to stop operations till the autumn, but the latter replied that it is not prudent to allow your enemy breathing time when you have hold of his throat, a sound piece of philosophy, which was justified amply; for the successes of the Mongols had created quite a panic among the governors of the neighbouring fortresses, several of which, and among them the arsenal of Kwang ti, in Kiang nan, were surrendered.†

The Empress Regent now issued a stirring proclamation, which aroused the spirit of several military chiefs, and a few towns were retaken. Hao king, the ambassador who had been sent to the Sung court to notify the accession of Khubilai, had been all the while imprisoned. He was now, at the demand of Khubilai, released with his suite, but he fell ill and died on the way. He was the author of several esteemed Chinese works.‡ Khubilai sent another embassy, consisting of two of the dignitaries of his court; this was treacherously attacked near the fortress of Tu-song, one of the envoys being killed and the other wounded. The Sung court disavowed and promised to punish the assassins, and offered to recognise the suzereignty of the Mongols. Bayan doubted the sincerity of the proposals, and sent an officer under the pretext of treating for peace, the real object being to survey the condition of Lin ngan, the capital. He also was assassinated on the way. Bayan was naturally enraged at so much perfidy, but he was recalled at this juncture to go and make head against Kaidu.§

The Chinese now made an effort to recapture Wu-chang-fu, and collected a large flotilla for the purpose, but Alihaya, the Mongol governor of the town, a general of consummate ability, whose renown was only second to that of Bayan, and who had done his duty admirably during the late campaign, attacked them sharply, defeated them, and captured their general, who had been governor of Yo chau. His head was carried on a lance under the walls of that city, which surrendered at the first summons. Alihaya then attacked Kian ling, the chief

* De Mailla, ix. 354. † De Mailla, ix. 355. ‡ De Mailla, ix. 353. § *Vide infra.*

town of a large district in Kwang si. Its governor thought he had been slighted by the Sung, surrendered the town, an example which was followed by fifteen others in his jurisdiction. According to the usual policy in such cases, the various Chinese governors retained their posts. Alihaya was much complimented upon his success by the Emperor, who wrote him an autograph letter to thank him.*

The southern part of Su chuan was then subject to the Sung; its governor was attacked and defeated by the Mongols; and his capital Kia ting invested. He then surrendered, and sent to them a detailed account of the different places in his department, for which he was rewarded by being reappointed governor. The final conquest of this province was not effected, however, until 1278. Instead of profiting by the absence of Bayan, the Chinese now proceeded to try their chief minister, the notorious Kiâ-sê-tao, to whom they owed so many misfortunes. He was found guilty; his goods were confiscated, and himself transported to a place in Fukien, but he was murdered on the way by one of his escort, who had an old grudge against him. He jeered him for his cowardice in surviving his disgrace, instead of putting an end to himself like a brave man. He put him to great indignity on the way, made him walk in the scorching sun, and scattered his harem, sending its members to their various homes. He pressed him hard to drown himself in a river which they passed, and as he would not he at length killed him. For this he was himself executed.†

A brave Sung general named Chang chi kié having equipped an immense fleet of 10,000 vessels, proceeded with them along the Kiang, intending to attack the Mongols who were stationed near Yang chau under the command of Atchu. The latter surveyed the flotilla from the summit of the mountain Ché kong, north of Chin kiang, and made up his plans. He placed 1,000 balistas on some of his heavy boats and ordered them to fire burning arrows into the enemy's fleet. These set fire to the ships and caused a general panic. Atchu captured 700 ships, and the greater part of the Chinese force was dispersed.

Bayan now returned, after having been raised to the rank of minister of State,‡ and arranged a fresh plan for the campaign. Atchu was to continue the war in Hoai nan, Alihaya in Hu nan, three other generals were sent into Kiangsi, while he himself advanced upon Lin ngan, the Sung capital. On the way he attacked Chang chau, a famous town called Chinginju by Marco Polo. This was early in 1275. Having beaten the armies that came up to try and raise the siege, he destroyed the faubourgs and then raised a rampart as high as the wall, and took it in that way. Marco Polo mentions that in the Mongol army was a body of Christian auxiliaries; they were Alans, and no doubt came from the Caucasus. The inhabitants were spared, but the Alans having got drunk after they had

* De Mailla, ix. 359. Gaubil, 167. † De Mailla, ix. 361. ‡ De Mailla, ix. 361.

taken the city, were treacherously attacked and killed by the Chinese. Bayan sent another army which destroyed the inhabitants without pity.* Bayan had in vain summoned it to surrender. He collected a large number of people from the neighbourhood, whom he compelled to build a vast rampart about it. The Chinese history makes him put a large number of these people to death, use their fat to grease the battering engines with, and burn their bodies. The defence was vigorously kept up, and Bayan encouraged his soldiers by his presence. The town was attacked on all four sides at once. It was captured, and, as I have said, its inhabitants were slaughtered. The commander showed the usual Chinese intrepidity, and refused to escape.† Colonel Yule remarks that this use of human fat may have another explanation, for Carpino says the Mongols mixed it with Greek fire, which then burnt unextinguishably.‡

The victorious Mongols captured one position after another, and the Chinese court began to be very frightened. At Lin ngan, the capital, a general call to arms was made for every one over fifteen, while a fresh envoy was sent to Bayan with apologies for what had occurred to the envoy, the whole being laid at the door of the perfidious Kia se tao, who had been punished, and to the inexperience of the Emperor, who was only a boy.§ An offer was made that the Emperor would consider himself a subject of the Khakan, and would pay an annual tribute of 250,000 ounces of silver and the same number of pieces of silk. These terms were refused, and Bayan continued his advance. Meanwhile the other armies were equally successful. Ailhaya, who was in Hunan, *i.e.*, that part of Hu kwang south of the great lake Tong ting hu, laid siege to Tan-chau (Chang ché). Some of the garrison wished to surrender, but its governor, Lifu, answered that he had not been put in a position of trust in order to resign it at the first crisis, and that he would without fail make an end of those who spoke of surrendering. When the Mongols stormed the walls, a Chinese officer who was there, brought out his two young sons and made them undergo the ceremony of taking the bonnet, equivalent to adopting the toga or the symbol of manhood (this is done at the age of twenty). He then threw himself with them and with his servants into the flames. Lifu ordered a libation of wine to be poured out on the ground in their honour. Having made sure of the constancy of his officers, he summoned a slave, gave him a bag of money, bade him save his, Lifu's, family from base servitude, and ordered him to kill them and then to kill him, Lifu, himself. In vain the slave protested against the revolting deed. He insisted. He thereupon made them drunk and performed his duty. After which Lifu offered his own head, which the slave cut off. The latter then fired the palace, returned home, destroyed his own family, and ended by stabbing himself. The greater

* Yule's Marco Polo, ii. 141.

† Panthier's Marco Polo, 485. ‡ Yule's Marco Polo, ii. 142. § De Mailla, ix. 365.

part of the garrison and inhabitants followed his example, the wells were choked with corpses, others hanged, others again poisoned themselves, and the Mongols entered an almost deserted city.* There is surely something terribly faithful to a sense of duty and honour in such an example. Object as we may to the code which prescribes such a test of courage and devotion, enlarge as we may on the indifference to life that is the supposed heritage of some races, we cannot refuse a respectful admiration for the feeling which will not survive disgrace and dishonour. It would surely be a good discipline to our Western notions of duty if, instead of bowing before and licking the dust from the feet of successful villainy under whatever pretentious name it lives, if we were to preach that dishonour is not condoned by success, and can only be survived by cowards and contemptible people.

The capture of Chang chu was followed by the surrender of the other towns of Hu nan.

Meanwhile the Mongols were no less successful in Kiang si. Town after town was surrendered or captured. One of them, Hoang wan tan, was remarkable for the bravery of its commander, Mi yau. Desperately wounded by four arrows and three lance thrusts, he still insisted in rushing upon the enemy, but in crossing a bridge a plank broke under him and he was captured. The Mongols wished him to enter their service, and offered him one of their official seals. His son too pressed him, recalling to him the miserable condition in which he himself would be left. Appear only, said the hero, in the public square and say you are the son of Mi yau, and every one will be eager to assist you. He then disrobed and insisted upon being put to death. This Mongol army, with that of Alihaya now converged upon Lin ngan, where Bayan also arrived with his troops. The Empress Regent sent him the Imperial seal as a sign of submission. Bayan sent it on to the Khakan. Repeated embassies were sent out to treat for terms, who did not forget the reminder that the southern provinces of the empire were still unconquered, and that the issue of war was not always certain. It would seem that the city was quietly occupied. Bayan appointed a council of Mongols and Chinese to govern it, and extracted from the Empress Regent an order to the various provincial governors to submit to the Mongols. They all obeyed except Kia-hiuen-hong, whom no threats could intimidate. Four Mongol officials were ordered to collect the seals of the various departments, and the books, registers, historical memoirs, geographical, and charts, &c., found in the archives. Having placed guards in different points of the city, Bayan at the head of a splendid cortege, preceded by the great standard and drums, and followed by his generals, made an entry in state. The Emperor and Empress asked to see him, but he excused himself by saying he did not know what ceremony he ought to observe, and left the

* De Mailla, ix. 368, 369.

following day.' We are told that while in the city he had the curiosity to go to the banks of the river Tsien-tang-kiang to watch the tide rise, which it did so violently that it was mistaken for a white wall shattered by a cannonade of artillery.* Marco Polo has left us an elaborate account of the great capital. It has been most admirably noted by Colonel Yule, from it I shall extract freely.

He makes the circuit of the walls to be one hundred miles; Odoric makes the same statement, while Vassaf makes it twenty-four parasangs, which is nearly the same. Ibn Batuta makes its length to be three days' journey. Raschid says its enceinte had a diameter of eleven parasangs, and Colonel Yule shows that the circuit of the walls has progressively diminished, and that it is probable that in the days of Polo its circuit, exclusive of the suburbs, was one hundred li. Polo says that it contained 12,000 bridges. Colonel Yule calls this number a mere popular saw. Vassaf makes the number 360. As the city was built amidst lagunes, like Venice, the number may well have been 1,200. The size of the bridges there is noted by modern travellers. Barrow, quoted by Marsden, says some have the piers of such an enormous height that the largest vessels of 200 tons sail under them without striking their masts. Polo says there were twelve guilds of different crafts; each guild had 12,000 houses in the occupation of its workmen. Each house contained twelve, twenty, and even forty men. He also reports that every man was bound to follow his father's trade, even if he owned 100,000 bezants, a custom which Colonel Yule remarks is nowhere now found in China, where it is very rare for a son to follow his father's trade. Inside the city was a great lake, thirty li in circumference (the celebrated Si fu, or Western Lake, described by Abulfeda, and by Barrow and others, who all describe it as a Chinese paradise). It was surrounded with palaces and grand mansions, having islands on it on which were pleasure-houses, &c., where the inhabitants held their marriage feasts; silver-plate, trenchers and dishes, napkins, &c., being supplied to order. Sometimes there would be a hundred parties there; some holding a banquet, others a wedding, &c. Most of the houses were built of timber, with stone towers to store articles of value in, and thus protect them from the frequent fires. The people dressed very gaily, most of them in silk. (The inhabitants are still celebrated for their dandyism, everybody but the lowest labourers and coolies wearing silk.) The Mongols placed a guard upon each of the bridges; each guard had a hollow stick, a metal basin, and a time-keeper. With the stick he struck the basin at every hour, one for the first hour, two for the second, &c. A section of these watchmen patrolled about, arrested those wandering at unlawful hours, and reported to the magistrates all lights and fires burning after lawful hours. They removed cripples and others to the hospitals, of which

* De Mailla, ix. 375.

there are still many there, as Mr. Gardner reports. They also acted as firemen at fires, for no citizen except the watchmen and the owners of the property dare go out at night or approach a fire. There was also a high watchtower in the city, in which a man beat violently on a slab of wood, which resounded far and wide, when fires or other alarms broke out. All its streets were paved with stone or brick, except the sides, which were kept unpaved for the Imperial couriers to gallop along. Large covered drains ran down the centre of the streets, and emptied themselves into the canals. There were three thousand baths in the city, large enough for one hundred persons to bathe together. They were supplied with hot water. (Mr. Gardner says the natives always take hot baths, but that only the poor go to the public baths, the tradesfolk, &c., having them supplied at home.) The port was situated twenty-five miles from the city, and was called Ganpu. This was most probably the Kanfu frequented by the early Arab traders. The Emperor's palace is described by Polo as the largest in the world. It was surrounded by a demesne of the compass of ten miles, girdled with embattled walls, inside which were beautiful gardens with fountains and lakes full of fish. The palace itself contained twenty great halls, the largest of which was used as a State dining room, all painted in gold, with histories and representations of beasts and birds, of knights and dames, sustained by columns painted and wrought in gold, and the finest azure. Besides these great halls, the palace contained 1,000 large chambers, all painted in gold and colours. Altogether the city comprised 1,600,000 houses, among which were many palaces, and one Nestorian church. Every burgess wrote at his door the name of each person, and the number of animals inside, so that a census could be collected at once. Every hosteller was bound to register the inmates of the house, so that information could be found about all the travellers in the country. These regulations are a sarcasm on our Western progress and civilization. There were ten principal markets, besides a vast number of lesser ones, the former all half-a-mile square; along their front was a street forty paces wide, which traversed the city from end to end, having a great market at every four miles. Parallel with this street, and at the back of the market, ran a canal, whose banks were lined with the merchants' stores, from India, &c. Three days a week 40,000 or 50,000 assembled at each of these markets, supplying abundance of roebucks, red deer, fallows, hares, rabbits, partridges, pheasants, francolins, quails, fowls, capons, ducks, and geese. For a Venice groat of silver you might buy a couple of geese and two couple of ducks. There were shambles where calves, beeves, kids, and lambs were slaughtered. Among the fruits displayed were enormous pears, weighing ten pounds each, with a white and fragrant pulp, and yellow and white peaches of very delicate flavour. No grapes were produced there, but very good raisins and wine were imported. Their fish were of sundry kinds, and owing to the

impurities of the city, which passed into the lake, were remarkably fat and savoury. The chief beverage drunk was made of rice and spices. Some streets were occupied by handicraftsmen, others by physicians and astrologers. In each great square were two palaces for the officers, who superintended the traffic. To give a notion of the consumption of provisions in this vast city, Polo mentions the article pepper, of which forty-three loads, each of 223 lbs., were daily introduced. The lake was covered with beautifully furnished flat bottomed boats, having nice cabins, while the streets were supplied with vehicles shaped like palanquins, each holding six. Colonel Yule says these public conveyances were generally disused in China about the time when they were introduced into Europe. Vassaf tells us that the salt excise brought in daily 700 balishs, in paper money. The number of craftsmen may be guessed from the number of dyers, which was 32,000. There were 700 temples. Polo calculates the salt dues as bringing in yearly eighty tomans of gold, each toman being worth 70,000 saggi of gold. Colonel Yule makes an elaborate calculation of this amount, and values it at £2,633,333 sterling annually, while the whole revenue of the province is put down at £147,000,000. He concludes that the account of Polo is a great exaggeration, due probably to his calculating the revenue in gold instead of paper money, which would enlarge it by one-half.*

Lin ngan is the modern Hang chau fu, the capital of the province of Ché kiang ; it was also called King tsé, *i.e.*, Imperial residence, because the last nine Emperors of the Sung dynasty had lived there.† Having described Lin-ngan, we will now continue our history.

The Empress Regent was not allowed to continue her parade of royalty very long. Atahai, with several officers, entered the palace and stopped the ceremonies which were practised in presence of the Emperor, her grandson, who with his mother and a great company of grandees, comprising the chief persons about the court, were despatched northwards to the court of Khubilai. Before leaving, the Emperor and his mother, facing the north, went through the prescribed and humiliating ceremony of prostating themselves seven times, and thus saluting their conqueror, the Khakan.‡

Some faithful adherents of the Sung dynasty raised a body of soldiers, and attacked the Mongol escort in the town of Kua chau, but were defeated. The Emperor was well received by Khubilai, but was deprived of his rank, and given that of a Kong, or a prince of the third order, with the title of Hiao-kong.§ The title of Empress was also erased from the names of the Emperor's mother and grandmother. We are told that Khubilai's chief wife treated these ladies with great attention and humanity. The gold and silver and other treasures captured in the

* Yule's Marco Polo, ii. 135-174.
† D'Ohsson, ii. 416. Note.
‡ Gaubil, 176. De Mailla, ix. 376.
§ De Mailla, ix. 378.

Emperor's palace were conveyed by sea to Ta-tu or Peking. When the Empress (the wife of Khubilai) saw it all laid out, she wept, and said with some pathos she was thinking that the empire of the Mongols would one day also come to an end.

Two of the Sung Princes, brothers of the Emperor, had, on the siege of Lin ngan, been sent for safety into the South. On arriving at Wen chau they passed the ruins of a temple called Kiang sin, and in it the throne where the Emperor Kaotsong had been seated when he, like them, had been forced to find shelter in the South. The chief attendants about the young princes caused the elder to mount this, and declared him Governor General of the Empire.* The chief cities of Fu-kien were at this time on the point of surrendering to the Mongol general Hoang wan tan. The arrival of the princes raised the spirits of the inhabitants. They rose and drove them out, and soon after I wang was proclaimed Emperor at Fu chau, the capital of the province, whose name was changed to Fu ngan fu. He was then nine years old. The title of Toan tsong was given to him, while that of his captive brother was changed from Kuang wang to Wei wang.† A great levy of troops was made, and the chief command given to Wen tien siang, who had escaped from the Mongols.

Yang chau, one of the chief towns of Kiang nan, still held bravely out. In vain the Mongols sent their summonses to surrender, countersigned by the Empress Regent. Its intrepid commander replied that the only order he knew was to defend the place which had been confided to him, and he put to death the successive envoys who brought him promises of pardon and offers of good terms. Having heard that I wang had been proclaimed Emperor, he quitted the city with 7,000 men for Tai chau, intending to embark there for Fu chau. No sooner was he gone than the town surrendered. He and his men were sharply pursued, lost 1,000 of their number, and were again invested in Tai chau. The commander of the latter town treacherously admitted the Mongols, and the intrepid Li-ting-tchi, who was prostrated by a tumour in his leg, was captured. As he refused to submit or to pass into the service of Khubilai, he was put to death. Atchu, the Mongol commander, was now recalled to fill some post at the Mongol court, and Bayan, his superior officer, published an eulogium on him.‡

Kue lin fu, the capital of Kwang si, was governed by Ma-ki, a man of similar courage to Li-ting-tchi. Its walls were protected by rivers, except on one side, where the garrison concentrated its defence. The Mongols followed an old plan; they turned aside the rivers, and rushed across their dry beds upon the city. Ma-ki defended the town street by street, but it was at length captured, and its inhabitants put to the sword. The Mongols divided into various bodies, and captured the different

* De Mailla, ix. 379. † De Mailla, ix. 380. ‡ Gaubil, 180.

towns of Kwang si.* Meanwhile they had been equally successful in Kwang tung, where a wealthy Chinese named. Hiong-fei had raised an army. The Mongol commander Alihaya sent some troops against him; he made a show of submission, and was entrusted with the command of the two towns Chao chau and Hoei chau; but he proved treacherous, rejoined the side of his old masters, was defeated, and sheltered himself in Chao chau, which having been surrendered to the enemy, he fought his way from street to street, and ended by drowning himself. Other disasters followed.

Among those who deserted the Sung at this crisis was Pu-chau-keng, who for thirty years had superintended the merchant shipping at Siuen chau, and who had amassed a considerable fortune. The Sung Emperor, with the Imperial fleet, having arrived in that port, the merchants refused to supply them with provisions, upon which a raid was made upon their ships, in which raid some of the property of Pu-chau-keng was captured. He collected a body of his followers, attacked the pillagers, and even compelled the Imperial fleet to set sail again. Fearful of being punished, he retired to Chao chau, in Kwang tung, and soon after joined the Mongols.†

Bayan had been recalled by Khubilai to make head against his enemies in the North. A large portion of the Mongol army now followed his steps. Those who remained behind were left in command of Li heng. The Sung employed the opportunity in recapturing several towns in the southern provinces. Khubilai organised a fresh campaign, and early in 1278 several of these towns were again recaptured. Among the new successes was the capture of Canton and of Chao chau. The young Emperor, Toan tsong, had not a port where he could land. He wandered about with his fleet from one place to another, and at length died on the desert island of Kang chau, in May, 1278, at the age of eleven. His chief officers now proclaimed his younger brother Wei-wang, Emperor; under the title of Ti ping, and saluted him on their knees.

The Chinese fleet, which is said to have been manned by 200,000 combatants, was anchored at the island of Yaï, in the Gulf of Canton. They built a wooden palace on the island for the Emperor, and worked assiduously at refitting their ships, receiving supplies, &c., from Canton and other cities, even from those subject to the Mongols.

Chang-hong-fan, the son of the celebrated general Chang ju, now pressed upon Khubilai the necessity of a vigorous campaign in Kwang tung to terminate the war. Having been girt with a jewelled sword and made commander-in-chief, he attacked the Sung army, which had latterly recovered several positions in that province, and finally crushed it. The redoubtable Wen tien siang was among the captured. He had tried to poison himself, unsuccessfully. A subordinate general had shown even

* De Mailla, 387, et. seq. † De Mailla, ix. 387. ‡ De Mailla, ix. 394.

greater fortitude, and had tried to pass himself off as Wen tien siang, hoping that the Mongols would execute him, and that his friend would thus escape; but his deception was discovered, and he was broiled over a slow fire. Wen tien siang himself demanded to be put to death, but the generous Mongols spared him, and although he would not enter their service they set him free.* Chang hong fan now collected a fleet and proceeded against the Chinese flotilla, which was anchored at the estuary Chao Yang.† He first tried to burn it by means of fire ships, but the Chinese commander protected his ships by covering the hulls and rigging with mud and putting out beams which staved off the fire boats. The Mongols then made a night attack with their fleet. This was not successful, nor was a second venture of a similar kind; but at length a more determined effort was made. The Mongol fleet was divided into several divisions, which made a simultaneous attack to the sound of martial music, and assisted by a high tide and a storm, the crowded Chinese armament was thrown into confusion. The young Emperor was on board the largest ship, which was jammed in by the rest, and too big to swim over the shallows. Seeing no hope of escape, Lu siu fu, one of the two chief ministers, having thrown his wife and children overboard, seized hold of the Emperor, and saying that a Sung Emperor ought to prefer death to capitulation, he jumped overboard with him. Both were of course drowned. The greater part of the Chinese officers followed his example. More than 800 ships fell into the hands of the Mongols, and the sea was laden with corpses.‡

The Emperor's body was eventually found and upon it the Imperial seal. Chang chi kié, the co-regent of the empire, escaped; having joined the Empress mother, he pressed her to choose some member of the family of Chao (Chao was the family name of the Sung Emperors) to put upon the throne, but she was so overcome with grief by the news she threw herself into the sea. Having buried his mistress on the shore he went towards Chen ching (Ton kin),§ where he got some forces together with which he set out to return to Canton. He was overtaken by a storm, refused to land, and mounting the deck, he burnt some incense, and addressing the heavens, said: "I have done my best to support the throne of the family of Chao; on the death of one of its princes I proclaimed another; and, do I still survive, O heaven! have I acted contrary to thy will in seeking to place on the throne another prince of this family?" The wind still rose, the ship foundered, and with it the faithful officer, whose body was afterwards recovered and buried on the shore.‖ Thus ended the dynasty of the Sung which had been on the throne for altogether a period of 320 years, and thus the Mongols, after a struggle of half a century, became masters of all China.

* De Mailla, ix. 395. Gaubil, 187. † De Mailla, ix. 396. ‡ De Mailla, ix. 395-397. Gaubil, 188. § De Mailla, ix. 399. ‖ De Mailla, ix. 399, 400. Gaubil, 189.

After the great naval fight near the island of Yai, the Mongol admiral, Chang hong fan, gave a banquet to the various officers, to which Wen tien siang was invited, "the Sung empire is destroyed; you who have been its bravest general and most faithful minister may now employ the same zeal in the service of our sovereign." He refused, and was respected for doing so by the Mongol, who sent him to Yen king. The Mongol minister there pressed him to join his master's service; he replied that the oath of fealty bound a subject for ever to the cause of his sovereign. When told that he had forsaken his Emperor when imprisoned, and helped to replace him by his brothers; he replied, in effect, that necessity knows no law, that it was better to choose the lesser of two evils, and that it was necessary above all things in the crisis they were passing through to preserve the Sung dynasty, whose continuity and existence was destroyed when the young Emperor was captured; a subject ought to feel for his sovereign the affection of a son for his father; one cannot control events always; what heaven decrees must be; and he demanded to be put to death. Chang hong fan, who was irritated by his continued constancy, asked for his death; but Khubilai intervened to save him, truly a perfect model of fidelity.*

In 1280 Alihaya had captured a great number of prisoners in the southern provinces of King nan, Kiang si, Kwang si, &c. These had been sold as slaves, but Khubilai set them at liberty. He now despatched the mathematician Tuchi to trace the great river Hoang ho to its sources. He accomplished the task in four months, and on his return presented a memoir on its course, which is given by Mailla.†

The Mongol Khakan now turned his arms against the Japanese. Japan is a Chinese name, derived from the position of the island towards the rising sun. Jé meaning sun, and pen origin or rising.‡ So early as 1266, Khubilai had sent the following letter to the Japanese sovereign. "The most powerful rampart between small countries and their strong neighbours is peace between their sovereigns. This political axiom, supported by long experience, becomes most certain when it refers to the weak neighbours of an empire such as I have received from my ancestors, which is especially favoured by heaven. I am now master of China. A crowd of kingdoms filled with fear and respect by the renown and virtue of my ancestors, have submitted to my laws, notwithstanding their distance. When I mounted the throne the Coreans were suffering from a disastrous war that had lasted for a long time; the cries of a crowd of innocent victims having reached me, I caused hostilities to cease, restored the land which the Mongols had conquered from them, and returned the prisoners they had captured. The Corean King, whom we number among our subjects, touched by our generosity, came to the foot of our throne to do homage. I in return covered him with favours,

* De Mailla, ix. 404. † Op. cit., ix. 404, 405. ‡ De Mailla, ix. 404.

determined to treat him rather as a father than as an emperor and master. You and your people have surely heard of this. Corea is close to Japan. Since the foundation of your kingdom you have constantly trafficked with China. How is it you have never sent any one to my court since I came to the throne. Have you not heard of my accession. I have sent you two officers to remind you of this and to secure a mutual friendship and a regular correspondence, which will be the bond of a lasting peace. The wise men who are about me tell me that all men are brothers, the universe consists of but one family, and how can useful rules or good laws be upheld in a family where there is discord? Woe to those who love confusion and wish for war; O King, think of this, you and your people."

The envoys who bore this letter proceeded to Corea, when they reached the coast the Coreans enlarged so much upon the dangers that were before them that they determined to return to China.* Two years later, *i.e.*, in 1268, Khubilai began to prepare for a descent upon Japan, he ordered the Coreans to furnish a flotilla, and made inquiries as to the best route for his troops.†

In 1274 he sent a fleet of 300 ships and 15,000 men, which was defeated near the island of Tsiusima with heavy loss. He again sent envoys in 1280, but they were put to death.‡ The Sung empire having been destroyed, the Mongols now had leisure to prepare on a larger scale to punish their refractory neighbour; 100,000 men were collected, and the command given to Alahan or Argan, Fan wen hu (the Van sain chin of Marco Polo), &c. Argan died at the port of embarkation and his place was taken by Atahai or Atagai (Abacan of Polo).

These troops were embarked at Zayton and Kinsay.§ Zayton is Thsiuan chau fu, or Chin chau in Fukien; ‖ and Kinsay (in Chinese Kin sse, or the court) is the town of Hang chau fu, in Ché kiang.¶ They first proceeded to Corea, where they were joined by a contingent of 900 ships and 10,000 men. The combined forces sailed for the island of Goriosan, where the troops landed and overran the open country. Marco Polo refers to a quarrel between the two generals in command, which much impeded the campaign. Meanwhile the fleet was driven by a fierce storm upon a small island called Ping hu.** The greater part was destroyed. The Japanese account says that "the general (*i.e.*, Fan wen hun) fled with the other generals on the vessels that had least suffered; nobody has ever heard what became of them." By one writer, who has written a book to prove his marvellous theory, this last army is made the founder of the Peruvian monarchy of the Incas. Mongo Capac being identified with the Mongol general!!!!†† The army left upon the island was attacked and defeated, and 30,000 captives were put to death.‡‡

* De Mailla, ix. 303-305. † De Mailla, 308, 309. ‡ Yule's Marco Polo, ii. 205.
§ Yule's Marco Polo, ii. 200. ‖ Yule's Marco Polo, ii. 188. ¶ De Mailla, ix. 410. Note.
** De Mailla, ix. 409. †† Rankine's Conquest of Peru. ‡‡ Yule's Marco Polo, ii. 207.

The Venetian traveller has a story, which is doubted by his learned editor, to the effect that the Mongols surprised and captured the Japanese fleet on which they sailed to the capital, which they also captured; and says that it was after being besieged there in turn for seven months that they at length surrendered. This story is unconfirmed, and looks much like a Chinese invention to throw a halo round the disaster.

Gaubil makes the invading force to consist of 70,000 Chinese and Coreans and 30,000 Mongols. He says the former were all put to death, while the latter were reduced to slavery.* The Chinese annals in De Mailla state that only 12,000 or 13,000 Southern Chinese were spared, and they were reduced to slavery.†

Khubilai determined to send a second expedition to revenge this disaster. He appointed Atagai to its command. Vessels were built and sailors pressed at the different ports, and the King of Corea was ordered to furnish a contingent of 500 ships. The expedition was very unpopular. The men deserted in bodies and took to brigandage, and it had eventually to be abandoned.‡

Notwithstanding the overthrow of the Sung dynasty, several rebels arose, especially in Fu-kien, under pretence of sustaining its cause. These were vigorously put down.§

At the end of 1280, a commission, headed by a celebrated astronomer named Kochauking, issued a grand work on astronomy. Already in the reign of Jingis, Yeliu chutsai had profited by that monarch's expedition in the west to acquire many new notions, and had published a new astronomy, and at the beginning of Khubilai's reign, the western astronomers (probably Persians are meant) published two astronomies, one according to the western method, the other according to the Chinese. Kochauking and his assistants, who had deeply studied western methods, reconciled the two systems. A great number of new instruments, astrolabes, armillary spheres, gnomons, &c., were manufactured. Fresh observations were made at twenty-seven stations; the meridians were revised and reduced to one standard; and other reforms were made. The results were then presented to the Emperor with a memoir.‖

In 1281 Khubilai lost his favourite wife Honkilachi. She was of a tender disposition, and doubtless tempered considerably the weight of the Mongol arms. When the young Sung Emperor was taken in triumph to the court, she was much depressed; Khubilai was somewhat piqued, and asked the reason. From early times, she said, there has been no Imperial family which has lasted 1,000 years, and who dare say that I and my children may not have to suffer the fate of this boy. When the Imperial treasures of the Sung were spread out, she only peeped at them

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* Gaubil, 195. † De Mailla, ix. 409. ‡ De Mailla, ix. 418 and 428.
§ De Mailla, ix. 406, 407. ‖ De Mailla, ix. 408. Gaubil, 197.

and then retired. The Sung, she said, have brought these together for their descendants. We have got them only because those descendants could not protect them. How dare I take the least thing. She also busied herself in nursing the Empress Regent of the Sung, whose health suffered from the severity of the Mongol climate.* Later in the year, the assessor of the Emperor's Privy Council presented a petition against the sect of Tao se. Khubilai, who was much attached to the Buddhist religion, easily granted permission to have the Tao se books burnt.

The greed of conquest with which the Chinese historians charge Khubilai was still upon him, or perhaps rather, as the Russians have found in our day, there are few boundaries in Asia, and conquest leads to further conquest, so long as the march-lands of the empire are occupied by turbulent tribes.

In 1271 the Mongol commander in southern Yunnan had sent envoys to the King of Mien (*i.e.*, of Burma), calling upon him to become tributary.† Some negotiations ensued, his letters to the Emperor being traced, we are told, on golden leaves; they also employed paper and the leaves of trees for this purpose.

The issue of this correspondence was not pacific, for the Burmese crossed the frontier of Yunnan in 1277, in order to fortify the posts of Theng yue and Yung chang (the Vocian of Marco Polo),‡ which probably commanded the approach to their country. The Chinese commanders in Yunnan, among whom Nasir-ud-din, mentioned by Marco Polo, was one, although he did not fill the first position,§ ordered an attack to be made on certain frontier tribes as yet unsubdued, namely, the Kinchi (tribes with golden teeth), the Ho chang, Fu piao, and Theng yue, whose country lay west of Yung chang. The Burmese forces under their general O'ho, were assembled in the country of Nan-tien, on the frontiers of Thibet, and west of Yung chang, and consisted of from 40,000 to 50,000 men, 800 elephants, and 10,000 horses. The army of the Mongols is said in the official annals of the Yuen dynasty to have been only 700 strong. This is clearly a mistake, and ought probably to be 7,000. Marco Polo, who describes the battle, makes the Mongols 12,000 strong, and their opponents 60,000 cavalry and infantry, with 2,000 elephants, each carrying sixteen men, so that the disparity is equally great. He calls the King of Burma King of Mien and Bangala. Colonel Yule has shown that the Burmese dynasty probably claimed to rule in Bengal after the Muhammedan invasion, and that they were descended from a Bengal stock.‖ The Mongols were encamped in the plain of Yung chang, and the troops of Burma came to attack them, the cavalry advancing first, then the elephants, and lastly the foot soldiers.¶ Marco Polo relates how

* De Mailla, ix. 408. † Pauthier's Marco Polo, 415. Note.
‡ Pauthier, op. cit., 410. § Yule's Marco Polo, ii. 69.
‖ Yule's Marco Polo, ii. 64, 65. ¶ The Yuen se, quoted by Pauthier, op. cit., 411.

the Mongol horses were frightened at the elephants, and could not be made to face them. "But their captain acted like a wise leader, who had considered everything beforehand. He immediately gave orders that every man should dismount, and tie his horse to the trees of the forest that stood hard by, and that they should take to their bows, a weapon that they knew how to handle better than any troops in the world. They did as he bade them, and plied their bows stoutly, shooting so many shafts at the advancing elephants, that in a short space they had wounded or slain the greater part of them, as well as of the men they carried. . . . . When the elephants felt the smart of these arrows that pelted them like rain they turned and fled, and nothing on earth would have induced them to turn and face the Tartars. So off they sped, with such a noise and uproar, that you would have trowed the world was coming to an end; and then, too, they plunged into the wood, and rushed this way and that, dashing their castles against the trees, bursting their harness, and smashing and destroying everything that was on them. . . . . The Tartars then got to horse at once, and charged the enemy. And then the battle began to rage furiously with sword and mace."* The Mongols at length won, and pursued the troops of Burma a long way, and captured 200 elephants. The Chinese account says the carnage was terrible, that the limbs of the elephants and men who had been slain filled three large ditches, and that seventeen forts which the Burmese had built for the defence of their territory were captured.† In this campaign, which was fought in 1277, Nasir-ud-din advanced as far as the town of Kiang thu, on the Irawadi, which offered a stout resistance; the intense heat of the climate at length compelled him to retreat.‡ Nasir-ud-din having reported at the court that the conquest of the kingdom of Mien would be easy, an army was fitted out in 1283, under the command of Siang taur, a prince of the blood, who, as Colonel Yule says, was doubtless the Singtur who some years later took part in the insurrection of Nayan. The army set out from Chung khing, *i.e.*, Yun nan fu, the capital of Yunnan of our day. They embarked in boats on the river Oho (? the Bhamo river), and arrived at Kiang thu (probably the Kaun taung of the Burmese).§ This they captured, and there perished there more than 10,000 men.‖

The Mongols then summoned the King to submit. He refused; upon which they laid siege to his capital, Tai kung,¶ *i.e.*, Tagaung, traditionally the most ancient royal city of Burma.** The Burmese annals, which are much given to exaggeration, say the King had pulled down 6,000 temples to furnish materials for the fortifications: "But after all he lost heart, and, embarking with his treasure and establishments on the Irawadi, fled

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* Yule's Marco Polo, ii. 66 and 68.

† Pauthier, op. cit., 411. ‡ Pauthier, op. cit., 415. § Yule's Marco Polo, ii. 69 and 74.

‖ Pauthier, 416. ¶ Pauthier's Marco Polo, 405. ** Yule, op. cit., ii. 76.

down that river to Bassein, in the Delta." Having captured the Burmese capital, the Mongols continued the pursuit till they reached the place now called Tarokmau, or the Chinese Point, thirty miles below Prome. Here they were forced by want of provisions to return.* De Mailla says further, that the people of Kin-chi, who had hitherto been prevented by the Burmese from acknowledging the Mongols, now did so. Kin-chi, or golden teeth, is the Chinese name of the Zardandan of Marco Polo, and probably connotes the Singphos, a tribe of Yunnan and Assam.† The Pegu annals also mention a raid made into their territory by the Mongols, and the capture of several towns at this time.‡

The old Venetian traveller has a very romantic story about the conquest of Burma; he would have us believe that it was effected by the gleemen and jugglers at Khubilai's court, of whom he had a great number. "He said to them one day that he wanted them to go and conquer the aforesaid province of Mien, and that he would give them a good captain to lead them, and other good aid. And they replied that they would be delighted. So the Emperor caused them to be fitted out with all that an army requires, and gave them a captain and a body of men-at-arms to help them; and so they set out and marched until they came to the country and province of Mien, and they did conquer the whole of it."§ This is one of the few paragraphs which would be nautically described as yarns that enliven the pages of the very truthful old traveller.

At his accession Khubilai had intrusted the Imperial finances to a Muhammedan, a native of Bokhara, named Seyid Edjèll. He had died in 1270, leaving a high reputation for honesty. He was replaced by Ahmed, a native of Fenaket, on the Jaxartes. He had been attached to the household of Khubilai's chief wife before she married him, and by his insinuating manners and tact had won the confidence of the Khakan.‖ I have already mentioned his oppression of the people. As he kept the coffers full Khubilai was satisfied, and we are told that no person, however high in rank, dare cross him, nor was any woman of considerable beauty safe from his advances. If she was unmarried he forced her to be his wife, otherwise he compelled her to submit to his desires. Marco Polo quaintly describes his manner of procedure. "Whenever he knew of any one," he says, "who had a pretty daughter, certain ruffians of his would go to the father and say, 'What say you? Here is this pretty daughter of yours; give her in marriage to the Bailo Achmath (for they called him 'the Bailo,' or as we should say the 'vice regent'), and we will arrange for his giving you such a government, or such an office, for three years.' And so the man would surrender his daughter. And Achmath would go to the Emperor and say; such a government is vacant, or will be vacant on such a day. So and so is a proper man for the post, and the Emperor

* Yule, op. cit., ii. 76. † Yule's Marco Polo, ii. 56.
‡ Yule's Marco Polo, ii. 76. § Yule's Marco Polo, ii. 73. ‖ D'Ohsson, ii. 467.

would reply: 'Do as you think best,' and the father of the girl was immediately appointed to the government. Thus either through ambition of the parents, or through fear of the minister, all the beautiful women were at his beck either as wives or mistresses." His twenty-five sons occupied places of high trust, and he had amassed a vast fortune from the black mail he levied on place hunters.* But his enemies were increasing fast, and his day was nearly over. Tsui yu, one of the mandarins who governed in Kiang nan, who was also a lieutenant of Alihaya, was brave enough to present a report to the Emperor against him. Ahmed in a rage accused him of embezzling more than two millions, and of having wrongfully deprived mandarins of their offices. A commission was sent to inquire, which found him innocent. Ahmed sent a second, composed of his own creatures, who convicted and executed him. This judicial murder caused much dissatisfaction at the court, in the army, and the provinces.† Among his enemies was Ching kin, Khubilai's son, who went the length of kicking him in his father's presence. At length one Chen chu, a commander of a thousand, whose mother, daughter, and wife had been dishonoured by Ahmed, entered into a plot with Wang chu, the commander of a tuman, *i.e.*, 10,000 men, and determined to destroy him. They chose the time when the Emperor was at Shangtu, and the Prince Ching kin absent elsewhere, and when Ahmed remained in charge of the city. They communicated their intention to their friends in various cities, stating that they had determined, on a certain day, at a signal given by a beacon, to massacre all the men with beards, and that the other cities should stand ready to do the like on seeing the signal fires. The reason being, that the Chinese had no beards, while beards were worn by the Tartars, Saracens, and Christians, "and you must know," says Polo, "the Chinese detested the Grand Khan's rule, because he set over them governors who were Tartars, or still more frequently Saracens, and these they could not endure, for they were treated by them just like slaves. . . . On the day appointed, the two, Chen chu and Wang chu, entered the palace at night. Wang chu sat down and caused a number of lights to be kindled before him. He then sent a messenger to Ahmed, who lived in the old city, as if to summon him to the presence of Ching kin, who (it was pretended) had arrived unexpectedly. Ahmed obeyed the summons. As soon as he got inside the palace and saw all the illuminations, he bowed down before Wang chu, supposing him to be Ching kin, and Chen chu, who was standing ready with a sword, straightway cut his head off. The captain of the guard, who was standing at the door, shouted treason, and instantly discharged an arrow at Wang chu and shot him dead as he sat, at the same time he ordered Chen chu to be seized, and sent a proclamation through the city that any one found in the streets would be put to death. The Chinese saw that the plot was discovered, and having

* Yule's Marco Polo, i. 371. † Gaubil, 193. De Mailla, ix. 411.

lost their leaders, remained quiet. Messengers were sent off to Khubilai, who ordered an investigation, which ended in several of the ringleaders being put to death."* I have followed the account, and partially the language of the Venetian traveller whose narrative of the event is very circumstantial. His Chen chu is doubtless the Chang-y of the Chinese annals, who name a third conspirator, a sorcerer called Kao-Hoshang. They also say Ahmed was killed by a blow from a copper mace. They do not mention any plot for the murder of foreigners, although from what we know of them in later times, this is a very probable event. Neither do they mention that Wang chu was killed on the spot. They say, on the contrary, that he died heroically; saying that he had done the State great service and would yet be rewarded. Khubilai gave a large sum towards paying for Ahmed's funeral ceremonies;† but his regret was soon converted into resentment. When he returned from Shang tung he summoned Polo, the assessor of the privy council, our old friend Marco Polo, and asked him why Wang chu had committed the murder. Polo spoke bravely out, and when Khubilai learnt how avaricious his servant had been, and had even appropriated for the use of one of his wives a large diamond which some merchants had brought to his court for him, he ordered the corpse to be exhumed, the head to be cut off and exposed, and the body to be left to the dogs. Two of his sons and some of his widows were put to death; others, to the number of forty, with 400 concubines, were distributed as presents.‡ Two hundred mandarins, who had been Ahmed's accomplices, were deprived of their offices, and altogether 700 persons were more or less implicated and punished accordingly. Polo concludes his chapter by saying that these discoveries greatly irritated Khubilai against the Saracens, *i.e.*, the Muhammedans, and he prohibited them doing many things which their religion required. Thus he ordered them to regulate their marriages by the Tartar law, and forbade them killing animals by cutting their throats. This partial revival of one of Jingis's laws is also referred to by Raschid. It was revoked seven years later, when it was found the Muhammedans gave over making their visits, and trade accordingly suffered.§ Ahmed's place was given to a Uighur named Sanga, whose brother had succeeded Pakba as Grand Lama.‖

One of Sanga's chief advisers, who was also a favourite of Khubilai's, was a mandarin of Tai ming fu, named Luchiyong; he had obtained his post by bribery, from Ahmed. He persuaded the Emperor that he could largely increase the revenue, and those who inveigled against him and his plans were punished. His suggestions were at least curious: he proposed that a large number of copper pieces should be coined, that these should be distributed to the inhabitants of the great ports of Hang chau and Tsuen chau, to be used in traffic with the foreign merchants,

* Yule's Marco Polo, i. 372-374. † D'Ohsson, ii. 470. De Mailla, ix. 413.
‡ D'Ohsson, ii. 471. § Yule's Marco Polo, i. 376, 377. ‖ De Mailla, ix. 423.

and that seven-tenths of the profit should go the State, while three-tenths were retained by the people. The grandees, it would seem, had some kind of monopoly in the manufacture of arms; this he proposed to abolish, and to let the State take possession of the forges, the profit to be used in filling the granaries, so that food could be sold at a cheaper rate. He wished to abolish free trade in wine, and make the vendors take out licenses, for which they were to pay heavily. He proposed to exchange on a large scale, the silks and stuffs of China for the horses and sheep of the Mongols, and arranged that the Imperial studs and herds should be taken charge of by the Mongols, who should be paid one-fifth of the profit accruing from the sale of the hides, wool, horns, and milk, &c. These plans do not seem very extravagant, but they were very unpopular, especially so, perhaps, as their author reinstated a good many of the creatures of Ahmed in their old places. The heir to the throne took part against him; several mandarins accused him of exactions and cruelty, &c., and he also was tried, condemned to death, and torn in pieces.*

Cochin China, called by the Chinese Chen ching, and by Marco Polo, Champa, comprised at this time the whole coast between Tung king and Cambodja. It was conquered by the King of Tung king in the fifteenth century; but in the time of Khubilai was an independent kingdom. In 1278, So-tu, the military governor of the Canton district, sent an envoy to demand the submission of its King. This was rendered, and for some years he sent his tribute. Marco Polo says the tribute consisted of twenty elephants. When, in 1282, So-tu sent a resident and Chinese official, to receive tribute, &c., the heir to the throne resolutely opposed the proceeding;† but the Mongol officers were content with the submission of the father, until he drew a large party over to himself. It was then time to interfere. So-tu therefore sent an army, which captured the capital. The prince took refuge in the mountains, and cajoled So-tu into delay by his envoys. Meanwhile he was fortifying himself, while one of his officers fell upon a body of Mongols and killed several hundred of them. So-tu fought several engagements in which he was successful, but while he was besieging an almost impregnable fortress, the prince of Cochin China cut off his retreat. So-tu raised the siege and managed to retire, but only with severe loss.‡ Khubilai was much pained by this defeat, and in 1284 he ordered his son Togan, who commanded in Yunnan, to march against Cochin China; the general So-tu received orders to co-operate with him. Between Yunnan and Cochin China lay Tung king, which had for some time been tributary, and had sent every three years a tax of gold, silver, precious stones, medicinal drugs, ivory, and rhinoceros' horns. This tribute was found very onerous, and a new king, who mounted the throne in 1277, determined to resist the

* De Mailla, ix. 423, 424. Gaubil, 201, 202.
† Yule's Marco Polo, ii. 214. ‡ De Mailla, ix. 415. Gaubil, 194.

passage of the Mongol army. Togan crossed the river Fu leang on rafts, and the army of Tung king dispersed, but they rallied again the summer following. The heat and heavy rains caused a pestilence among the Mongols, who were forced to retire into Yunnan. Liheng, Togan's chief general, was killed by a poisoned arrow, and So-tu, who had gone some distance ahead with his army, shortly after lost a battle on the Kien moan, in which he was killed.*

Astrology was much favoured by Chinese philosophers. A regular college of astrologers existed, in which the various conjunctions of the planets, eclipses, &c., were studied and interpreted. In the end of 1282, a bonze of the province of Fu-kien published intelligence that the planet Saturn was very near a star called Ti-tso, which was the particular star presiding over the empire. This was apparently interpreted to mean that a revolt in favour of the Sung dynasty was imminent, and at this time an impostor did appear, who collected more than 100,000 adherents, called himself Emperor of the Sung, and issued seditious placards.† These things troubled the Emperor, who assembled at Chang tu the young Sung Emperor, his family, and his minister Wen-tien-siang, who had been kept so long in restraint, and who was especially suspected. He was again pressed to join the Mongol service, but he remained inflexible. He had received favours much exceeding his deserts from the Sung family, and he would not now abandon it in its distress. He was therefore condemned to death, and received the news joyfully, went laughing to the place of execution, faced the south, stooped his head several times to the ground, and offered his neck to the axe. He was only forty-seven years old, and was endowed with many graces and virtues. The remaining members of the Sung family were transported into Tartary.‡ His first wife having died, as I have mentioned, Khubilai now raised another of his wives, who was of the stock of the Kunkurat, to be his Empress; she, too, bore the name of Honkilachi.

In the same year Khubilai sent a commissioner to the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, to report upon their products and riches. Some time after ships from ten of these states arrived at Tsiuen chau, the celebrated port of Fu kien. These were the kingdoms of (1) Mapar, *i.e.*, Mobar or Malabar; (2) Samundra, identified by Colonel Yule with the kingdom of the Bilal Rajahs north of Malabar, and constantly coupled with it by Muhammedan writers;§ (3) Sumenna, *i.e.*, Sumnath; (4) Sengkili (the Shinkali of Abulfeda, the Singiugli of Jordanus, the Cynkalli of Marignolli), *i.e.*, Cranganor, one of the old Malabar principalities;‖ (5) Malantan, *i.e.*, the Tana Malayu of De Barros, one of the Sumatran

* De Mailla, ix. 420-422. Gaubil, 203.
† De Mailla, ix. 416. Gaubil, 198.
‡ De Mailla, ix. 417. Gaubil, 198.
§ Cathay and the Way Thither, 77.
‖ Cathay and the Way Thither, 75.

kingdoms;* (6) Sumutu, Sumatra; (7) Lailai (Lo, or Lo hoh), *i.e.*, Southern Siam;† (8) Navang (?), Tinghor (?), and Kelanitai ?‡

In 1287 a second expedition was fitted out against Tun king, of which the command was again given to Togan, while a fleet was ordered to co-operate with the army. The Tungkingese were defeated in seventeen combats, and their capital, Chen chen, with a very rich booty, was captured. The King escaped by sea.§ Not satisfied with his victory, Togan rashly returned again during the hot season of 1288. The King of Tung king threatened a descent on the coast, and he there upon ordered the ports to be fortified; but the hot weather was a more difficult enemy. Once more it proved fatal to the Mongols, who were forced to retire towards Kwang si. They lost many men and two of their chief commanders in encounters with the natives. Togan was deprived of the government of Yunnan, and forbidden to appear at court. Meanwhile the King of Tung king submitted, and sent Khubilai a present of an image of solid gold.‖

While Khubilai was stretching his hands out towards the south and east a terrible rebellion on his northern frontier was sapping the influence of the Mongol Khakans in Mongolia. It was headed by Kaidu, his nephew. I have already traced it out in the former chapter, and described its different phases, and how it was more or less controlled by the skill of Khubilai's generals, who defeated both Kaidu and his confederates, and also put down the very serious rebellion of Nayan, in Eastern Tartary. In the end of 1287 Atchu, who had won such renown in the conquest of the Sung empire, died, and was honoured with the posthumous title of Prince of Honan. In the spring of the following year Khubilai was persuaded by his minister Sanga, much to the chagrin of his Chinese subjects, to convert the various palaces of the late dynasty into Buddhist temples;¶ and later on in the year the imprisoned Sung Emperor was sent to Putula, in Thibet, to learn the Buddhist doctrines. The Chinese literates, who cordially despised the Buddhists, were very angry with the young prince for not having put an end to himself rather than survive such an indignity.** The cruel exactions of the Mongol governors gave rise this year to several rebellions in the southern provinces. A judge of Fu kien, named Wangiun, made a report to the Emperor, in which he called attention to them. His representations were well received.††

Various public works were also carried on at this time with energy, the grand canal called Hoeitong, running from Tsining chau, in Shantung, to Ling tsing chau, in the same province, was opened, at least so say the narratives of De Mailla and Gaubil, but the latter's editor, in a note, says

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* Yule's Marco Polo, ii. 224. † Yule's Marco Polo, ii. 221. ‡ De Mailla, ix. 429.
§ De Mailla, ix. 430. Gaubil, 207. ‖ De Mailla, ix. 435-437. Gaubil, 208.
¶ De Mailla, ix. 435. ** De Mailla, ix. 439. Gaubil, 209. †† De Mailla, ix. 437.

the canal was not opened till the days of the Ming dynasty. Khubilai also built two magnificent colleges at Ta tu, *i.e.*, the Mongol part of Peking. He encouraged literary work of various kinds, and especially the literature of Buddhism, and we are told that in 1290, a copy of the Thibetan sacred books was written in large golden letters.* This year a census of those liable to pay tribute was made. It showed there were 13,196,206 families, comprising 58,834,711 persons, not counting fugitives and rebels.†

Meanwhile, Sanga, the Imperial treasurer, followed in the steps of his predecessor, and his exactions caused great suffering and complaint in the empire. Like Ahmed, he also gained the confidence of Khubilai so well that it was dangerous to speak against him. At length, after a career of four years, his turn arrived for punishment. An officer named Che li, who was much in the company of Khubilai, went with him on one of his hunting excursions, and there ventured to disclose to him the malpractices of Sanga. The Emperor was in a rage and ordered him to be chastised. This was done so effectually that the blood streamed from his nose and mouth. He was now asked to confess that what he had said was a calumny. "I have no special grudge against him," said Ché li. "It was only in the interest of your Majesty and of the empire that I spoke. If the fear of punishment had stopped my tongue I should have been unworthy of being in your service," &c. The Emperor ordered an inquiry. When this was instituted quite a crowd of accusations poured upon the head of the devoted minister. Khubilai was much enraged, in that the accusers had kept back information about his ill doing, and left it to the Imperial censors to determine what punishment they deserved; most of them were dismissed. Che li was sent with 300 soldiers to make an inventory of Sanga's goods.‡ The Khakan had one day asked for some pearls; he said he had none; but two boxes full were found in his house. These, he said, he had received as presents from the different provincial governors. The Emperor was naturally enraged at the effrontery of the minister, who retained the rich presents for himself, and passed off mere bagatelles upon him. He was condemned to death, and his goods were confiscated. With him perished a large number of his creatures. He had had the impertinence to put up a monument, with an eulogium on himself; this was now broken down.§ His place was given to Wan tse, who alone, among the employés of that chancellary, appeared, from the papers found in Ahmed's house, to have obtained his employment without bribery.

The tombs of the Sung Emperors were situated near the town of Chao hing, in Che kiang. A Lama of Thibet, who had an important appointment in the southern provinces, and was exceedingly avaricious,

* Gaubil, 212. † De Mailla, ix. 444.
‡ De Mailla, ix. 447. § De Mailla, ix. 447. Gaubil, 213.

proceeded this year to rifle these tombs, and to rob them of their golden and jewelled ornaments. He took the bones out of the tombs, and mixing them with those of oxen, &c., made pyramids of them. One cannot easily find an explanation for this senseless indignity, which seems to have been, and perhaps was, done expressly to irritate the Chinese, who had an especial antipathy to the Lamas. The mandarins had him arrested and imprisoned, but the Lama influence at the court was so strong that he was afterwards released, and even retained his lugubriously acquired booty.* The Chinese historians blame Khubilai very much for his conduct on this occasion, and on others, in which he allowed himself to be made the plaything of the Lama priests.†

In the end of the year 1291, a fleet was fitted out for the exploration and conquest of the Luchu islands, east of Fu-kien, but the commander having been killed on the way, the ships returned.‡ The first day of the year is a grand festival in China; the mandarins then severally do homage according to the prescribed ceremonial; this day is the first of that month, when the sun enters the constellation of the Fishes.§ An eclipse of the sun at anytime is held to be a bad omen. If it occur on the first day of the year, it is put down in the Chinese astrology as foreboding some impending disaster. The calculations showed that this would happen on the first day of 1292, and the day was ordered to be solemnly observed. The judicious Chinese did not fail to remind their Emperor that he should see to his conduct, to discover if there was anything in it, or in the affairs of State that needed reform. The eclipse happened as foretold, and was observed with becoming seriousness.‖ About this time a new code of laws was issued. Previously the country had been governed by the laws passed during the Kin dynasty, but these had been found to be too exacting.¶

Khubilai was constantly sending envoys to the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, whose ships brought to the port of Tsuen chau, the rare products of the Spice islands. Marco Polo, in describing the island of Java, says the great Khan never could get possession of it because of its great distance. Soon after Polo wrote this he tried with but scant success. His envoy, a Chinese mandarin called Mengki, returned home with his face branded; the punishment there awarded to highwaymen. Khubilai was furious, ordered a great fleet to rendezvous in the ports of Fu-kien, under the command of a general and admiral who had been in the Indian seas, and knew the language of Java. This armament consisted of 1,000 ships of all kinds, 30,000 soldiers, besides sailors, &c., and provisions for a year. It set out in January, 1293, and coasted along the shores of Cochin China. Having entered the great ocean, they came to the mountains (? islands) Kanlan, Yukia, Limata, and Keoulang.

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* Gaubil, 214. † De Mailla, ix. 448.
‡ De Mailla, ix. 449. § Gaubil, 215. Note. ‖ Gaubil, 216. ¶ De Mailla, ix. 450.

There they landed to cut timber for making transports. The King of Java (called Kuava by the Mongols) pretended to submit, and persuaded the Chinese commander to attack Kolang, a neighbouring kingdom with which he was at war. The King of Kolang was defeated in a battle which lasted from sunrise to mid-day, and in which his forces numbered 100,000. He submitted, but was put to death with his family.*

The Javanese having thus revenged themselves on the people of Kolang wished to be rid of the Mongols, and notwithstanding that he had sent in his submission, acknowledging Khubilai as his suzereign, and surrendered his royal seal, the King marched against the Mongol troops, and planted a force in an ambuscade, causing them much loss in their retreat to the coast. The expedition returned to China after losing 3,000 men. It was sixty-eight days on the way. It took back with it an immense booty in gold and precious stones, but Khubilai was much dissatisfied with its partial success, and also with the fact that instead of punishing; his officers should have made terms with his enemies. The chief officer instead of being rewarded was severely bastinadoed, and a large quantity of his possessions were confiscated.† Meanwhile the struggle on the northern frontier with Kaidu and his supporters continued more or less vigorously. In 1293, two hundred Juchis or Niuchis brought Khubilai a tribute of fish. Fishing was their sole occupation. Khubilai wished them to adopt a more settled life, and furnished them with cattle and agricultural implements, and sent officers into their country to furnish the same assistance to their countrymen.‡

Meanwhile Bayan, who commanded at Karakorum, and who for his wonderful successes and experiences was unrivalled among the servants of Khubilai, became the object of envy to the courtiers of the Emperor, who, succumbing to their advice, recalled him, and replaced him by his own grandson and heir Timur. He was appointed commander of the Imperial guards, and of the troops in the neighbourhood of the capital.

In the latter part of 1293 there appeared a comet, a great event in Chinese astrology; and the Emperor betook himself to the learned mandarins to consult them as to his conduct. They as usual advised him to be warned by the apparition to reform the administration of the empire. At this time, curiously, Khubilai fell ill and died. This was early in 1294, in the eightieth year of his age and the thirty-fifth of his reign. In the hall of the ancestors he is styled Chi tsu. The Chinese accuse him of an excessive devotion to the Lamas, a love of women and of money, and of being very superstitious. They accuse him of having wasted his resources in ill-devised and ill-executed expeditions to Japan, Cochin China, &c., and of having employed too many strangers. This last has always been a source of great jealousy to the Chinese.

* Gaubil, 217-219. De Mailla, ix. 451, 452. † Gaubil, 219. De Mailla, ix. 453.
‡ De Mailla, ix. 455.

The Mongols and western writers have formed a different estimate of him. His reign is the most glorious epoch in Mongol history, and he was certainly, as Gaubil says, learned and fond of learned men, courageous, enterprising, and magnificent.*

Khubilai was the sovereign of the largest empire that was ever controlled by one man. China, Corea, Thibet, Tung king, Cochin China, a great portion of India beyond the Ganges, the Turkish and Siberian realms from the eastern sea to the Dnieper obeyed his commands; and although the chiefs of the Hordes of Jagatai and Ogatai refused to acknowledge him, the Ilkhans of Persia (whose empire bordered on the Mediterranean and the Greek empire) were his feudatories; in fact, as D'Ohsson says, nearly all Asia was subject to him. This was in different ways. Thus while the great Khanates of the Ilkhans and of the Golden Horde owed him allegiance, probably sent him large quantities of riches as tribute, while their chiefs received investiture at his hands, their internal government was controlled entirely by their special rulers. Their history was probably similar to that of Canada. At first an integral part of the empire, then having a substantive government of their own, and owning only a mediate allegiance to the central Imperial authority. This was no doubt immense so long as the Mongol Imperial family was united; but with the rebellions of Arikbuka and Kaidu, and with the removal of the capital from Karakorum to China it became weaker, until a few reigns later it snapped altogether. The supreme Khan had immediate authority only in Mongolia and China, and it will be interesting to inquire how he administered this vast area.

To assist him, Khubilai had a council or cabinet of twelve officers, whom Marco Polo calls the twelve barons. Pauthier has found the same number mentioned in the Chinese annals. Of the first rank were two, styled Chin sang; one, minister of the right; the other, of the left. They had the appointment of the various functionaries of State, and also the control of their discipline.† Pauthier adds in a note that the number of these first ministers varied. At the accession of Khubilai in 1260 there was only one, who was named Mahmud, and who was a Muhammedan. From 1261 to 1265 there were two, and in 1265 and 1266 there were four, among them being Khandu and Bayan. This last statement agrees with the enumeration of Raschid, who says there were four Ching sang. Next to these were four Ping chang ching se, ministers of special departments; they had special control of military matters. They answer to the four Fan chan of Raschid, who says they acted as inspectors on behalf of the council. Thirdly, were four assessors: two of the right, Yau-ching; and two of the left, Tso ching; which corresponded to the Yer-jing, and Ur or U jing of Raschid; they answered to our under-secretaries of State. And lastly, two reporters on public affairs, Thsan ching; the San jing of Raschid.

* Gaubil, 222. † The Yuen se, Pauthier's Marco Polo, 329. Note.

I shall now extract Raschid's account of how the work of the council was done.

"As the Kaan generally resides at the capital," he says, "he has erected a place for the sittings of the Great Council, called Sing. According to established custom a lieutenant is appointed to the inspection and charge of the doors, and examines all the drafts of memorials that are presented.

"The name of the first tribunal is In. All the proceedings are copied and sent with the memorials to the tribunal called Lúsah, which is of higher rank than the other. Thence all is carried to the tribunal called Khalyún, and thence to the fourth, called Kuijún. This is the board which has charge of all that relates to the posts and despatches. The three first mentioned tribunals are under the orders of the last; and from it business is transferred to the fifth, which bears the name of Rusnáyi, and which has everything that concerns the army under its charge. Lastly, the business arrives at the sixth board, which is called Siúshtah.* All ambassadors and foreign merchants when arriving and departing have to present themselves at this office, which is the one which issues orders in council and passports. In our days this office is entirely under the management of the Amír Dáshiman.

"When matters have passed these six boards, they are remitted to the Council of State, or Sing, where they are discussed, and the decision is issued after being verified by the Khat Angusht or 'finger-signature' of all who have a right to a voice in the council. This 'finger-signature' indicates that the act, to which it is attached in attestation, has been discussed and definitively approved by those whose mark has been put upon it.

"It is usual in Cathay, when any contract is entered into, for the outline of the fingers of the parties to be traced upon the document. For experience shows that no two individuals have fingers precisely alike. The hand of the contracting party is set upon the back of the paper containing the deed, and lines are then traced round his fingers up to the knuckles, in order that if ever one of them should deny his obligation this tracing may be compared with his fingers and he may thus be convicted.

"After the matter has thus passed through all the boards, and has been decided on by the supreme authority, it is sent back to the tribunal before which it first came.

"The dignitaries mentioned above are expected to attend daily at the Sing, and to make themselves acquainted with all that passes there. And

* "These are the six boards of administration which still exist in China, under the names of King-Pu, Hing-Pu, &c. The titles given by Raschid do not seem to attempt any imitation of the Chinese names, and are probably those in use among the Muhammedans. The third board from the top, called Pingpu by the Chinese, has still authority over military affairs." Yule's Cathay and the Way Thither, 266. Note.

as the business to be transacted is very extensive, the Chingsang take their part in the writing that has to be done as well as the other members of the council whose positions we have detailed. Each takes his place, according to his degree, with a kind of table and writing materials before him. Every great officer has his seal and distinctive bearings. It is the duty of certain of the clerks to write down the names of all who attend daily, in order that a deduction may be made from the allowances of those who are absent. If any one is habitually absent from the council without valid excuse, he is dismissed.

"It is the order of the Kaan that the four Chingsang make all reports to him.

"The Sing of Khanbaligh is the most eminent, and the building is very large. All the acts and registers and records of proceedings of several thousands of years are there preserved. The officials employed in it amount to some two thousand."*

Such is Raschid's account of the council and its work. In the Yuen Se, or Imperial annals, we have further details about the administration of the empire. We are told that at his accession Khubilai ordered Hiu heng and Liau kien chung to search out precedents, and to arrange the administrative machinery of the empire. This was done. There were three classes of officials of the first rank. Those who had to do with the general administration, Chung chu sing; those who looked after military matters, Chu mi yuen; and the board of Imperial censors, who had to do with promotions, &c., Yu se thai.

Below these in rank were certain officers belonging to the interior management of the Court (nei). These included the officials about the Gourt (se): the superintendents of the Palace (kian); those charged with the Imperial guard (wei); those attached to the Treasury (fu).

Secondly, those who had to do with external matters, as (the hing sing) directors of the provinces: hing thai, financial directors; siuen wei sei, those charged with the public peace (*i.e.*, the police); and Lien fang sé, the bureau of intelligence.

In imitation of the ancient dynasties there were also created three great departments, styled san kung (the three dukes). The grand preceptor of the empire, tai sé; the grand reporter, tai chuan; and the grand conservator, tai páo. There was also a grand director of the armies, ta se thu; his lieutenant, se thu; and the grand chief of police, tai wei (*i.e.*, the great tranquilliser). Above all these was the president of the secretariat of State, chung chu ling. He had a silver seal, and derived his orders immediately from the Emperor.

We will now turn to the administration of justice. Pauthier says the number of judges of the Supreme Court varied a good deal. In 1260 there were sixteen; below whom were thirty-one magistrates. In 1269,

* Cathay and the Way Thither, 265-269.

seventeen and thirty-four magistrates. In 1270, eighteen and thirty-five magistrates. In 1271 they began to use seals. In 1290 they were divided into two provinces. In 1291 there were thirty-six secretaries attached to the grand court. Two more were added in 1294. These had a president and a first and second clerk over them. Attached to the grand court were also two Mongol secretaries; twelve chief historiographers, or keepers of the rolls, also Mongols; one keeper of the rolls, who was a Uighur, and a Mussulman, and two interpreters of the Uighur language; two officers charged with the seals, eight reporters, and a chief of police.*

Such was the central administration. We will now pass on to the government of the provinces. The part of the empire immediately under the control of Khubilai was divided into twelve great prefectures or governments, each controlled by a college or tribunal, styled Sing in Chinese.

1. The central province, upon which the rest were more or less dependent, comprised the present provinces of Shan tung, Shan si, Pehcheli, Honan north of the Yellow River, and part of Mongolia. It was also known as the entrails of the empire. Its chief city was Khanbaligh or Peking. It included 29 lu (circuits) and 8 chau (arrondissements). On it were also dependent 3 fu (departments), 91 chau, and 346 hien (cantons).

2. The province of the Northern Mountains (*i.e.*, of Mongolia proper). It included the lu of Honing, whose chief town was Karakorum. It was ruled by a military governor.

3. The province of Liau yang (including Liau tung, and probably Manchuria). It consisted of 7 lu and 1 fu, and had dependent upon it 12 chau and 10 hien. Its capital was Liau yang.

4. The province of Honan and the country north of the Kiang, including 12 lu, 7 fu, and 1 chau; on it depended 34 chau and 182 hien. Its capital was called Tung king during the Sung; Nan king under the Kin, and until 1288, when it was styled Pian lang. It was afterwards known as Kai fung fu.

5. The province of Shensi and other districts. In 1262 Shensi and Su chuan were formed into one administrative province, with its capital at King chau (Si ngan fu), whose name in 1279 was changed to Ngan si. In 1286 Su chuan was constituted a separate province. That of Shensi then comprised the modern province, with the greater part of Kan su to the right of the Yellow River, and part of the Ortus country. Its capital was in 1312 named Fong yuen (Si ngan fu). It included 4 lu, 5 fu, and 27 chau, and had 12 chau and 88 hien dependent upon it.

6. The province of Su chuan, included parts of Hu kwang and Kwei chau, and comprised 9 lu and 3 fu. On it were dependent

* Pauthier's Marco Polo, 328 and 332. Notes.

2 fu, 36 chau, 1 kiun (military camp), and 81 hien. It also contained some wild tribes named Man i, *i.e.*, barbarous strangers, *i.e.*, the Miaotze, who still remain there. Its capital was Ching tu.

7. The province of Kan su. It was constituted in 1281, and comprised all the country west of the Yellow River, known as Ho-si. It included 7 lu and 2 chau. Five others were dependent on it. Its chief town was Kan chau.

8. The province of Yun nan. It included the modern province with part of Kwei cheu and parts of Thibet and Burma, and included 37 lu and 2 fu. There were dependent on it 54 chau and 47 hien, besides several kiun or military encampments. Its capital was Chung-khing (Yunnan fu).

9. The province of Kiang che and other places, embracing Che kiang, Kiang nan, south of the Kiang, and the eastern part of Kiang si. It comprised 30 lu, 1 fu, and 2 chau, and on it were dependent 26 chau and 133 hien. Its capital was Hang chau, which when the Sung made it their capital in 1129, was named King se (the Quin say of Marco Polo).

10. The province of Kiang si and other places. It comprised 18 lu and 9 chau, and on it were dependent 13 chau and 78 hien. Its capital was Lung hing, now Nan chang fu.

11. The province of Hu kwang and other places, comprising 30 lu, 3 fu, and 13 chau, and having dependent on it 15 ngan fu se (*i.e.*, boards of pacification), 3 kikn, 3 fu, 17 chau, and 150 hien. Its capital was Wu-chang.

12. The province of Ching tung and other places, which comprised the kingdom of Corea. It included 2 ling fu (*i.e.*, superior departments) and 1 se. Its capital, the residence of a viceroy, was Fan Yang.

This enumeration is taken from the Yung se or Mongols annals, and I have abstracted it from Pauthier's Notes;* and also from Yule's Cathay and the Way Thither.† The chief towns of these provinces were seats of the tribunals styled Sing, and Raschid tells us that that of Khanbaligh alone had Ching sang among its members. The others had dignitaries bearing the title of Shijangi to preside over them, aided by four Fanchan and other members of council who had titles according to their dignities.

Besides the provincial councils there were local governors in the various cities, towns, villages, &c. In regard to these Raschid says: "In this empire of Cathay there are many considerable cities, each has its appropriate title marking a particular rank in the scale. The relative precedence of governors is indicated by that of the cities which they administer, so that there is no need to specify their dignities in the diploma of appointment, or to enter into curious questions of precedence. You know at once (by the rank of the cities to which they are attached) which ought to make way for another or to bow the knee before him.

* Pauthier's Marco Polo, 332-335. Notes. † *Op. cit.*, 270. Note.

These ranks or titles are as follow :—1, King (*i.e.*, Imperial residence, as in Peking, Nanking, &c.) ; 2, Du or Tu (Court or Imperial residence, as in Tatu, Shangtu, &c.) ; 3, Fu (a city of the first class, or rather the department of which it is the head, as in Wu chang fu, &c.) 4, Chau (a city of the second class, or district of which it is the head) ; 5, . . . (this is a blank in Khaproth's original); 6, Kiun, a chief military garrison ; 7, Hien, a city of the third order, or sub-district of which it is the head. Chin, a small town ; Tsun, a district.* Colonel Yule adds that the custom of naming a dignitary by the title belonging to the class of district under him still prevails in China.

The chiefs of the different prefectures, &c., were generally Mongols, or strangers from the west ; Muhammedans, Christians, and Buddhists. Many Muhammedans from Persia, Transoxiana, and Turkestan settled in China under the administrations of Abd ur Rahman, Seyed Edjell, and Ahmed, and the Chinese historians who praise his reign make it a cause of complaint against him that he did not employ Chinese officials instead of these double-dealing and crafty Turks and Persians to superintend his finances. Before the invasion of the Mongols, the literates, who had passed very searching examinations, were alone employed in the public offices. This class had greatly decayed. Khubilai restored the old Imperial college at Yen king (Pekin), which had fallen into decay ; the ablest professors in China were placed there, and the children of the best families studied at the same place. He also founded a second college under the direction of the Mussulmans at Ta tu.†

The communications between different parts of the empire were kept up by an elaborate post service. This post service was admirably managed. It is well described by Marco Polo.‡ He tell us Khanbalik, or Peking, was the focus where there met many roads ; along each of these roads at intervals of from twenty-five to thirty miles were situated post houses or hostelries, splendidly furnished, called by the Mongols Yambs (a Mongol word which Colonel Yule says the Tartars carried all over Asia). To some of these hostelries were attached 400 horses, 200 in use and 200 at grass. At others there were fewer. Where the messengers had to pass through roadless tracts, where neither house nor hostel existed, still there the station houses had been established, except that the intervals were greater, and the day's journey was fixed at thirty-five to forty-five, instead of twenty-five to thirty miles. 300,000 horses were employed in this service, and there were 10,000 stations. There were two kinds of State messengers, the foot and horse couriers; both wore broad belts with bells attached, and were stationed at intervals of three miles. The bells sounded the runner's arrival, and prepared a fresh man to take his place, and Polo says, that by this means news travelled a ten days'

* Rashid, in Yule's Cathay and the Way Thither, 262. † D'Ohsson, ii. 480.

‡ Colonel Yule's ed., i. 388.

journey in a day and a night, and the Khakan could eat fruit that had only been gathered twenty-four hours before at a distance of ten days' journey. The horse couriers, by the same system of relief, did from 400 to 500 miles in a day and night. He thus describes the method of procedure. He says, "the postmen take a horse from those at the station, which are standing ready saddled, all fresh and in wind, and mount and go at full speed, as hard as they can ride, and when those at the next post hear the bells, they get ready another horse and a man, equipt in the same way, and he takes over the letter or whatever it be, and is off full speed to the third station, where again a fresh horse is found all ready, and so the despatch speeds along from post to post, always at full gallop, with regular changes of horses, and the speed at which they go is marvellous. By night, however, they cannot go so fast as by day, because they have to be accompanied by footmen with torches, who could not keep up with them at full speed. These men are highly prized, and in order to keep up they have to bind their stomachs, chests, and heads with strong bands, and each of them carries with them a gerfalcon tablet, in sign that he is bound on an urgent express, so that if his horse breaks down on the road, or he has any other mishap, he can appropriate that of any traveller he meets, and make him dismount."

This elaborate system of posting which the Mongols so much patronised is referred to by nearly every traveller of the period. Similar expedients were used elsewhere, thus Colonel Yule says the Burmese kings used to have the odoriferous Durian transmitted from Tenasserim to Ava by horse posts, but he adds, "the most notable example of the rapid transmission of such dainties, and the nearest approach I know of to their despatch by telegraph, was that practised for the benefit of the Fatimite Khalif Aziz (latter part of the tenth century), who had a great desire for a dish of cherries from Balbeck. The Wazir Yakub ben Kilis caused 600 pigeons to be despatched from Balbeck to Cairo, each of which had attached to either leg a small silk bag containing a cherry."†

The capital of the Khakan, after the accession of Khubilai, was a new city he built close to the ancient metropolis of the Liao and Kin dynasties, which was formerly known as Yen king. Khubilai's city was called Tatu (*i.e.*, great court), corrupted by the Mongols into Taidu, or Daitu. It was separated from the ancient city, from which it was about half a mile distant, by a small river, and was also known as Cambaluk, *i.e.*, Khan baligh, the city of the Khan.‡ It is now known as Peking. It had in Polo's time, a circuit of twenty-four miles, and was in the form of a square. Its ramparts of earth fifty feet in width and fifty feet high were whitewashed and loopholed all round. A recent French account, cited

* Yule's Marco Polo, i. 390. † Yule's Marco Polo, i. 392.
‡ Pauthier's Marco Polo, 265.

by Yule, mentions that the same walls are still forty-five and a half feet high, and forty-seven and a quarter feet thick, the top forming a paved promenade, unique of its kind, and recalling the legendary walls of Thebes and Babylon.

Raschid tells us that in order to make these ramparts they built a framework of planks, between which they placed the damp earth, which they battened down with wooden rammers until it was solid and firm, when the planks were removed. It was necessary to make them thus because of the great quantity of rain that fell there.* At each corner was a great bastion, and on each side three gates over which palaces were built. Each gate was garrisoned by 1,000 men. The streets were straight and parallel with the sides, and the whole was thus divided into rectangular blocks of buildings like a modern American city. Outside each gate was a suburb inhabited by strangers and merchants. Besides the river a splendid canal communicated with the Gulf of Peh che li and formed a great highway for produce.

In the middle of the city was a great watch tower furnished with a water clock and a bell. This latter struck three times at night, after which no one must leave the city save to attend the sick or attend women in labour. The clock tower mentioned by Polo and a very elaborate water clock of the Mongol period still exist at Peking.† Khubilai lived at Tatu during the winter. His palace was a square building, enclosed by two walls, and each side of the outer one was a mile long; this wall was whitewashed and loopholed. At each corner, and in the centre of each side, was a large building used as an armoury, one stored with bows, a second with saddles, &c. One gate was only opened for the passage of the Emperor. Inside this enclosure was another enclosure with eight stores corresponding to those in the outer wall; these, according to D'Ohsson, were treasure houses. The walls were painted in bright colours, with battle scenes, &c. In the centre of this second enclosure rose the palace, "this consisted of a basement of masonry with a superstructure of timber, sculptured with beasts, birds, knights, idols, &c., and gilt." The same kind of palace, as Colonel Yule says, is still found in Burma, Siam, and Java. He supposes that the palaces of ancient Asokas and Vikramadityas of India were similarly built.‡ On each of the four sides a great marble staircase led to the top of the marble wall. In the great hall 6,000 people could easily dine. The outside of the roof was painted with vermillion, and yellow, and green, and blue, &c., and varnished until it shone like crystal. Between the two walls were parks and pleasure grounds, where fallow and white deer, gazelles and roebucks, musk deer and squirrels were kept. In one corner there was a lake stocked with fish. The earth excavated in making this lake formed a mound planted with evergreens of different kinds, and ornamented with blue or

* D'Ohsson, ii. 635. Note. † Yule's Marco Polo, i. 335. ‡ Marco Polo, i. 328.

green rock work; this mound was a mile in compass and a hundred paces in height. Polo says that wherever a beautiful tree existed, and the Emperor got news of it, he sent for it, and had it transported bodily, with all its roots and the earth attached to them, and planted on that hill of his. The larger ones were moved by elephants.

The parks he tells us were covered with abundant grass, and the roads through them being all paved and raised two cubits above the surface, they never became muddy, nor did the rain lodge on them, but flowed off into the meadows, quickening the soil and producing their abundance of herbage.*

Such were the winter quarters of the great Khan. We will now turn to his summer dwelling. Raschid says that "there were three routes between Peking and Kai ping fu, or Shan tung. One, forbidden to the public and reserved for the chase, probably passed by Chagan nor.† A second passed by the town of Chou chou, and followed the banks of the Sanguin; near that town were planted vines and other fruit trees, and near a neighbouring town named Semali, chiefly inhabited by people from Samarkand, were orchards like those found at Samarkand. The third route went by the defile named Si king (? the pass of Chu yung kuan), beyond which there was open country as far as Kia ping fu. Formerly the court passed the summer near the said town of Chou chou. Khubilai then built a palace east of Kai ping fu, named Leng ten, but abandoned it in consequence of a dream. The architects and others who were consulted suggested that a lake surrounded with meadows, near Kai ping fu, would be a good site. There was a kind of stone there used instead of wood; they collected a quantity of this, and also of wood, and they filled up the lake and its sources with lime and pounded bricks, above which they poured melted lead and tin. These foundations rose to the height of a man. The imprisoned water broke out into various streams, and produced fountains. On this foundation was built a palace in the Chinese taste," &c.

This palace was similarly built to the former one, painted in bright colours, and adorned with grotesque and other animals. About it was also a park stocked with game. The Mongols were always great patrons of falconry, and we are told the Khan kept there alone 200 gerfalcons, besides others. "He went every week to see his birds sitting in mew," says Polo, "and sometimes he rode through the park with a leopard (probably a chetah) behind him on his horse's croup, and if he saw any animal that took his fancy he slipped the leopard at it, and the game when taken was made over to feed the hawks in mew. At a spot in the park where there was a charming wood the Khan had another palace built of cane. It was gilt all over, and most elaborately finished inside. It was stayed on gilt and lacquered columns, on each of which was a

* Yule's Marco Polo, i. 326. † *Vide infra.* ‡ D'Ohsson, ii. 635, 636. Note.

dragon all gilt, the tail of which was attached to the column, while the head supported the architecture. The roof, like the rest, was formed of canes, covered with a varnish so strong and excellent that no amount of rain would rot them. These canes (bamboos) were a good three palms in girth, and from ten to fifteen paces in length. They were all cut at each knot, and then the pieces were split so as to form from each two hollow tiles, and with these the house was roofed. Every such tile had to be nailed down to prevent the wind from lifting it." This bamboo palace could be easily put up and taken down again. When erected it was stayed by more than 200 cords of silk.* Such were the luxurious surroundings of the great Emperor, the grandson only of the simple chief of Nomade shepherd of the Gobi. It was, says Colonel Yule, whilst reading this passage of Marco's narrative in old Purchas, that Coleridge fell asleep and dreamt the dream of Khubilai's paradise beginning.

In Xanadu did Khubla Khan
A stately pleasure dome decree,
Where Alph, the sacred river ran,
By caverns measureless to man,
Down to a sunless sea.
So twice five miles of fertile ground
With walls and towers were girdled round;
And there were gardens, bright with numerous rills,
Where blossomed an incense-bearing tree;
And here were forests, ancient as the hills,
Enfolding sunny spots of greenery.†

The site of Shangtu has been recently visited by Dr. Bushell.‡ On the route between Peking and Shangtu, Khubilai had another palace which is called Chagan Nor by Polo. It is no doubt the Arulun Tsaghan Balghassun, which Ssanang Setzen states that Khubilai built about the same time as Shangtu.§

Dr. Bushell, in his recent travels beyond the Great Wall, mentions having seen its ruins; they are known by the Chinese name of Pai cheng tzu, or white city, and are on the borders of the lake Chagan Nor.‖ It was doubtless merely a hunting seat, and Polo remarks it was attractive to the Emperor on account of the lakes and rivers in the neighbourhood, the haunt of swans, and of a great variety of other birds. Five different kinds of cranes are specified by the old traveller as being found in the adjoining plains. Dr. Bushell thus speaks of the same country. He says "it is filled with lakes and pools of water, the haunts of innumerable waterfowl. . . . . At the Ichinor, one of the largest lakes in the district, we found the water black with waterfowl, which rose in dense flocks, and filled the air with discordant noises. Swans, geese, and ducks predominated, and three different species of cranes were distinguished."¶

The court apportioned its period of residence at the various palaces

* Yule's Marco Polo, i. 263, 264. † Yule's Marco Polo, i. 269. ‡ Note one infra.
§ Ssanang Setzen, 128. ‖ Proceedings Royal Geographical Society, xviii. 154.
¶ Op. cit., 154.

with great regularity. Polo tells us that it remained at Shangtu during the months of June, July, and August, leaving there on the 28th of the last month, when the cane palace was taken to pieces.*

The Khakan kept a great number of white mares. Polo says more than 10,000 of them. These were looked upon almost as sacred. Their milk was reserved for the members of the Imperial family and of the tribe of the Oirats, to whom the privilege was granted by Jingis. When the Emperor set out on his return on the 28th of August, as I have said, the milk of these mares was sprinkled on the ground, so that the earth, the air, and the false gods should have a share of it, and that everything belonging to the Khakan should be blessed. This is a wide-spread custom, and still found among the Yakuts, Khirgises, &c.,† only at a different season. Colonel Yule suggests that the season was changed to correspond with the Festival of Water Consecration by the Lamas.‡

Polo relates that "when these mares passed across the country, and any one fell in with them, although he may have been the greatest lord in the land, he must not presume to pass until the mares had gone by; he must either tarry where he was or go a half day's journey round if need so be, so as not to come nigh them, for they were to be treated with the greatest respect."§

Khubilai's reign was a heyday for necromancers and medicine men of various kinds. There were weather sorcerers who claimed the power of preventing clouds or storms from passing over the spot on which the Khakan's palace stood. They came chiefly from Thibet and Kachmir. These weather conjurors are found nearly everywhere in Central Asia. Their nostrum is the jade stone.‖ Polo says that when a man was condemned to death, these people, apparently referring to the conjurors, cooked and ate his body, but not so if he died a natural death.¶ These conjurors also performed famous tricks, one of them, well known according to Colonel Yule among Buddhists old and new, is that of moving dishes, &c., on the table. Polo thus describes it: "When the great Khan is at his capital and in his grand palace, seated at his table, which stands on a platform some eight cubits above the ground, his cups are set before him (on a great buffet) in the middle of the hall pavement, at a distance of some ten paces from his table and filled with wine or other good spiced liquor, such as they use now when the lord desires to drink; these enchanters by the power of their enchantments cause the cups to move from their place without being touched by anybody, and to present themselves to the Emperor. This every one may witness, and there are often more than 10,000 persons then present." This and a great deal more of the necromancy practised by the Shamuns may be profitably compared with the similar exhibitions of modern spiritualism. Polo goes on to say

* Yule's Marco Polo, i. 264. † Yule, i. 272. ‡ Yule, *id.* § Yule's Marco Polo, i. 265.
‖ Colonel Yule's capital notes, Marco Polo, i. 272-274. ¶ Op. cit., i. 266.

that these conjurors would go to the Khan when the idol feasts were at hand, and tell him that the god, if he received no offerings, would send bad weather and spoil the seasons, &c. They then asked for so many black-faced sheep, such a quantity of incense, of lign-aloes, &c., to perform the sacrifices. These they obtained and then made a great feast in honour of their god, and held ceremonies with grand illuminations and incense of various odours, made from different aromatic spices, cooked the meat and set it before the idols and sprinkle the broth hither and thither, saying that in this way the idols got their belly full.*

From the first of March to the middle of May the court was occupied in the great annual hunt which was organised on a gigantic scale. Polo has much to say about the hunting establishment of the Khakan. They were presided over by two chief huntsmen called Chinuchi (? Chong-Itchi),† or keepers of the big dogs. Each of them had 10,000 men under him, one body dressed in red, the other in blue. Each time he went out for a hunt, one of these bodies with 5,000 dogs went towards the right, the other to the left, forming a great circle to enclose the game as in the earlier Mongol fashion. The two chief huntsmen were bound to supply the court with 1,000 head of game each day, from October to the end of March. Chetahs, lynxes, and also tigers were used in hunting wild boars, wild cattle, bears, wild asses, stags, &c., and like the modern Khirgises, the Mongols succeeded in training even the golden eagle, and used it in their Imperial falconry to catch wolves, foxes, deer, and wild goats.‡

The great hunt generally set out on the first of March. The Khakan took with him 10,000 falconers, with 500 gerfalcons, besides peregrines, sakers, and other small hawks and goshawks, to fly at the waterfowl. These were distributed over a great space of country, 100 or 200 at the most in a place. Each of the Emperor's and the grandees' hawks had a label attached to its leg, with the name of its owner and keeper upon it. All lost hawks, dogs, &c., were taken to a high official styled Bularguchi, or the keeper of lost property.

The Khakan travelled in a palanquin carried by four elephants. It was lined inside with gold plates, and outside with lions' skins; from this vantage he made his casts at the cranes, &c., that came by him. So that gouty and decrepid as he was, he could enjoy his sport without much exertion. At last he arrived at the camp, consisting of 10,000 tents.

The Khakan's tent is thus described by Polo. "The tent in which he holds his courts is large enough to give cover easily to a thousand souls. It is pitched with its door to the south, and the barons and knights remain in waiting in it, whilst the lord abides in another close to it, on the west side. When he wishes to speak with any one, he causes the

* Yule's Marco Polo, i. 267.

† Yule's Marco Polo, i. 357. ‡ Yule's Marco Polo, i. 353, et seq.

person to be summoned to the other tent. Immediately behind the great tent there is a fine large chamber where the lord sleeps, and there are also many other tents and chambers, but they are not in contact with the Great Tent as these are. The two audience tents and the sleeping chamber are constructed in this way. Each of the audience tents has three poles, which are of spice wood, and are most artfully covered with lions' skins, striped with black, and white, and red, so that they do not suffer from any weather. All three apartments are also covered outside with similar skins of striped lions, a substance that lasts for ever; and inside they are all lined with ermine and sable, these two being the finest and most costly furs in existence. For a robe of sable large enough to line a mantle, is worth 2,000 bezants of gold, or 1,000 at least; and this kind of skin is called by the Tartars, 'the king of furs.' The beast itself is about the size of a martin. These two furs of which I speak are applied and inlaid so exquisitely that it is really something worth seeing. All the tent ropes are of silk."*

The hunt continued till May. All the time, as Polo says, the Khakan did nothing but hunt about the cane breaks, and along the lakes and rivers. The country was strictly preserved for twenty days' journey round. From March to October was a close season for hares, stags, bucks, and roes, while from October to March anybody might hunt. In the middle of May the court returned to Khanbaligh, and after spending three days there in feasting, went on to the summer palace at Shangtu.

The luxury and pomp that were prevalent at the Mongol court after the accession of Khubilai were most remarkable. I will now give some examples.

At his great feasts Khubilai's table was elevated above the others. These were probably rows of small tables, each accommodating two persons, as in modern Chinese fashion. He faced the south, with his chief wife on his left; on his right the different princes of the Imperial stock, but lower, so that their heads were on a level with the Emperor's feet. Lower still, according to their ranks, sat the chief officers. The princesses and grand ladies were similarly ranged on his left. The great body of the soldiers and humbler guests seated themselves on the carpet. Near the Khakan's table was a great buffet or coffer, several feet each way, exquisitely wrought with figures of animals, carved and gilt. In it was inserted a great gold vessel of the capacity of a butt, filled with wine flavoured with spices; and at each corner a similar but smaller vessel. Besides these were many vessels of gold, each containing enough for nine or ten persons. Similar cups were scattered about the tables, one for every two persons, besides smaller ones with handles attached, with which the liquor was drunk. Various chamberlains walked about to see that the servants did their duty. Two very big men stood at the

* Yule's Marco Polo, i. 360.

entrance, to punish those who trod on the threshold of the door, a practice carefully guarded by the Mongols, as I have previously stated. Those who offended were stripped of their clothes or beaten severely. Those who waited on the Khakan had their mouths and noses covered with fine napkins of silk and gold, that their breath might not offend him, and whenever he drank the music played, and the grandees went down on one knee. Colonel Yule says these were probably formalities copied from the old Chinese ceremonial. After the repast jugglers and other performers were introduced to amuse the company.*

The 28th of September was Khubilai's birthday, and was celebrated with great festivity. The Khakan was dressed in his best robes, embroidered with strips of beaten gold, and was attended by 12,000 grandees in silk and gold, similarly but not quite so richly dressed, each one wearing a golden girdle. Some of these suits were so covered with jewels that they were valued, says Marco Polo, at 10,000 golden bezants. A present of one of these suits, together with a pair of boots made of Borgal, *i.e.*, Bulgarian or Russian leather, embroidered with silver threads, was made to each of his grandees three times a year, when all the courtiers wore dresses of the same colour as the Khakan's. On his birthday the Khakan held a grand reception, when the representatives of different countries made him presents, and the priests of the different religions offered up special prayers for him. The other great feasts were on New Year's Day and the Feast of Herds.† At the former the Khakan and all his subjects were dressed in white, and the Mongols still call the first month of the year Chagan, or Chagan Sara, *i.e.*, white, or *the* white month. (This was purely a Mongol custom. White was the mourning colour of the Chinese, and forbidden to be worn.)‡ Rich presents were on this day presented to the Khakan. If possible, a multiple of nine, the sacred number, was chosen for the number of articles; and Polo tells us Khubilai received more than 100,000 white horses richly caparisoned on one of these feast days. On the feast of the New Year his 5,000 elephants were also exhibited, covered with their housings of inlaid cloth, representing birds, beasts, &c. (Similar housings of cut cloth are still used in India.) The elephants bore coffers containing the Imperial plate and furniture. These were followed by camels, also richly housed, and laden with things needful for the feast. The grandees assembled in the hall, and the other people outside in view of the Emperor. When all were seated, a great prelate arose and cried out, "Bow and adore." Then all stooped down with their foreheads to the ground and worshipped the Khakan like a god.§ This prostration was repeated four times, and then the obeisance was repeated before a highly decorated altar, on which was placed a vermillion tablet with the Khakan's

* Yule's Marco Polo i. 338-342. † Yule's Marco Polo i. 345. ‡ Yule's Marco Polo, i. 348.
§ This is the well known Kowtow of the Chinese ceremonial.

name on it, and a censer of gold in front of it, with which the whole was cased. As I have said, Khubilai introduced the custom of worshipping the tablets of his ancestors in 1263. On the great feast days Polo mentions that a trained lion was led into the Khakan's presence, and made to do homage entirely unchained.

The accounts that Polo and other western writers give of the pomp and ceremony practised at the Mongol court would appear very exaggerated, could we not corroborate them from other sources. The following account, for which I am indebted to Pauthier, is a translation of the general ceremonial to be used at receptions at the Mongol court, as contained in the Yuen se, and dry as it is, it is still a wonderful picture of the lengths to which obsequious deference to a sovereign was then carried.

Three days before the ceremony, it was to be recited in the temple of the longevity of the Emperor, and of the ten thousand tranquillities, which was in consequence known as the temple of the education which raises the intelligence. Two days before, the throne room and its vestibule were to be put in order. At early dawn on the day of reception, the chamberlains (*aides des ceremonies*) were to introduce those invited, and conduct them to their places. The captains of the guard dressed in their special robes were to enter the grand guardroom called the Hall of Repose; they were to take their ivory tablets and make the prescribed genuflexions. The reporters of external affairs and the intendants of interior affairs were then to describe the details of the proposed ceremonial. They were to bow, prostrate themselves, and then rise. The Emperor was then to come out of his private apartments and mount the Imperial chariot, upon which cries (of greeting), and the cracking of the whips of the orderlies who exacted a respectful behaviour, were to be heard. Three chamberlains, with the interpreters of the palace, were then to conduct the assistants by the hand, right and left, to their places. The procession was then to enter. First, the captains of the guard preceded by heralds, the latter bearing axes (? halberds). They were to march to the door of the Hall of Great Light, and standing there with their faces to the north, were to make the crowd prostrate themselves, and then scatter themselves about the rooms, to the right and left, and cover the bronze vases with screens to protect them. The chamberlains were then to take the horses and chariots to their temporary resting-place. The introducers, with the commandant of the interior of the palace, were then to conduct the employés of the palace to posts whence they could regulate the crowd. They were to go as far as the stairs of the palace of the Empress, and take their ivory tablets in both hands, and make the prescribed genuflexions. The reporters of the exterior were then to go to the Empress, and inform her of their commission to bring her to the palace. She was then to mount her chariot; the Emperor's messengers and introducers were to conduct her through the crowd, as far as the eastern gate of the Emperor's palace, and make the crowd fall back to the enclosing wall.

The Emperor and Empress having mounted their couches, cries and cracking of whips were again to be heard. Three heralds were to open a way through the crowd.

The director of agriculture having announced that the hour had arrived when the cock finished crowing (Pauthier adds that the Chinese are very early risers, and the Emperor receives his ministers between four and five a.m.), the first introducer was to take the valets of the palace, dressed in their proper dress, to the Imperial pavilion, where they were to divide to the right and left, and enter by the doors known as the Essence of the Sun and the Flowers of the Moon. Those who were in the room were to rise, face one another, and make a passage. The valets of the palace were then to shout with a loud voice: "To the right and left; make way for the Imperial cortége." The commander of the troops meanwhile having all the doors guarded. All being ready, the mandarins and others there were to rise, and at the command of the first introducer, bow, and rise again. They were then to go as far as the Vermillion vestibule (*i.e.*, that of the Emperor), and make obeisance before the throne. The first orderly having announced that all was ready and well done, the chief tipstaff was to shout in a loud voice, "Salute profoundly." The other tipstaffs were to take up the cry and say, "Bow." "Salute profoundly." "Rise." "Salute again profoundly." "Rise." The chief tipstaff was then to shout, "The Emperor, whom may ten thousand joys attend, has arrived." The other tipstaffs were then to shout, "Regain your places." "Salute profoundly." "Rise." "Salute again profoundly." "Rise." "Bow." "Replace your ivory tablets in your girdles." "Bow." "Strike the earth three times with your feet." "Touch the ground three times with your foreheads." "Take your tablets from your girdles." "Salute profoundly." "Rise." "Salute again profoundly." "Rise." "Once more salute." "Rise." "Stand straight up." The chief tipstaff was then to shout, "Each one has performed his acts of respect." The two commissary inspectors, the banner bearers, and the commanders of the troops being ranged in two ranks, right and left, were now to enter the Imperial chamber; the inferior officers remaining outside. The master of the stables had a special post, while the chief standard-bearer stationed himself so as to offer the Empress and the ladies about her whatever they needed.

This part of the ceremony over, the grand master of the ceremonies was to introduce the minister of State, and the other functionaries of the empire in their State robes, causing them to enter by the gates of the Essence of the Sun and the Flowers of the Moon. Those who were seated were then to rise. The intendant of the palace was then to shout in a loud voice, "Civil and military officers of all ranks, open the ceremony with the three grand directors (San se): the war minister, the inspector general of instruction (moral, literary, and religious), and the minister of history of the right." All these having risen, the grand master of the

ceremonies was to shout in a loud voice, "Bow." "Rise." "Go to the Vermillion pavilion to salute the throne." The first orderly having announced that all was in order and well done, the chief tipstaff and his assistants were then to repeat the various orders they had given to the preceding section, as I have related. A master of the ceremonies was then to offer the ministers a glass of wine. They were then to be conducted two and two into the hall, before the throne room, where was a large company of musicians playing and singing, while young boys and girls were dancing. They were then to mount the staircase to the grand hall of the throne, where the most celebrated songs were to be sung, the airs being appropriate to the particular season. Having listened to these, the ministers were to go over an open gangway, to a place where they might recline on cushions; the orderlies were to stand there with their faces turned towards the north, awaiting orders. Merry music, &c., was to be performed before them. The under tipstaffs were then to shout that the music was to cease. A chamberlain was then to conduct the ministers by the south-east gate of the palace; the first chamberlain receiving them, and conducting them close to the Imperial couch, before which the ministers were to bow the knee. The music having ceased, the ministers were to recite the following prayer in a loud voice:

"Vast heaven which extends so far; earth which follows its will; we invoke thee, and we supplicate thee to cover the Emperor and Empress with blessings; grant that they may live ten thousand times a hundred thousand years."

The first chamberlain was to reply that it should be as prayed for. The ministers were then to prostrate themselves, rise, and resume their seats, and to take some wine. They were to replace their tablets in their girdles, take the cup offered them in both hands, and stand facing the north. Music was to be again resumed. The ministers were to drink to one another, the Emperor also taking the cup and holding it up. The chief tipstaff was once more to bid all present salute profoundly, the order was to be given in detail by the other tipstaffs nearly as before. The ministers were to take three draughts from the cup, which they were then to put down again. They were then to retire, conducted by the proper officials, and the music was once more to stop.

The tipstaffs were then to cry out, "Get yourselves in order again." Upon this the functionaries of the minister of rites were to carry the formula of prayer (li pu kuan), as also the two tables having on them the things used in the celebration of the rites, and to go below "the transverse steps," where a formula of prayer was to be read. Certain mandarins were then to go to a special projecting wing of the palace, where everything was to be ready, and bow. The formula of prayer was then to be distributed, read, and checqued. All were then to return and listen to a lecture on the ceremony of the rites. Mounting the steps, they

were to go through a process of genuflexion, and of reading the formula and retiring, &c., which is most tedious to read, and which ended by the series of salutations already described. After which the older Buddhist priests thé tao sé, and the foreign guests were to be ranged in order to present their compliments. After the ceremony all were to join at the banquet,* which is described graphically enough in Polo's narrative already quoted. This punctilious ceremonial was no doubt taken from the old regulations of the Chinese court. Some of its details may be better learnt from the plates attached to the travels of Ysbrand, Ides, and other old travellers, than from a mere description. Other detailed instructions were drawn up for other court ceremonies, as those practised on the Emperor's birthday, the annual reception of the great dignitaries of State, and the various sacrifices to the sky, the earth, &c.; but we must proceed with our narrative.

The Khakan had a body guard of 12,000 horsemen, called Keshichan, *i.e.*, "knights devoted to their lord." Kishik was the term used for the palace guards of the great Mogul in India, and also for the matchlocks and sabres, which were changed weekly from Akbar's armoury for the royal use. The royal guards in Persia who watch the King's person at night are called Keshikchi.† They are doubtless the same as the Kalakchi or Kalchi of Timur's Institutes. The name has probably a Mongol etymology.‡ This body guard was divided into four corps of 3,000 each, who watched the palace in turn for spaces of three days and three nights. The captains of these sections were no doubt the descendants of the four champions of Jingis Khan, referred to by Gaubil and De Mailla, and by them called Kue sie or Kiesie. I have referred to the suits of clothes presented to his body guards three times a year by the Emperor. I will now extract the following account of the Imperial official wardrobe (taken from the Mongol annals) from Pauthier.

"1. The head-dress and robes of the son of heaven. These were made of fine silk and dyed black. The State cap was covered with a flat piece surrounded with the same stuff (this piece was oblong and stiff and placed on the round cap which fitted the head like the top of a college cap, see Mailla's plate quoted below), from which hung strings. The upper robe was of sky blue. It was lined with flesh-coloured silk. Four bands with dragons and clouds surrounded it. The cap was surrounded with a border of fine pearls. Before and behind were twelve pendants, each formed of twelve pearls. Right and left were two bows of yellow silk, to which were hung fringes, with ear-rings in jade and other precious stones hung from them. Threads of raw yellow silk threaded with pearls were fixed round this cap of ceremony, while dragons and clouds were embroidered upon it in pearls. Here and there also were semée swallows, little willow trees, and bands of pearls meandering like a river, done in

* Pauthier's Marco Polo, 291-296. † Yule's Marco Polo, i. 337. ‡ Yule's Marco Polo, i. 337.

pearls. Either end of the girdle reached to the ground. This also was embroidered in pearls with flowers, swallows, willow trees, &c. To two silken bands were fastened pins, to which were attached the fringes that fell from the crown. Jade pins were also used to fasten the *coiffure*.

"The blue upper robe was decorated in bright colours, heightened by gilding, with the following ornaments :—One Imperial constellation, one sun, one moon, four ascending dragons, four dragons with double bodies, thirty-eight mountains, forty-eight fires, forty-eight wild birds, forty-eight tigers, and monkeys with long tails.

"The under robe was made of scarlet. Its shape that of an apron. It was ornamented with sixteen rows of embroidery. In each row were two water plants, one rice plant, two hatchets, and two of the characters called fu.

"The ordinary robe was made of a light white silk, with a border made of straps of yellow leather and silk. The garment that covers the knees (*i.e.*, a kind of kilt) was made of red silk, that which went round the legs being an elastic web. Its form was that of a short petticoat. On its upper part was embroidered a double-bodied dragon. From this garment hung an ornament in jade, another in precious stone named hing, another in jade resembling a precious stone, an ivory brooch, two pieces of the precious stone called hoang, ivory brooches from which were hung pieces of the hoang and hing stones. Below were animals' heads in silver, mixed with spangles in gold. Other precious stones were hung on each side in a second row, and on each side, attached to ivory brooches, were pieces of jade that made a noise in walking.

"The grand girdle was made of a piece of red silk and two of white. Its jade rings were set in gold, chiselled and burnished. Above were three jade rings ; below a species of purses in sky blue silk. The stockings were made of red silk in their upper part, while the shoes were also made of silk and decorated with various raised ornaments in gold."*

These State robes, again, were no doubt adopted from the old Chinese court dress. The cap of State just described was a very old institution, and has survived apparently to our own day. One of the same kind is figured by De Mailla.† He also describes how the Emperor Tao Tsao had one made as early as the year A.D. 218, and adds the following note :—

"Navarette describes having seen the Imperial State cap several times. He says its shape had a mysterious meaning. It was slightly oval in shape. Of twelve strings of pearls attached to it four hung over the eyes, to signify that the Emperor ought to have his eyes closed over those who brought any business before him, *i.e.*, that he should view what they had to say impartially. The four strings that fell over the ears meant that he should be deaf to the wiles of the rich or the entreaties

* Pauthier's Marco Polo, 285, 286. Notes. † Vol. i. 27.

of the poor, and be only open to law and justice. The four strings that fell behind signified with what a combination of judgment, insight, reflection, and care princes ought to rule their conduct, and how well informed they ought to be of the affairs of government. This cap was worn on State ceremonies. The grandees of the court wore similar ones, differing only in the number of strings or bands. The judges of ancient Egypt also had a gold chain with a precious stone attached hanging behind them, which they called the truth."*

The size and shape of the Imperial garments were subject to prescribed rules, which are set out in the Yuen se, which also specifies the particular costumes proper to the various State ceremonies. It also describes the various Imperial equipages—the chariot of jade, of gold, of ivory, of leather, and of wood, so called from the material that predominated in its construction.†

These luxurious surroundings were no doubt borrowed, as similar things have been borrowed by the Manchus of our day, from the Chinese. Like them, nevertheless, the Mongols kept up a special organisation, that of their army, which proves better than ought else that their position in China was that of a huge encampment; that they were strangers there, and failed to assimilate with the indigenes. At the head of each province was placed a commander of a tuman, or 10,000 men, who collected the taxes, and accounted for the same to the exchequer. The army, consisting of Mongols and Chinese, was divided between the town and country. The soldiers enlisted for six years. The Mongol portion were all cavalry, and retained their nomade habits, bartering their cattle for the provisions they needed. As a symbol of his authority, each officer of rank had a silver or gold plate given to him. These plates were called Paizahs, probably from the Chinese Pai-tseu, a tablet.‡ A captain of 100 men, Polo tells us, had a tablet of silver; the captain of 1,000, a tablet of gold or silver gilt; while the commander of a tuman, or 10,000 men, had a golden tablet with a lion's head. Several silver paizahs have been found in the Russian dominions, one of which is figured by Colonel Yule. One found in the government of Yenisei is 12·2 inches long and 3·65 inches broad. Schmidt has read its inscription thus:—"By the strength of the eternal heaven may the name of the Khakan be holy. Who pays him not reverence is to be slain and must die." Most of these inscriptions are in the Mongol language and the Baspa character. One has been found in the Uighur character. A general who commanded 100,000 men was entitled to a gold paizah, weighing 300 saggi (D'Ohsson says fifty ounces), marked with the figure of a lion below the sun and moon. This entitled him to a golden umbrella, carried on a spear above him, and to sit on a silver chair or throne. Polo adds, "that to certain very great lords there was also given a

* De Mailla, iv. 69, 70. † Pauthier, op. cit., 286. ‡ Yule's Marco Polo, i. 315.

tablet with gerfalcons on it; this being only to the very greatest of the Khakan's barons, and it conferred on them his own full power and authority, so that if one of these chiefs wished to send a messenger any whither, he could seize the horses of any man, be he even a king, and any other chattels at his pleasure."* Colonel Yule says that the shonkar or gerfalcon occurs on certain coins of the Golden Horde struck at Serai, otherwise he has not found other reference to its use as a State symbol.† Pauthier compares very aptly these official tablets with the bullæ used by the Byzantine Emperors and other mediæval sovereigns. These also were made of gold, silver, and lead, the golden bullæ being only used on important occasions.‡

There was little coin used for currency, except paper money; this was made from the inner white bark of the mulberry tree. The notes of different sizes represented different values. Colonel Yule says that Khubilai made an issue of such notes in the first year of his reign, *i.e.*, in 1260, and continued to issue notes copiously till the end. In 1287 he put out a complete new currency, one note of which was to exchange against five of the previous series of equal nominal value. In both issues, the paper money was in official valuation only equivalent to half its nominal value in silver. The paper money was called tchao. Of his first issue there were, 1st, notes of 10, 20, 30, and 50 tsien or cash; 2nd, notes of 100, 200, and 500 tsien; and 3rd, notes of strings or thousands of cash, in other words, of liangs, taels, or ounces of silver. The Chinese liang is valued roughly at 8od. in silver, or 120d. or 10 shillings in gold; the latter metal being then of greater nominal value. The nominal value of the whole of the notes issued in the thirty-four years of Khubilai's reign was £124,827,144. The credit of these notes constantly diminished, so that in 1448, in the reign of the Ming dynasty, a note of 1,000 cash was only worth three.§

Each note was signed and sealed by several officials, and finally stamped with an official seal in vermillion. A note which has survived from the days of the Ming is figured by Colonel Yule.‖ All foreign merchants who had gold, or silver, or gems for sale, had to dispose of them to the Imperial mint, which paid liberally for them. Any one needing these commodities to make into plate girdles, &c., had to buy them from the mint. Old notes could be exchanged for new ones by paying a discount of three per cent. These notes were for awhile introduced into Persia by the Ilkhan Kaikhatu. Colonel Yule has the shrewd commentary that block printing was practised at least for this one purpose, at Tebriz, in 1294. This was very far on its way to Europe. With Khubilai, as with his predecessors, religion was treated as a political matter. The Khakan must be obeyed; how man shall

* Yule's Marco Polo, i. 313. † Op. cit., i. 317. ‡ Pauthier's Marco Polo, 257
§ Yule's Marco Polo, i. 378-385. ‖ Marco Polo, vol. i. 378.

worship God is indifferent.* He however professed himself a Lamaist, to which faith he was converted by the Empress Jambui Khatun. This was very distasteful to the Chinese grandees, who were for the most part followers of Confucius, a philosophical sect, which has always contemned Buddhism as a system of idolatry. The Khakan was, however, very catholic; he counted Christ, Muhammed, Moses, and Sakyamuni or Buddha, as the four great prophets of the world, and addressed prayers to them all. He also took a part in the great festivals of the various religions. The only sect which was persecuted was the curious sect of Ascetics, known as Tao-sé, whose books were ordered to be burnt throughout the empire in 1281. The Nestorian Christians had a resident bishop in China. In 1278, Nicholas III. sent some Franciscan missionaries to the court of Khubilai. In 1289, John of Monte Corvino, with some other monks, set out on a similar errand; he afterwards became Archbishop of Peking. There were also many Muhammedans at the court. I have already mentioned that they for awhile lost the favour of Khubilai. D'Ohsson says that the Christians had aroused Khubilai's hatred of the Muhammedans by quoting to him the celebrated passage from the Koran. "Kill those who adore many gods." Having assembled the Mussulman doctors at the court, he asked them if their sacred book contained the passage. They could not deny it. "And you believe," said Khubilai, "that the Koran came from God?" "We don't doubt it," was the answer. "If God then has ordered you to kill the infidels, why don't you obey him?" "Because the time has not come; we are not yet able," was their reply. "But I am able to destroy *you*," and he ordered them to be executed. The Mussulman employés about the court begged for a reprieve, and that he would summon some one better instructed in the law. They went for the Kadhi. "It is true," he said, "that God has ordered us to kill those who worship many gods, but by this is meant those who don't accept a deity supreme over all, and as you put the name of God at the head of your enactments, you cannot be placed in this class." Khubilai was satisfied, and set the other doctors at liberty.† Some time after some Muhammedan merchants having taken some white eagles and falcons from the Khirgises as a present to the Khakan, the latter sent them a present of some food from his own table. They refused to eat because the animals of which they were composed had not been killed in the orthodox fashion. Annoyed at this, and instigated by the Buddhists and Christians, he revived the ordinance of Jingis, forbidding the killing of animals in the Moslem fashion, and offering rewards to informers. For seven years there was a sharp persecution, and many poor people grew rich by the discreditable art of accusing the unlucky Muhammedans. The edict was withdrawn at the representation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sanga, who assured

* Yule's Marco Polo, i. 311. † D'Ohsson, ii. 492, 493.

the Khakan that Muhammedan merchants would no longer visit his court. Marco Polo mentions that Khubilai employed as many as 5,000 astrologers at the court, Christians, Muhammedans, and Chinese; and that he had an astrolabe, on which the planetary signs, and the hours, and critical points of the year were marked. By means of this, the different aspects of the moon and planets were examined by the Christian, Muhammedan, and Chinese astrologers, and disease, murrain, thunderstorms, or tempests were predicted; the results being qualified by the expression that "It lies with God to do less or more according to his pleasure." The results were written down by different observers, and those whose predictions were the most correct, naturally gained great credit. Printed almanacks have long been a marked feature among the Chinese. In 1328, as many as 3,123,185 copies were printed, of three different sizes, besides a special one for the Muhammedans. In these calendars, lucky and unlucky days were marked; also good days for marrying, or undertaking a journey, making dresses, buying or building, &c.*

Among the public works carried out by Khubilai none was more magnificent, and none has proved more lasting and valuable than the Grand Canal which joined the capital with the more fertile districts of China, and which to this day supports on its waters an almost incredible population. Its origin and construction have been described by Raschid, and I shall take the liberty of extracting Colonel Yule's translation of the passage.

"Two important rivers pass by Khanbaligh and Daïdu. After coming from the direction of the Khakan's summer residence in the north, and flowing near Jamjál, they unite to form another river. A very large basin, like a lake in fact, has been dug near the city and furnished with a slip for launching pleasure boats.† The river had formerly another channel, and discharged itself into the gulf of the ocean, which penetrated within a short distance of Khanbaligh. But in the course of time this channel had become so shallow as not to admit the entrance of shipping, so that they had to discharge their cargoes and send them up to Khanbaligh on pack-cattle. And the Chinese engineers and men of science having reported that the vessels from the provinces of Cathay, from the capital of Máchin,‡ and from the cities of Khingsaï and Zaitún no longer could reach the metropolis, the Khan gave them orders to dig a great canal, into which the waters of the said river and of

* Yule's Marco Polo, i. 401.

† The two rivers are the Sha-ho and Peho, which unite below Peking, afterwards bearing the latter name. The lake is that called Thaï-i-tchi or Si-haï-tsu, to the east (*west*) of the Imperial palace.

‡ Here we find the "capital of Machin" distinct from Kinguzé. It is probably Chinkalan or Canton that is meant. The author refers here to the extension of the Great Canal towards Peking by Kublai.

several others should be introduced. This canal extends for a distance of forty days' navigation from Khanbaligh to Khingsai and Zaitun, the ports frequented by the ships that come from India and from the capital of Máchin.* The canal is provided with many sluices intended to distribute the water over the country; and when vessels arrive at these sluices they are hoisted up by means of machinery, whatever be their size, and let down on the other side into the water. The canal has a width of more than thirty ells. Khubilai caused the sides of the embankments to be revetted with stone in order to prevent the earth giving way.† Along the side of the canal runs the high road to Máchin, extending for a space of forty days' journey, and this has been paved throughout, so that travellers and their animals may get along during the rainy season without sticking in the mud. The two sides of the road are planted with willows and other shady trees, and no one is allowed, whether soldier or otherwise, to break branches of those trees or to let cattle feed on the leaves. Shops, taverns, and villages line the road on both sides, so that dwelling succeeds dwelling without intermission throughout the whole space of forty days' journey." ‡

I have mentioned the enterprising expeditions Khubilai sent to the islands of the Eastern Archipelago in search of rarities, &c. Marco Polo expressly says he sent to Ceylon to try and buy the celebrated ruby, for which he offered the ransom of a city, but the King would not surrender it.§ He also sent there for much more precious objects, namely, for some relics of Buddha. This was in 1284.

"The ambassadors," says Marco Polo, "with a great company, travelled on by sea and land until they arrived at the island of Seilan, and presented themselves before the King. And they were so urgent with him that they succeeded in getting two of the grinder teeth, which were passing great and thick, and they also got some of the hair, and the dish from which that personage used to eat, which is of a beautiful green porphyry."‖ This story of the embassy in search of the sacred alms dish and the teeth is confirmed by the narrative of Ssanang Setzen, and by a Chinese narrative furnished by Mr. Wylie to Sir Emerson Tennant, and quoted by Colonel Yule;¶ but the Mongol Khan's messengers went even further. They got as far as Madagascar, whence they brought him a feather of the famous roc, which was stated to measure ninety spans, while the quill part was two palms in circumference!!! They

* Here we find the "capital of Machin" distinct from Kingssé. It is probably Chinkalan or Canton that is meant. The author refers here to the extension of the Great Canal towards Peking by Kublai.

† The earthen embankments in this part of the canal were supported by retaining walls of coarse grey marble cut into large blocks, and cemented together by a kind of mortar. Those walls were about twelve feet in thickness, and the large stones on the top were bound together with clamps of iron. (Staunton, ii. 392.)

‡ Cathay and the Way Thither, 258, 259.

§ Yule's Marco Polo, ii. 254. ‖ Op. cit., ii. 259. ¶ Op. cit., 264.

also brought two boars' tusks which weighed more than fourteen pounds apiece. Colonel Yule identifies with great probability the roc with the æpyornis, and the great boar with the hippopotamus.*

Gaubil says that Khubilai had five principal wives; Von Hammer that he had seven; Marco Polo that he had four.† Of these, the chief one, who seems to have had a markedly higher position, was Jambui Khatun.‡ Polo says that each of the chief wives had a special court, very grand and ample, none of them having fewer than 300 damsels, besides many pages, eunuchs, &c., so that each of them was attended by not less than 10,000 persons. Among the Mongols, the Kunkurats were celebrated for the beauty of their women, and supplied most of the wives to the Khakan. Commissioners were regularly sent into the north, who selected several hundreds of young girls, whose points of beauty they discriminated, estimating some at sixteen, others at seventeen, eighteen, or twenty carats; and whatever standard the Khakan may have fixed, whether twenty or twenty-one carats, these were selected, a price paid to their parents, and they were sent to the court, where a fresh selection took place by a council of matrons; "and these old ladies," says Polo, "make the girls sleep with them in order to ascertain if they have sweet breath (and do not snore), and are sound in all their limbs." The few who passed these competitive examinations attended upon the Khakan, relieving each other by sixes. The rejected were employed in the palace, in the kitchen, about the wardrobes, &c. They generally married the officers about the court, and received a *dot* from the Khakan.

Khubilai is described by the Venetian traveller whom I have so often quoted, as of good stature, neither tall nor short, but of a middle height, with a becoming amount of flesh, and shapely in all his limbs. His complexion white and red, his eyes black and fine, the nose well formed and well set on. He was of a benevolent and kindly disposition. Polo says he sent messengers about the empire to relieve those who had suffered from bad seasons, who had lost their cattle by murrain, &c. So punctilious was he that, we are told, if a chance shot from his bow struck any flock or herd, whether belonging to one person or to many, and however big the flock might be, he took no tithe of it for three years. If an arrow struck a boat full of goods, that boat-load paid no duty, for it was thought unlucky that an arrow should strike any one's property, and the great Khan said it would be an abomination before God were property that had been struck by the divine wrath to enter into his treasury.§ He had the highway planted with rows of trees, a few paces apart, so that people might not lose their way, and he was encouraged in this by his astrologers, &c., who told him that he who plants trees lives long. Where trees would not grow, he had pillars or

* Op. cit., ii. 347-354. † Yule's Marco Polo, i. 320. ‡ D'Ohsson, ii. 500.
§ Yule's Marco Polo, i. 393.

stones set up.* Public granaries were established, in which grain was stored in abundant harvests, where it would keep for three or four years, and was sold cheap in times of dearth. Polo also describes the Khan's munificent alms and generosity. A large number of poor pensioners were in receipt of wheat, &c.; while at the public almshouses any one might daily get a loaf hot from the baking. He says 30,000 people availed themselves of this. He also supplied the poor with clothes, levying a tithe upon all wool, hemp, &c., for the purpose; and as the artizans were bound to give a day's work weekly, these were easily made. In a similar manner the army was clothed. This benevolence was no doubt due to the influence of Buddhism. Polo says, before they were converted the Tartars never practised almsgiving. Indeed, he says, when any poor man begged of them, they would tell him, "Go, with God's curse, for if he loved you as he loves me, he would have provided for you."†

In reviewing the life of Khubilai, we can hardly avoid the conclusion which has been drawn by a learned authority on his reign, that we have before us rather a great Chinese Emperor than a Mongol Khan. A Chinese Emperor, it is true, wielding resources such as no other Emperor in Chinese history ever did, yet sophisticated and altered by contact with that peculiar culture which has vanquished eventually all the stubborn conquerors of China. Great as he was in his power, and in the luxury and magnificence of his court, he is yet by no means the figure in the world's history that Jingis and Ogotai were. Stretching out their hands with fearful effect over a third of the human race, their history is entwined with our western history much more than his. Big as the heart of the vast empire was, it was too feeble to send life into its extremities for very long, and in viewing the great Khakan at the acme of his power, we feel that we shall not have long to wait before it will pass away. The kingdoms that had been conquered so recently in the West were already growing cold towards him, and were more in form than in substance his own. This was no doubt inevitable, the whole was too unwieldy, its races too heterogenous, its interests too various. Yet we cannot avoid thinking that the process was hastened by that migration from the desert to the luxurious south, from Karakorum to Tatu and Shangtung which Khubilai effected, and which speedily converted a royal race of warriors into a race of decrepit sensualists.

In the next chapter we shall trace out this process. Meanwhile it must not be forgotten how very much the West was indebted for the revival of culture to the Mongol conquests. Many of the ideas and notions which we have learnt to believe were intuitively discovered in Europe in the fourteenth century, were brought there by those travellers whose voyages to Cathay were made possible by the firm hand with which

* Yule's Marco Polo, i. 394. † Yule's Marco Polo, i. 398.

the desert robbers were controlled by the Mongols. Block printing, bank notes, gunpowder, the mariner's compass, good roads, posting arrangements, wheeled carriages, and a number of other discoveries that mark a revolution in the arts of life, were, I believe, made known in the West entirely by the Mongol conquest. Those notions of religious toleration, of orderly government, of equality of justice, and of political sagacity that began to infilter into Europe through the Italian universities came thither, I believe, from the far East, where they were both known and practised. And if we have learnt to be hypercritical of that most ancient civilization whose rules and methods have become crystallized and formal, we must allow that in the thirteenth century at least there was life and vigour enough in it, and that if we would point the student of the history of the thirteenth century to the area where he may best gather political, social, and artistic lessons, we must point to the realms of the Mongol Khakans, and in doing so shall bid him occupy himself very largely with him whom Marco Polo styles "the Great Khan," the generous patron of the wise and the good of all creeds and tongues, Khubilai Khan.

Note 1.—Shangtu. The ruins of Khubilai's summer residence have been lately visited by Dr. Bushell, and I shall extract his account of them.* He says they are situated 80 li to the north-west of Dolonnor, and are now known by the Mongol name of Chao naiman sume hotun, the city of 108 temples. "The city has been deserted for centuries, and the site is overgrown with rank weeds and grass, the abode of foxes and owls, which prey on the numerous prairie-rats and partridges. The ground is but slightly raised above the bed of the river, which flows past the south-east at a distance of four or five li from the city wall, while it is overshadowed on the opposite side by the Hingan range of mountains, trending south-west, north-east, and rising into lofty peaks farther north. The walls of the city, built of earth, faced with unhewn stone and brick, are still standing, but are more or less dilapidated. They form a double enceinte, the outer a square of about sixteen li with six gates—a central, northern, and southern, and two in each of the side walls; while the inner wall is about eight li in circuit, with only three gates—in the northern, eastern, and western faces. The south gate of the inner city is still intact, a perfect arch 20 feet high, 12 feet wide. There is no gate in the opposite northern wall, its place being occupied by a large square earthen fort, faced with brick; this is crowned with an obo or cairn, covered with the usual ragged streamers of silk and cotton tied to sticks, an emblem of the superstitious regard which the Mongols of the present day have for the place, as evidenced also by the modern legendary name—"the city of 108 temples." The ground in the interior of both inclosures

* Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, 156, 157.

is strewn with blocks of marble and other remains of large temples and palaces, the outline of the foundations of some of which can yet be traced; while broken lions, dragons, and the remains of other carved monuments, lie about in every direction, half hidden by the thick and tangled overgrowth. Scarcely one stone remains above another, and a more complete state of ruin and desolation could hardly be imagined, but at the same time everything testifies to the former existence of a populous and flourishing city. A broken memorial tablet was found, lying within the north-east angle of the outer city amid many other relics, on a raised piece of ground, the site evidently of a large temple. The upper portion, projecting above the surface of the ground, contained an inscription of the Yuan dynasty, in an ancient form of the Chinese character, surrounded by a border of dragons boldly carved in deep relief. This tablet was erected by the Emperor Shih-tsu (Kublai Khan), the founder of the Yuan dynasty, in memory of a Buddhist chief priest of high rank, head of the monastery. The lower half of the massive marble slab lies doubtless buried beneath the grass, but we were unable to get at it for want of proper tools. Outside the city proper, as described above, there is yet a third wall, smaller than either of the others, but continuous with the south and east sides of the outer city wall. This is now a mere grassy mound, enclosing an area estimated at five square miles, to the north and west of the city. This must be the park described by Marco Polo."

Note 2.—The Ho chang and Tao sé. I have used these terms two or three times without explanation. The former is the Chinese name for the Lama Buddhists. The latter has been shown to connote the curious sect otherwise called Bonpo, and which seems to be a kind of reformed Shamanism. Its great apostle and saint was Lao tse or Lao kiun, who was born in the reign of Ting wang of the Chen dynasty. It is a curious mixture of asceticism and fetishism.* I shall have more to say about both sects in a future chapter.

Note 3.—The Balish. This term occurs frequently in Mongol history, and a few words ought to be said about it. The balish was the Mongol money of account, its value is not very well ascertained. The author of the Tarikh Jihankushai (*i.e.*, Ala ud din Atta Mulk Juveni) says that the balish of gold and the balish of silver represented a weight in gold or silver equivalent to 110 miskals. He adds that the silver balish was worth in Persia, in his day, 75 rokni dinars. Each dinar of the weight of four danks. Vassaf says the gold balish was worth 2,000 dinars, the silver balish 200 dinars, and the paper balish 10 dinars; while the author of the Rauzat ul Jennat says the gold balish was worth 500 dinars. Lastly, Odoric, the Franciscan traveller in China, says that in 1320 the paper balish was worth one and a-half Venetian florins. As D'Ohsson says, it is impossible to reconcile these statements, except by the conclusion that

* Yule's Marco Polo, i. 285-290.

the value of the balish suffered great variations.* The Arabic miskal, according to Mr. Maskelyne, was a weight equivalent to seventy-four grains troy, the dinar and bezant were coins of about the value of half a sovereign.†

Note 4.—Khubilai, according to Von Hammer, left twelve sons, of whom seven bore the title of Wang, or King. Their names were, 1, Jurji or Dorje. 2, Ching kin (in the Chinese authorities Yutsung, Wang of Yen, *i.e.*, old Peking). 3, Mankola, Wang of the Pacified West; Polo says he was King of Kenjanfu or Shensi. 4, Numukan (Pacifying Wang of the North). 5, Kuridai. 6, Hukochi, Wang of Yunnan; Polo calls him King of Carajan. 7, Aghrukji Ukuruji or Gaoluchi, Wang of Siping or Thibet. 8, Abaji (? Gaiyachi). 9, Khokhochu or Gukju, Wang of Ning or Tangut. 10, Kutuk-timur. 11, Togan (Wang of Chinnan); he commanded on the frontier of Tung king, and having failed in his campaign there in 1288 was disgraced. 12, Temkan.‡

Note 5.—Since writing the account of Khulagu's campaign I have met with an account of his march by one of his companions, the Chinese commissary Liau Yan. This account, which I had overlooked, is given at length in the introduction to Pauthier's Marco Polo, and as it describes in some detail the route that must have been followed by most travellers from the West, I have abstracted it and made some observations. The latter are contained within brackets. From Holin (Karakorum) we travelled through a country watered by rivers towards the north-west for about 200 li (twenty leagues). Our way was sensibly uphill. We then halted; afterwards we crossed the Han hai (*i.e.*, the mountains of Khanggai). These were very high and cold, and although the sun was sometimes very hot there, yet there was always snow. These mountains, full of rocks, were partially covered with pines, which formed their only ornament. Turning to the south-west for some seven days, they crossed the frozen desert of Khanggai. After a distance of 300 li the level of the country sensibly lowered. There was a river several li in width, called the Hoen mu lien, *i.e.*, Hoen muran (doubtless the Jabkan). This swells considerably in winter.[4] They traversed it in boats. After several days they reached the river Lung ko. (The Chinese editor says this is the Ulung ku, which flows 500 li south-west of Ko putu. It is doubtless the Arungu, the feeder of the Kizilbash lake, along whose banks the road still passes.) Marching again towards the north-west, they joined the southern route to Pi chi pa li (Bishbalig). This is, in fact, the present route from Tarbogatai to Kar karasu and Bishbalig. In this neighbourhood they grew corn and millet. The river splits into several channels, which fell into a lake with the circumference of 1,000 li, which was called Khi tse li pa se (*i.e.*, Kizilbash). In this were many fishes good to eat, and also good natural weirs of stone which assisted the fishermen.

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* D'Ohsson, ii. 641. Note. † Yule's Marco Polo, ii. 25 and 173. ‡ Yule's Marco Polo, i. 323

In travelling a little to the west there was a town called Nieman. A river Nam is mentioned in the map before me as situated in this very place, a little north of the Ayar noor, and separated from lake Kizilbash by the Olkhotshor mountains only. More again to the south-west was the town of Polo or Boro (this in the text of the above chapter has been written Pfuhle, as erroneously given by Von Hammer), where only millet and rice were sown. The mountains were covered with larch trees. Other trees could not take root there. Stones which had rolled down bestrewed the land. In the town were many houses and great markets. There were gardens, in which were houses built of earth, in these metal washing and the polishing of precious stones was carried on. The doors and windows were all furnished with glass. North of the town was the mountain Haithie (*i.e.*, the iron mountain on the sea). The wind there blew so violently that travellers were blown into the sea. (This sea and the boisterous wind are mentioned by Carpino and William of Ruysbrok. A recent Russian traveller, Putimsteff, who mentions the same phenomenon, and describes the place almost in the terms of Carpino, has identified the lake with lake Alakul, and Colonel Yule, whose opinion is almost decisive on such a point, agrees with him. The Chinese narrative says the wind came from the mountain Haithie, which is undoubtedly the Ala-tag range that forms the watershed between lake Alakul and lake Sairam. It says further, that Hiathie lay north of his town of Boro. Now I find on the map before me, immediately south of the Ala-tag mountain, and close by lake Sairam, a place still called Borotala, *i.e.*, the plain of Boro, which exactly coincides with its position in our narrative. It would seem that while Ruysbrok and Carpino went north of the Ala-tag mountains that Khulagu's march lay south of them. But to continue our narrative.) Having marched twenty li to the south-west they came to the defile Thie-mu-rh chan-cha, which defile was guarded by Chinese. The road was very steep and difficult, and they had to pass over a wooden bridge suspended on the mountain side. (This defile is undoubtedly the well-known passage in the Kabyrghan mountains.) The road, on leaving the defile, went to the town of A li ma li (*i.e.*, Almaligh, now called Ili or Kuldja). The wells of the markets of this town were all fed with running water. They had all kinds of fruits, but the gourds, grapes, and pomegranates were especially remarkable for their beauty. The Hoei he (Turks), mixed with Chinese, inhabited it. The manners and customs of the latter had insensibly altered, but they still resembled somewhat those of the inhabitants of China. To the south was the city of Chi mu rh, whose population was very mixed. (I can make nothing of this town.) In this country there was a savage animal like a tiger, whose fur was thick and of a golden colour, but without stripes. It was very dangerous to man. There was also an insect resembling a spider. If it bit a man it caused him much pain and to have a great thirst. If he

drank to quench this he instantly died. On the other hand, if he got drunk with wine and was then sick he recovered.

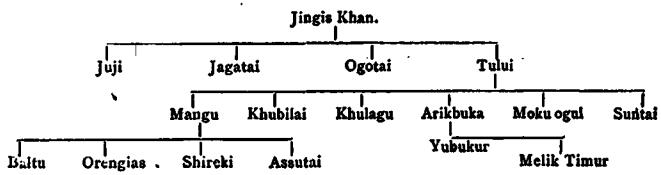
West of Polo, all the mountains were of gold, silver, or copper; bearing written characters, but not pierced with square holes, like those in China (query, the meaning of this). Then you came to the Ma o, where carriages were used drawn by horses, in which the people rode. There also were men who carried great loads on their backs, and who notwithstanding travelled very quickly. They were called Khi li khi se. (Khirghises or Buruts, who are still found in this country.) They used dogs and not horses. (This paragraph seems to be a digression, and the narrative then continues.)

On the 24th of the second moon they passed through I-tu, a land between two mountains, with a peaceable population engaged in trade. Canals meandered about the plain and were pleasant to the eye. There were many ruins, old walls and ramparts, and fortified places in this place. It was anciently "the home of the Khitans." (This is no doubt the valley of the Chu, still noted for its ruins. The Khitans are the well known Kara Khitai. On the map before me I find a place on the Chu marked Sari Kurgan, *i.e.*, ? White Mounds, with the alternative name of It Kiyu, which is surely the parent form of the I-tu above named.) The narrative goes on to say that the place was about 5,000 li from Karakorum, near it was a large river named I yun; the noise produced by whose rapids in flowing eastwards was very marked. The inhabitants said it was the source of the Hoang ho. (Notwithstanding the confusion here as to its direction, we cannot well be mistaken in identifying this river with the Chu. There is, in fact, in this neighbourhood, no great river flowing eastwards, north of the Thian Shan range.)

On the 28th of the second month, our travellers passed the Thala se (*i.e.*, the Talas). The 1st of the third month they reached the town Sai lan (*i.e.*, Sairam), where the Hoei he, who professed Buddhism, went to worship. The 3rd day they went by Pie chi lan (? Tashkend), where the Hoei he had a considerable trade, and also practised their ceremonies as just mentioned. On the 4th day they crossed the river Hu khien. They crossed it in boats shaped like quivers. According to report, the source of this river was among great mountains, where much jade was found. (The river is no doubt the Jaxates or Sihun.) We need not follow our traveller any further. It would seem that with small deviations the route he travelled was that travelled by most of the pilgrims to the Mongol court, until that court was moved from Karakorum, when a different route was chosen. The city called Itu (which name in its other form of It ki yu is suerely the Equius of Rubruquis, whose site seems to have baffled Colonel Yule's researches) seems to have been a meeting-place of the routes from Persia and Kipchak. Thence travellers might either go through the old country of the Karluk Turks, along the northern slopes of the Alatag mountains, and thus by lake Alakul; or, keeping to the

south, pass through Almaligh, the ancient capital of the Lion Khans of Kashgar. On the subject matter of this note, see Pauthier's Marco Polo, CXXXIII-CXXXVII, and Yule's Cathay and the Way Thither, CCXI-CCXIV.

Note 6.—The following table epitomizes the relationship of the chief members of the Mongol Imperial family mentioned in this chapter.



CHAPTER VI.

THE DESCENDANTS OF KHUBILAI.

ULDSHEITU KHAN.

OF the twelve sons of Khubilai, four, who were the sons of his chief wife, namely, Dordji, Chingkin, Manghala, and Numukan, held a superior rank. Dordji means noble stone, and is the designation of the dumb-bell-shaped sceptre, the symbol of office among the Lamaist priests. He seems to have died young, for we find Chingkin from an early part of Khubilai's reign treated as the heir apparent. Vassaf tells us that when Khubilai was nearly seventy he wished to have him declared his successor. The chiefs to whom he applied for counsel declared it contrary to precedent, and to the Yassa of Jingis Khan to invest him with Imperial authority during his father's lifetime. They, however, consented to execute a solemn document, securing him the Khakanship, and pledging themselves life-long obedience and allegiance to him.* He unfortunately died in 1285, at the age of forty-three. He had from early years exhibited great promise, and had shown considerable proficiency in the military art, in the science of government, history, mathematics, and the Chinese classics. He was well acquainted with the condition and numbers of the inhabitants of Mongolia and China, and with the topography and commerce of the empire. He was much beloved except by some of his father's ministers, who were not all exemplary. He had married a princess of the Kunkurat tribe, named Kokochin, and by her had three sons and several daughters.†

These three sons were named Kamala, Dharmabala, and Uldsheitu.‡ According to Vassaf the eldest squinted, and the second was of a ricketty constitution.§ Ssanang Setzen merely says that the Khan having tested the three, chose Uldsheitu as his successor. His official title in Chinese history was Timur Khan. We are told that in 1293, eight years after the death of Chingkin, Bayan, urged by the latter's widow, pressed upon the aged Khakan that he should point out his successor, and that he named Timur. He had shortly before, as I have described, given him the government of Karakorum, displacing Bayan from that position.‖

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* Yule's Marco Polo, i. 322. † Gaubil, 204. ‡ Ssanang Setzen, 119.
§ Yule's Marco Polo, i. 322. ‖ D'Ohsson, ii. 503.

Raschid says that during the interregnum Timur's mother acted as regent. At the diet that assembled after Khubilai's death, she declared the throne belonged, according to the wish of the late Khakan, to him, among his descendants who best knew the precepts of Jingis Khan, and called upon the assembly to decide for itself. Timur, who was a ready speaker, had no difficulty in putting his brother Kamala, who was somewhat embarrassed, in the shade, and he was unanimously declared the fittest.* Kamala was not satisfied and still aspired to the sovereignty, and a section of the Mongol chiefs was disposed to support him. Bayan, Khubilai's renowned general, soon solved the difficulty. Sword in hand, he declared he would not permit anyone to mount the throne but he who had been named for it by the late Khakan. Thereupon the refractory gave way, and Timur was duly proclaimed Khakan. He raised his father and mother to the Imperial rank, and ordered monuments to be set up in honour of his father, of Khubilai, and of the Empress Jambui. Kamala, who was Timur's eldest brother, was appointed governor-general of Karakorum; while to Gukju and Kurguz, his brothers-in-law, was given the command of the troops on the western frontier. Ananda, his cousin, was made viceroy of the country west of the Yellow River, which post his father Manghala had previously held. Bayan Fentchan remained financial minister. He had eight colleagues, and together they controlled the financial department.†

The very beginning of Timur's reign was marked by the death of one of the greatest of the Mongol heroes, namely, Bayan. He died much regretted. He was fifty-nine years old. When he marched against the Sung, says De Mailla, he led 200,000 men with the same ease and coolness as if he had been leading one. His officers looked upon him as a prodigy, and had implicit confidence in him. His modesty was not less remarkable than his intrepidity, and he generally assigned the glory of his successes to the inferior officers, whose smallest actions he extolled. He was remarkable also among Mongol generals for his humanity.‡

The young Emperor at his accession did not wish to settle down at his capital, Yen king. He was persuaded to do so by one of the courtiers who used the quaint argument, most acceptable to a Chinaman, that the Emperor was the polestar of the political system, and like it he ought to be stationary, and allow the other stars to circle round him in the heavens.§ Accounts of portents form a considerable part of Eastern chronicles. We now read that an earthquake was followed by a curious effect in the Hoang ho, which was usually muddy and turbid, and now for a considerable distance flowed clear and bright. This was accepted as a good omen, but was nevertheless followed by a dreadful famine in

* D'Ohsson, ii. 506. Note.
† D'Ohsson, ii. 507.
‡ De Mailla, ix. 462, 463.
§ De Mailla, ix. 462.

Shensi. The Emperor at this time issued an order forbidding the grandees of the court to exercise their former rights of capital punishment over their vassals. This was forbidden except under the Imperial sanction. We are struck in reading the dry and monotonous annals of China by occasional anecdotes which illustrate the extraordinary fidelity and trustworthiness of Chinese officials. Thus we are told that Timur's first minister, named Pu hu chu, was a very austere and strict disciplinarian, and became unpopular with the mandarins. He knew of his infirmity and asked to be relieved of his office. The Emperor consulted him about his successor, and he suggested To an chin. The retiring minister praised him, saying he had qualities in which he himself was deficient, and that he could combine the "fortiter in re" with the "suaviter in modo" without sacrificing his duty to his amiability. To an chin was appointed. The Emperor gave Pu hu chu the title of inspector-general of troops and administrator of the important affairs of the empire, but he modestly objected, and urged that this title had been instituted for a much abler predecessor of his, named Se tien se, and only accepted it when the word important was erased.* The famine and the exactions of local mandarins caused considerable distress, and this led to the country being troubled by bands of robbers, and as in so many other cases in China, these aggregated into a large body; they collected near Kan chau, in Kiang si, and became somewhat dangerous. An officer named Tong se siuen volunteered to put it down, and succeeded in doing so, not as usual in such cases by marching troops against the rebels, but by taking care that the chief culprits among the local administrators were sharply tried and decapitated. At the sight of their heads the rebels came to terms and submitted.†

The stirring times of Mongol conquest had passed away, and the annals are now chiefly occupied with the internal reforms, &c., of the empire. We hear that Timur established an Imperial college at Tatu, which gave great satisfaction to the Chinese. They were even more pleased when he had a magnificent palace built there in honour of Confucius, which still remains at Peking. A great number of Muhammedans continued to be employed in the public service in accordance with the policy inaugurated by Jingis Khan.

The exemption from taxes which had been secured by the followers of the Ho chang and Tao se sects from the generous hands of Khubilai, led to considerable abuses; a vast number of rich people, under pretexts of various kinds, enrolled themselves in their ranks and evaded the tax-collector. Orders were given that this abuse was to be remedied. A census of the two sects was taken, and it was found to be enormous; in the province of Kiang nan alone more than 500,000 people

* De Mailla, ix. 465. † De Mailla, ix. 467.

were ejected from the Miaos, and once more became mere laymen.* Honkilachi, the widow of Khubilai, died early in 1300. She was much respected, resigned her appanage in order that its revenues might replenish the needy treasury, and lived a quiet, retired life.

Later in the year an envoy from Mien tien (Burma) reported that the King had been dethroned by his brother, and that his son, who had been promised the kingdom, appealed to the Emperor for assistance. The Mongol troops in Yunnan were ordered to cross the border and to punish the murderers.

Meanwhile the Emperor was persuaded that he might rival, if he would, the fame of Khubilai in his foreign relations by attacking the kingdom of Papesifu, one of the independent States west of Yunnan, which had refused to adopt the Chinese calendar.† The Emperor was persuaded, and despatched an army of 20,000 under the generals Lieuchin and Halatai upon this foolish expedition. The climate was bad, and people barbarous and cruel. There was great distress and loss among the soldiers, and requisitions for their supply and the hard transport service caused great mortality among the poor inhabitants, who were Miaotze. These wild mountaineers of Yunnan are generally supposed to be the primitive stock out of which the Chinese race was constituted. More than 100,000 of them perished, and they revolted, placing Songlongtsi at their head. They found a second leader in an intrepid woman, the wife of a mandarin of those parts upon whom the Mongols had made very heavy requisitions. They assembled a considerable army, captured the forts the Chinese had built there, as well as the important town of Kue-chau, whose commander was killed.

Meanwhile the troops which had invaded Mien tien returned by way of the kingdom of the Kintchi, *i.e.*, of the golden teeth. These latter fell upon it, destroyed a large number of men, and then allied themselves with the Papesifu. Their neighbours were encouraged to break off their allegiance to the empire, and killed the officers sent to collect tribute. The Emperor was much annoyed at his ill success; two of the commanders were put to death, others were cashiered.

Troops were sent to the rescue from Hu kuang, Su chuan, Shen si, and Yunnan, and Hoko, son of Khubilai and viceroy of Yunnan, was ordered to assist, and just arrived in time to save the general Lieuchin, who had been surrounded.‡

Various barbarous tribes in the south-west of the empire, the Usan, the Umong, the Tongtchuen, the Mang, the Uteng, the Wetchu, Pungan, &c., most of them probably tribes of Miaotze origin, divided into various bodies, had made raids upon the Chinese towns. Lieu kue kie, who was sent with the auxiliary troops, being joined by a reinforcement, advanced

* De Mailla, ix. 474.

† Gaubil, 227. ‡ De Mailla, ix. 478. Gaubil, 227.

into their country by different routes. He ordered his soldiers when attacked to feign to retire, and to throw down their bucklers. When the enemy pursued, their horses stumbled over these impediments, and when they dismounted they were sharply attacked by the Mongols, who retraced their steps. The rebels were badly beaten. They were again beaten at Metetchuen, where the heroine, Chetsiei, was killed on the battle-field. Shortly after the other leader, Songlongtsi, suffered the same fate. The rebels now submitted, and a general amnesty was proclaimed.*

This year the officials charged with drawing up the Imperial annals presented the Emperor with the annals of Jingis Khan, Ogotai, Kuyuk, Tului, and Mangu. This historical work is known as the Tsienpien, and is much valued. It has the usual characteristic of Chinese annals of accuracy and fidelity.†

Meanwhile the long and desultory war on the north-western frontier continued with varying success. At length Dua gained a victory in which Kurguz, one of Timur's generals, was captured and only owed his life to his being a member of the Imperial house. This victory was won by a surprise, caused by the drunkenness of three of Timur's commanders, who should have been guarding three points of a long line of communication, and were instead drinking. Soon after, three generals deserted Dua, and took with them 12,000 men. They had deserted from the Khakan in the previous reign. They now demanded that their fidelity might be tested by having the command of an army given them, against Dua. With this they pursued his retiring and unsuspecting army, overtook it as it was crossing a river in disorder, and gave it a severe beating. Dua's brother-in-law was captured, and he proposed to exchange Kurguz for him, but with true Mongol duplicity he had him killed, and then said he had died while on his way to the camp of Kaidu.

In 1301 Kaidu invaded the empire in conjunction with Dua, with forty princes of the houses of Ogotai, Jagatai, and an immense army. Khaissan, Timur's nephew, gave them battle between Karakorum and the river Tamir. The Chinese historians say Kaidu was defeated. Vassaf, on the other hand, says he was "successful as usual." Both agree that he retired to his own country and died on the march. He had been a redoubtable enemy to the Khakan, and during a long life controlled the central position of the Mongol dominions, in which Khubilai was not even the nominal ruler, although he was acknowledged by the two great Khanates beyond those of Persia and the Golden Horde. Under the patronage of Dua, Kaidu's son Chapar was elected head of the Horde of Ogotai, as I have related in a previous chapter. Dua proposed to him to recognise the supremacy of Timur, and to conclude the bitter

* De Mailla, ix. 481, 482. † Gaubil, 232.

strife which had for thirty years divided the family of Jingis Khan. This was agreed to by Chapar and the other princes.

Ambassadors were sent to Timur, and the vast conquests of the Mongols were once more united under one head, and this, too, at a time when they had attained their utmost limits. China continued to be troubled with earthquakes, in which serious suffering was caused to the inhabitants. There was an especially severe one in 1303 in Ping yang and Tai yuen, which took place in the night. The Emperor distributed relief to the distressed. A wise regulation, that might be imitated in more western climates, provided that those who had reached the age of seventy should retire from the public service, except those belonging to the tribunals of Hanlin and of Mathematics.* There was another earthquake at Ping yang in 1304, and the following year a very severe frost, which destroyed the mulberry trees in the districts of Pan yang, I-tu, and Ho-kien; and we are told that 2,410,070 trees then perished.† The chief religious cultus favoured by the Chinese literates is the adoration of the sky. The Mongols, in a rude way, had a similar cultus. The Emperor issued orders that the records should be examined, and an appropriate ceremonial drawn up from the precedents.‡ This was done; but, with the accommodating tolerance of the Mongols, we find the Emperor at the end of the year offering sacrifices to Shang ti, according to the Nan kiao rite. He then sacrificed a horse, two black cows, nine sheep, nine pigs, and nine stags. Nothing was spared to make the ceremony solemn and imposing. Again we read of portents, hurricanes, and hailstorms, in which the hailstones were as big as hens' eggs, and which cut down the apricot trees and destroyed the crops. In another province a terrible drought. In another a fatal earthquake. These portents, according to the Chinese annals, presaged something serious, and were fitly followed by the death of the Emperor. During his illness a decree was issued forbidding the killing of any animal for forty-two days, but he died nevertheless. He was forty-two years old, and had occupied the throne for twelve years. He is much praised by the Chinese for his clemency and wisdom. In early life he had been addicted to drunkenness and gluttony, for which he had been reproved by his grandfather, and had even been bastinadoed three times. After he mounted the throne we are told that he mastered his love of excessive drinking,§ but he became an invalid, and in his latter years left much of the government to those who abused their trust, and would have caused much mischief but for the wise measures of his predecessor Khubilai.‖ We hardly realise in reading the history of one whose name is obscure and unfamiliar, and whose deeds are unrecorded by those who have dealt with the great currents of history, that Timur on his throne at Ta-tu was

* De Mailla, ix. 483. † De Mailla, ix. 485.
‡ Gaubil, 232. § D'Ohsson, ii. 524. ‖ De Mailla, ix. 487.

acknowledged as supreme sovereign by almost all Asia, and that in mere breadth of territory his dominions probably exceeded those of Russia, while in population, wealth, and general resources they were immensely greater.

KULUK KHAN.

TIMUR'S accession to the throne was clearly an usurpation, for Kamala was his elder brother. His other brother Dharmapala was also older than he, but he had died during the reign of Khubilai, and as the uncle generally succeeded to the exclusion of the nephew, Timur's claims were paramount to those of his children. Kamala, however, was undoubtedly an aggrieved person. He died in 1302, much regretted for his fidelity, courage, and other good qualities.* Timur had had a son and a daughter, the former of whom had been declared his successor, but died before him without issue, and he did not declare anyone to be his heir.† The sons of Dharmapala were clearly entitled to the throne. Of these there were two: Khaissan, corrupted into Haischan by the Chinese, who was also styled Kuluk, or the indefatigable;‡ and Ayur bali batra, the Aïyulipalipata of De Mailla and Gaubil. §

Bulugan, Timur's widow (she is called Bulugan by Vassaf, Peyuchi by De Mailla, Péyau by Gaubil, and Buyut by Hyacinthe),‖ had gained great influence in the latter part of his reign. She wished to put Ananda, son of Munghala and grandson of Khubilai, who was viceroy of Kansuh, on the throne, and during the last illness of Timur she had sent him messengers bidding him hasten to the court. She wished to exclude the two sons of Dharmabala, with whose mother she had quarrelled, and had had her exiled to Hoai king fu, in Honan. Khaissan had distinguished himself in the war with Kaidu. Batra was with his mother. Bulugan was appointed Regent according to custom, several chiefs entered into her project, and troops were posted on the route to Mongolia to intercept Khaissan, should he attempt to come. Other chiefs, among whom Karakhass was the leader, espoused the cause of the sons of Dharmabala, and wrote for Khaissan to come with all speed, but by another route, and also invited Batra to return to Tatu, which he did with his mother. Meanwhile the partizans of Ananda had fixed a time for his inauguration,

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* Gaubil, 230. † De Mailla, ix. 488. ‡ Schmidt's Ssanang Setzen, 399.
§ D'Ohsson, ii. 526. De Mailla, ix. 488. Gaubil, 233. ‖ D'Ohsson, ii. 525. Note.

and prompt measures were requisite. Melik Timur, son of Arikbuka, and one of the chief conspirators, was seized (he had been a supporter of Chapar, but had quarrelled with him and sought refuge in China). He was taken in chains to Shangtu. Agutai and other ministers of Ananda were also arrested, while Ananda and the Empress Regent were confined to the palace. The princes of the blood now proposed to proclaim Batra, but he refused, saying the crown belonged to his elder brother. He sent Khaissan the Imperial seal, and pending his arrival took the title of regent.*

Khaissan was near the Khanggai mountains at the western extremity of the empire. When he heard of the death of Timur he hastened to Karakorum, and thence to Shangtu, the northern residence, where he had summoned his mother and brother to meet him.

Batra had behaved very well during his short tenure of power. He had imprisoned Ananda and Melik Timur, and had fastened a *cangue* on them.† Khaissan was received with great rejoicing at Shang tu, which he entered, escorted by the Imperial guards, and went to the palace. The two brothers embraced, and Batra was lauded for his zeal and energy. They then went to pay their respects to their mother.

Khaissan was now proclaimed Khakan at a grand Kuriltai. The ceremony is thus described by Vassaf. Four of the first princes of the blood raised him aloft on a white felt; two others supported him; and a seventh offered him the cup. Meanwhile, while the Shamans offered up prayers for his prosperity and saluted him by the title of Kuluk Khan, carts full of gold pieces and rich tissues were brought out and distributed. So many pearls were spread on the ground that it resembled the sky. The feast lasted a week, during each day of which 40 oxen and 4,000 sheep were consumed. Libations of milk from 700 sacred cows and 7,000 ewes were sprinkled on the ground. The whole environs of the Ordu were thus strewn. These sacred animals, called ongus, were kept in sacred herds, and were white in colour; their flesh was not eaten, nor were the white horses ridden except by the Khakan.‡

After his election Khaissan raised his father to the rank of Emperor, and his mother to that of Empress, and to reward his brother Batra he named him his successor, although he had sons of his own. Ananda, the Empress Bulugan, and Melik Timur were executed.§ Ananda had been a zealous Muhammedan, and had spread that faith very much in Tangut; he knew the Koran by heart, and was skilful in writing Arabic, and it was probably therefore the Turks, Persians, and other Muhammedans at the court who were his chief supporters. It was reported that a portion of the troops in his command had adopted Muhammedanism. A complaint was laid before Timur that he spent his time in a

* D'Ohsson, ii. 527, 528. † De Mailla, ix. 492. ‡ D'Ohsson, ii. 528.
§ De Mailla, ix. 494.

mosque, reading the Koran; that he caused Mongol children to be circumcised and was busy in a propaganda. Timur sent two officers to try and induce him to conform to Buddhism, and when they failed he summoned him to the court; as he was still obstinate, he was imprisoned. He was set at liberty on the request of the Empress Gukjin, who feared an insurrection of the inhabitants of Tangut, who were much attached to Ananda.*

After his inauguration Khaissan went to the Temple of the Ancestors at Tatu, and there went through the ceremonies. The tablets of the ancestors ought to be arranged in a prescribed way, and Gaubil's authorities have a grievance against those in authority on this occasion in that they placed the tablets of some individuals honoured with the posthumous title of Emperor before those who had actually been Emperors, and that, contrary to rule, they built special chambers for the former as well as the latter.†

Soon after his accession the Hiaoking, a treatise on filial obedience, one of the works attributed to Confucius, having been translated into the Mongol language, was distributed in the empire. Fresh honours were decreed to the memory of the old sage, and the characters Ta ching were added to his titles. Kara Hasun, the son of Likisili, who was an Alan and a favourite of Jingis Khan's, and Targai were Khaissan's chief ministers. The Emperor was much addicted to women and to drink, two vices upon which men seldom listen to homilies patiently. He did so, however, and we are told rewarded one of his officers who rebuked him for his failings with the title of Kang kue kong.‡

The Chinese make their usual complaints about Khaissan that he greatly favoured the Lamas. By his orders the Lama Choigji Odzer translated the greater part of the sacred books of the Buddhists into Mongol. The Lamas became very insolent in consequence of this patronage. One of them, who had forced a man to sell him an article, attacked, illtreated, and put under restraint the judge who was to try him. The Lama was imprisoned for this, but easily got respited at the court. Another Lama disputed with the Princess Horpala as to who should give way on the footpath, and as she would not, pushed against and overturned her, and although the Emperor heard of this he failed to punish him.§ A law was passed that whoever struck a Lama should have his hand cut off, and whoever slandered one should lose his tongue; but this law was repealed by his brother as entirely contrary to precedent.‖ Notwithstanding this partiality, he was the first to tax the lands held by the Buddhists and the followers of the Tao se faith, hitherto exempt.¶ Kara hasun, who had been so faithful to him, was appointed governor of Karakorum, and proved himself an able administrator. He imported

* D'Ohsson, ii. 532, 533. † Gaubil, 238. De Mailla, ix. 494.
‡ De Mailla, ix. 496. § De Mailla, ix. 497. ‖ Gaubil, 240. ¶ De Mailla, ix. 501.

labourers, artisans, and those skilled in making canals, &c., from China, and improved the agriculture and the roads of the province. He encouraged the Mongols to utilize their many rivers and lakes stored with fish, by becoming fishermen. He built granaries, and so improved the condition of the land, that there were at intervals of thirty leagues in it depôts of provisions, of carriages, and escorts.* A wonderful state of things in the very focus of Mongolia! In other parts of the empire famine, pestilence, and drought made sad havoc with the population. The year 1308 was marked by the severity of these disasters. In Kiang hoai the people were reduced to feed on roots and the bark of trees. In Honan and Shang tung fathers ate their children, while Kiang si and Che kiang were nearly depopulated. The mandarins in charge were terrified, and fancying that heaven had an especial quarrel with them, resigned their charges. The Emperor urged them rather to exert greater zeal in their duties.† The days prophesied by Jingis had already arrived, and we now hear that the Mongol court employed messengers, who had a distinguishing mark in their dress, who scoured foreign countries for jewels, pearls, precious stones, and other rarities. These messengers were chiefly Turks. They are called merchants of Si yu. Under cover of their commission, they were in the habit of exacting relays of horses, &c., on their expeditions.‡

In 1308 the King of Corea died, and the Emperor sent letters patent for his successor, and the same year Chapar, the eldest son of Kaidu, and other princes came to the court with their submission.§ Tula, a descendant of Jagatai, was a drunken and dissipated person. He had been a partisan of Ananda, and had latterly been insolent to the Emperor. On one occasion, when drunk, he threw down his girdle, saying, "Take back a gift which I despise; it is all I ever received from you." This was said in a rage. The Emperor suspected that he had a further object, and had him tried and put to death.‖ Through exemption from taxes and other causes, the inhabitants of Kiang nan had become very wealthy; some had as many as 10,000 slaves. It was suggested that so much wealth was dangerous, and in consequence decreed that whoever harvested more than 50,000 measures of grain should surrender 10,000 of them to the State—one half to feed the troops, the other half to go into the public granaries; and that such rich families should enrol one of their children in the army as a guarantee for their good behaviour.¶

I have already described with what profusion paper money was issued in the reign of Khubilai. I ought to add that Pauthier says that during his reign no metallic currency of any kind was issued.** The paper became so depreciated in value that in 1309 there was

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* De Mailla, ix. 499. † De Mailla, ix. 498. ‡ De Mailla, ix. 498. Gaubil, 241.
§ De Mailla, ix. 500. ‖ De Mailla, ix. 500. ¶ De Mailla, ix. 501.
** Pauthier's Marco Polo, 322.

a fresh issue, made to replace that which was the discredited paper, but this also sank rapidly in value, and at length the Emperor Ulu tsong, *i.e.*, Khaissan, determined upon a recurrence to the ancient money, and accordingly, in 1310, there were struck two kinds of copper coins, having Mongol characters upon them. Some with the inscription Chi ta thung pao, *i.e.*, precious money of the Chi ta period; and others with this legend, Tai yuen thung pao, *i.e.*, precious money of the Great Yuen (*i.e.*, Mongols).* These copper coins were of three sizes: 1, of the value of one li; 2, of the value of ten li; and 3, of coins worth several of those of the dynasties Tang and Sung.† Ten lis made one fen, ten fens one tsien, and ten tsiens one ounce.‡ In 1309 the wild frontager tribes of Yunnan broke over the border. The Chinese annals accuse the commander who marched against them of having been bribed. He was at all events beaten by them. They afterwards retired.§

In 1310, Kokokchu, a son of Tula, in concert with Alanacheli and a number of Lamas, conspired against the Emperor; but their plans were divulged, the Lamas were duly executed, and Kokokchu was exiled to Corea.‖ Shortly after, Arslan, the governor of Tatu and commander of the Imperial guards, was accused of a similar conspiracy, and was executed with several of his connexions. He was a favourite with the people, and when his head was cut off they shouted out that he was innocent, which afterwards turned out to be true.¶ Khaissan died in February, 1311, aged thirty-one. The Chinese give him the posthumous title of Wu tsong. It was probably during the latter part of the reign of Timur, and during the whole of that of Khaissan, that John of Montecorvino held the exalted post of Archbishop of Khanbaligh or Peking. The bull nominating him is dated in 1307. Two of his letters are extant, describing for us his operations for the conversion of the Chinese. As in recent times Christianity in China has been chiefly distinguished by the savage feud between the Dominicans and the Jesuits, so we find the archbishop complaining of the constant slanders which he suffered at the hands of the Nestorians, which led to his being much persecuted. He had lived there, he says, since 1295, and had built a church with a bell-tower to it containing three bells, and had baptised 6,000 persons. He had bought 150 boys, varying from seven to eleven years old, who had never learnt any religion; he had baptised them, and taught them Greek and Latin, and written out Psalters, Hymnaries, and Breviaries for them. Out of these boys he had raised a choir. He had converted a certain King George of the family of Prester John, who had built a splendid church in China, and given it the name of the Roman Church. He had learned the Tartar language, into which he had translated the New

* Pauthier's Marco Polo, 321. † Gaubil, 242.
‡ Gaubil, 242. § De Mailla, ix. 502. ‖ De Mailla, ix. 503.
¶ De Mailla, ix. 504. Gaubil, 242. De Guignes, iv. 199.

Testament and the Psalter. This letter was dated at Cambalek, in 1305, two years before his appointment as archbishop. In a second letter he mentions having built another church, close to the Khakan's palace. I will extract a portion of his naïve account from Colonel Yule's edition.*

"In that same year of the Lord 1305, I began another new place before the gate of the Lord Cham, so that there is but the width of the street between his palace and our place, and we are but a stone's throw from his Majesty's gate. Master Peter of Lucolongo, a faithful Christian man and great merchant, who was the companion of my travels from Tauris, himself bought the ground for the establishment of which I have been speaking, and gave it to me for the love of God. And by the divine favour I think that a more suitable position for a Catholic church could not be found in the whole empire of his Majesty the Cham. In the beginning of August I got the ground, and by the aid of sundry benefactors and well-wishers it was completed by the Feast of St. Francis with an enclosure wall, houses, offices, courts, and chapel, the latter capable of holding 200 persons. On account of winter coming on I have not been able to finish the church, but I have the timber collected at the house, and please God I hope to finish it in summer. And I tell you it is thought a perfect marvel by all the people who come from the city and elsewhere, and who had previously never heard a word about it. And when they see our new building, and the red cross planted aloft, and us in our chapel with all decorum chaunting the service, they wonder more than ever. When we are singing, his Majesty the Cham can hear our voices in his chamber; and this wonderful fact is spread far and wide among the heathen, and will have the greatest effect, if the divine mercy so disposes matters and fulfils our hopes.

"From the first church and house to the second church which I built afterwards, is a distance of two miles and a half within the city, which is passing great. And I have divided the boys into two parties, putting one of them in the first church and the other in the second, and so each party performs the service by itself. But I act as chaplain and celebrate mass in each church on alternate weeks, for none of those boys are priests."

These extracts prove that Christianity had more than a merely nominal footing in China during the domination of the Mongol Khans, and makes it interesting to inquire what its organisation there was. I shall abstract a very valuable summary of it from one of Colonel Yule's works. The mission was founded by John of Montecorvino, already mentioned, who was born in 1247. He was a Franciscan, and had been a good deal in the East, whence he brought back news that the Mongol princes were favourably disposed towards Christianity, and he was sent by the Pope on a special mission to the further East, to the great Khan Khubilai, to his great rival Kaidu, to the Ilkhan Argun, to the King and Queen of

* Cathay and the Way Thither, 206.

Lesser Armenia, to the Patriarch of the Jacobites, and the Bishop of Tauris. He travelled by way of India, and according to Colonel Yule, probably reached China after Khubilai's death. Two of his letters are extant. The accounts that reached Rome of his diligence led to his being nominated Archbishop of Khanbaligh. This was probably in the spring of 1307. About the same time seven other Franciscans were appointed suffragan bishops under his authority. "The powers conferred on the archbishop," says Colonel Yule, "were unusually ample, empowering him to rule like a Patriarch over all bishops and prelates of those parts, subject only to his recognition of the superiority of the Roman See, and to the reception of the pallium from it by himself and his successors. The suffragans thus nominated for Cathay were Gerard, Peregrine of Castello, Andrew of Perugia, reader in theology; Nicholas of Bantra or of Apulia, minister (in the order) of the province of St. Francis; Andrutius of Assisi, Ulrich Sayfustordt, and William of Villeneuve. Of these only the first three reached their destination. They consecrated the archbishop, and in course of time all three succeeded as bishops of Zayton. In 1312 the Pope nominated three more bishops to serve under Archbishop John, by name Thomas, Jerome, and Peter of Florence. The last is heard of as presiding over one of the convents at Zayton, whilst Andrew of Perugia ruled the other. John of Montecorvino died about 1328. We are told that both Pagans and Christians followed him to the grave with demonstrations of the deepest grief and veneration. Colonel Yule says "he was the first and last Archbishop of Khanbaligh." In 1333, after the news of John's death had reached Avignon, one Friar Nicholas was appointed to the see, and was sent forth accompanied by twenty friars and six laymen, but it is not known what became of the party. Their arrival at Almalig and civil treatment there were heard of, but nothing beyond. There is no indication of their having ever reached the court of Cathay.*

Wadding has a story that John of Montecorvino converted the Khan and his mother, and that shortly after the Khan died, and was buried with Imperial solemnity in the convent church, and that thirty years later, when the troubles broke out and the friars had to quit Cathay, they removed the body to Serai, and when taken up it was found all fresh as when just buried.† Colonel Yule identifies this Khan with Ayur bali batra, who, he says, died in 1311; but this is a mistake, that Khan, in fact, mounted the throne in that year, which was the year of Khaissan's death; and if the story, which is very improbable, have any truth in it, it refers to Khaissan and not to Ayur bali batra.

* Cathay and the Way Thither, 165-172. † Cathay and the Way Thither, 171.

BUYANTU KHAN.

KHAISSAN left two sons, Kushala and Tu Timur, or Du Timur, but they did not immediately succeed him. As I have said, he named his brother Ayur bali batra as his successor. This, as Schmidt suggests, is probably a Sanscrit and not a Mongol name, and was given him by the Lamas. He is called Buyantu Khan by Ssanang Setzen.* Vassaf, in describing his inauguration, tells us the Kuriltai was composed of 14,000 princes, each of whom employed relays of from 700 to 1,000 horses. This shows the extravagant way in which the revenue was squandered. The feast lasted a week. Forty oxen and 4,000 sheep, besides a great number of animals whose flesh is forbidden to the Mussulmans, were eaten daily. At the hour fixed by the astrologers, the new Emperor seated himself on his throne, his face turned towards the south, in the *Karshi*, which was hung with silk and brocade. The descendants of Jingis Khan were on the right, and the descendants of his brother Juji Kassar on the left of the throne. The Khatuns, or princesses, were seated on stools. The Finchans, or ministers, and the generals, were ranged according to their rank. In front of the throne sparkled a great number of vases and cups, decorated with precious stones. The inauguration was conducted with the usual ceremony, and the Khakan was saluted under the title of Bui Yantuc Kaan (*i.e.*, the Buyantu of Ssanang Setzen).†

At the commencement of his reign a census was made of the old people living at Ta-tu, and in that city alone there were found 2,331 who were upwards of ninety years old, and 8,331 of upwards of eighty. The Emperor ordered two pieces of silk to be given to each of the former, and one to each of the latter.‡ He was evidently of a kindly disposition. On one occasion five brothers were condemned to death for some crime. He inquired if their father had any more sons, and on hearing that he had not, he ordered that the least culpable of the five should be reprimanded and set at liberty to go and look after his parents.§

After his accession he proceeded to punish those officers who had been led in the weak reign of Khaissan to commit abuses. Among the tributary princes to whom he notified his advent to the throne are named those of Chen ching (Cochin China), Ngan nan (Annam), Papé sifu (a kingdom on the borders of Yunnan), Ta Cheli (?), Chao cheli (?), Mapon (? Malabar), and Hien (an island near Japan). He reminded them of his accession, and told them to remember and send their tribute at the proper time, and assured them that however distant they were he carried

* Op. cit., 121. † D'Ohsson, ii. 530. ‡ De Mailla, ix. 506.
§ *Id.* ix. 510.

them in his heart. The tributary kings sent him ambassadors with presents. The King of Chen ching sent him elephants and rhinoceroses. Those of Papésifu and Ta cheli sent him tame elephants taught to perform various tricks.*

Vassaf relates that among his other envoys he sent Ayadji Chinsang and Devlet shah to the Ilkhan Uldjaitu. They arrived at Baghdad, where he was passing the winter, in February, 1312, taking with them presents and friendly letters. They were well received, and Uldjaitu presented them with robes of golden tissue and jewelled girdles. Each of these envoys took with him 600 posting horses. The Ilkhan sent an embassy in reply, which we are told was charged with collecting the arrears of income which were owing to their master from the possessions he held in the East as one of the descendants of Jingis Khan.† This curious fact proves that the Ilkhans still looked upon Mongolia in some measure as their home, still considered themselves members of the Khakan's family, and claimed to share in the distribution of the ancestral patrimony.

The chief posts in the various bureaux had been previously filled by Mongols. The Emperor now doubled the number of these officials, and appointed an equal number of Chinese and Mongols. He also increased the strictness of the examinations, and arranged a kind of hierarchy of scholars. Commissioners were appointed to make confidential reports on the condition of the various provinces of the empire, and to distribute relief among those who had suffered from the terrible earthquakes and other misfortunes that troubled this reign. A Muhammedan governor in Kiansi, named Jemaleddin, caused a revolt by his exactions. This was put down, and its leaders punished, but with equal justice the cause of the mischief was also tried, deprived of his office, and branded in the face with a hot iron as a public thief.

Buyantu was of a studious disposition, very much encouraged the class of literates, and revived the public examinations which had been partially disused since the days of Khubilai, and in 1312 he transported to Pekin some ancient stone monuments in the shape of drums, of the time of the Emperor Suenwang, 827 B.C. They were originally ten in number, and were three feet in height and one foot in diameter, and were made of marble. They had verses inscribed on them in the characters Ta chuen. These drums have been considered among the finest monuments in China. One was lost in the various revolutions that have overtaken the country. The nine others still remained in De Mailla's day, and were preserved in the Kué tse kien or Imperial College at Peking.§ Buyantu caused the names of the most distinguished literates to be set up in the Hall of Confucius. Among those so honoured the historian Semakuang,

* De Mailla, ix. 507. † D'Ohsson, ii. 535.
‡ De Mailla, ix. 513. Gaubil, 246. § De Mailla, ix. 507, 508. Note.

Chuhi, Chaokangtsie, Nanhien, Chautung, Chinghao, Changtsay, Lustukien, Hiuheng, are specially named.* A Muhammedan named Il meddin constructed a calendar to serve for 10,000 years. In 1314 Buyantu forbade the employment of eunuchs in the public service, but the very next year he created one of them chief mandarin, to the vexation of the Chinese.

Kushala, the son of Khaissan, was now grown up, and began to be discontented that his uncle should occupy the throne, and to keep him out of harm's way, he was appointed governor of Yunnan, a post which was generally chosen when a mild exile was needed for a troublesome relative. This was in 1316. Kushala resented this appointment. He was supported by several generals, who gained over the troops of Kwangchung, and even got possession of the famous fortress of Tung kuan, but Tatchar, the most important of the rebels, shortly after submitted, and Kushala was deserted by most of his other officers. He had to escape to the Altai mountains, to the Khans of Jagatai.† The Jagatai Khans had apparently continued the rebellion of the Ogotai princes, and we now hear of a war which Buyantu carried on on his western frontier against Issenbuka, the Khan of Jagatai, over whom his general Kipchak Choanggor won two victories, and pursued him to the country of Chair, near the defile called the Iron Gate.‡

He encouraged learned men to settle at his court. Among these, De Guignes mentions especially a Muhammedan named Chahan, a native of Balkh, and one of the most learned men of his time, who composed a history of China in Mongol. He fixed the Chinese chronology, generally followed by the better Chinese historians, and wrote a history of the wars of Ogotai with the Kins. The Emperor's elder son, Chotepala, who was now seventeen, was a great favourite of his father's, who wished to resign the empire to him, but he was dissuaded from it, and appointed him lieutenant-governor of the kingdom instead.§ The tutor of the young prince was one Temudar, against whom the Imperial censors presented a report, demanding his death, for various malpractices and extortions, and for his despotism. The Emperor ordered his trial, and removal from office, but his part was taken by the Empress mother, who so tormented her son the Emperor, that he fell ill. His life was despaired of. Shutepala offered the six days' sacrifice, and invoked heaven to preserve his father's life, and distributed alms among the poor and prisoners, but it was unavailing, for he died in February, 1320, and received the posthumous title of Gin tsong. The courtly Kang mu annals assign his illness to his mother's shrewish tongue, but Gaubil has translated for us a more natural explanation. Under the year 1317 I find it stated, "The Emperor this year began to have a love for wine, and

* Gaubil, 244. † De Mailla, ix. 516. ‡ Gaubil, 249. Note. D'Ohsson, ii. 537.
§ Gaubil, 248.

he fell several times into this evil habit."* We can hardly doubt, therefore, that like many other Mongol sovereigns, he fell a victim to dissipation. The Chinese praise him highly for his literary tastes and patronage of learning.

The annals of Buyantu's reign are chiefly occupied with accounts of terrible fires, earthquakes, droughts, pestilence, &c., and by what the astrologers no doubt thought equally unfortunate, namely, the apparition of a comet, and the happening of a solar eclipse on the first day of the year, and by the measures he adopted to alleviate the condition of the sufferers. He took an interest in social matters, very unusual in Eastern Sovereigns. Thus, in 1318 the department of public works presented a treatise on the cultivation of the mulberry, and the best way of rearing silkworms; this was written by one Miao-hao-kien. The Emperor read the work himself, paid for illustrations to it, and had a large number of copies printed and distributed.†

The control of barbarous tribes within the Imperial frontier began to bring with it, as it so often does, trouble and anxiety, and we are told that in 1319 the ministers proposed, on the death of the governor of a mountain district of Yunnan, to make the government hereditary in some family of the country, so that it should pass to the eldest son on his being approved of by the Emperor. It was urged that these tribes were savage and numerous, and that they could best be controlled by some one who was savage also, and understood their mode of life. This was accordingly done.‡

Karakorum is called Holin in the earlier Chinese annals. Holin being the transcription into Chinese, which has no letter r, of the Mongol Kolin or Korum, city. We are told that in 1300 the name of the city was changed from Ho lin to Ho ning, meaning peace and concord.§

GEGEN KHAN.

As I have said, Temudar was a *protegé* of the Dowager Empress, and also of Buyantu's son and heir, Shutepala or Gegen, the latter having been his pupil, and on the death of Buyantu he was specially protected by them.

The young prince was much affected by his father's death; day and night he watched by his coffin in his habits of mourning, fasted largely, and dispensed large sums in charity.‖ The return to power of Temudar was signalised by fresh excesses, and by the execution of several of those

* Gaubil, 248. † De Mailla, ix. 518. ‡ De Mailla, ix. 520.
§ Pauthier's Marco Polo xxxvii. ‖ De Mailla, ix. 524.

whom he suspected of having been the cause of his late trial. At length the young prince began to feel the leading strings of the Empress and Temudar rather irksome, and determined to speed on his inauguration. This took place in the third month of 1320. Meanwhile Baidju, the commander of the Imperial guard, who was descended from Mukuli, the renowned general of Jingis, and was a man of high character, gained great influence over the Emperor, and displaced that of Temudar. He instructed him in the cultus of the ancestors, and we are told that the young Emperor summoned the various princes and grandees, and in grand ceremonial robes went in stately procession through the streets, amidst great rejoicing, to the temple of his ancestors to perform the usual rites. He was the first of the Mongol sovereigns to go through this ceremony. The various mandarins and literates congratulated Baidju for having recommended the Emperor, and the commonalty were equally delighted with a general amnesty that was published about the same time.* The Chinese were not so well pleased at the patronage extended by the young Emperor to the Buddhists. In the beginning of 1321 he built a Buddhist temple on the mountains west of Peking, and when the censors reproached him he had several of them put to death; among them a very distinguished officer, named Soyaoelhatimichi, whose ancestors had been faithful dependents of the Mongol Imperial house. We are told the Emperor destroyed a temple built by the Hoeihu, *i.e.*, the Turkish Muhammedans, at Shangtu, and prohibited these Turks from buying slaves from the Mongols and selling them again to the Chinese.†

About 1323 there was published the Tai Yuen tong chi, *i.e.*, the code of laws of the Yuen dynasty. This was drawn up by Wanien-nadan and Tsaopeki. It was a revised code of all the laws that had been passed since the accession of the dynasty, and consisted of 2,539 articles.‡

The growing influence of Baidju greatly disgusted Temudar, who absented himself from the court. The former now went to Liau tung to put up a monument to his ancestors, on which was graven an eulogium written by the Emperor himself. Temudar thought this a favourable opportunity of regaining his influence at court, and presented himself at the palace, but was refused admittance, and died shortly after of vexation. The Empress, his patron, died about the same time.§ The dead minister was now bitterly attacked by his victims; his goods were confiscated, he was deprived of his titles, and his tomb was overthrown. A plot was formed among his supporters, who were afraid of vengeance overtaking them. It was headed by his adopted son Tekchi, and it was determined to assassinate the Emperor and his chief minister, Baidju,

* Gaubil, 251, 252. † Gaubil, 253. Note. ‡ De Mailla, ix. 531.
§ De Mailla, ix. 530.

[redacted] messengers were sent to Yissun Timur, the son of Kamala, who commanded on the river Tula, and was probably governor of Karakorum, to apprise him of this and to offer him the crown. The envoy who was sent was named Walus. Tekchi, who held the office of inspector-general of the empire, had great influence with the army. Beside him the chief conspirators were the Princes Hassan and Yesien Timur.

Yissun Timur caused Walus to be seized, and sent notice of the plot to the Emperor. But the messengers arrived too late. Fearing that they would be discovered, the conspirators sped their work. They won over the escort which accompanied the Emperor from Shangtu, and, at a place named Nanpo they entered the tent of Baidju and killed him there, and then went to that of the Emperor, who was assassinated in his bed by the hand of Tekchi himself.* He was only twenty-one, and left no children. Quick and shrewd, he inherited the good qualities of his father. He had a ready ear for those who would correct him. He was chargeable only with too great severity, a fear of which aroused the conspiracy against him.† His death, the first instance of assassination in the Imperial annals since the foundation of the empire by Jingis, marks a stage to which such empires tend, when the Prætorians, whose office it is to guard the throne, begin to treat their Sovereign as their *protegé*, and betray him when it suits them.

YISSUN TIMUR KHAN.

GEGEN KHAN left no children, and Yissun Timur, who commanded in the north, and who was the son of the Kamala who was wrongfully excluded from the throne by Timur Khan, was his successor. He was proclaimed Khakan on the banks of the Lopgku,‡ probably the Arungu, which flows into lake Kizilbash, and is called Ulungku by the Chinese.§ He began his reign by rewarding the late conspirators and promoting them to important mandarinates, but, on having it represented to him that by this he would incur the suspicion of having been a party to the murders, he suddenly reversed his policy, and ordered Tekchi and others to be put to death. Others again were exiled to Yunnan, Hainan, and other distant places. During the first year of his reign there occurred an earthquake, an eclipse, great floods, and drought, &c., supplemented by a plague of locusts.‖ The literates declared that heaven was wroth with the nation, and by their advice a distinguished scholar was ordered to prepare a memoir on the evils that caused this divine displeasure. He

* De Mailla, ix. 532, 533. † De Mailla, ix. 532, 533.
‡ Gaubil, 255. De Mailla, ix. 533. § Pauthier's Marco Polo, CXXXIV. Note 2.
‖ De Mailla, ix. 536.

began by representing that many of the relations and creatures of the murderer Tekchi were still at large, unpunished, and their goods unconfiscated, while the Imperial princes who had been implicated were merely exiled. He denounced the extravagance of the court in buying costly precious stones, imported by foreign merchants, and sold for ten times their value, while the poor were starving. He denounced the conduct of the Prince Toto, the viceroy of Liautung, who had put many people to death and seized their goods; he also denounced, like a good Chinese literate, the vast army of bonzes and Lamas who were riding about the country, and the crowd of eunuchs, astrologers, doctors, and women about the court. The empire, he said, is a family of which the Emperor is the father, and it is pitiful that he should be so engrossed in luxury as not to hear the cries of the wretched; he bade him see to the condition of the oppressed and the poor everywhere; to cause the dead to be carried to their own provinces so that their relatives might look after them, and to forbid the pearl fishery at Canton in which so many perished in searching the bottom of the sea for useless trifles. The Emperor read the memoir, but the fear of offending the Mongols and the Lamas prevented him doing anything effectual.* Another report was sometime after presented on the condition of the province of Shensi. This was also full of complaints of the Lamas who, armed with their golden seals, rode about the province making exactions and lording it over the people in a shameful way. They put up at private houses, drove out their masters, and debauched their wives, and did pretty much as they wished. De Mailla tells us that on hearing this report the Emperor forbade the Lamas to enter China.† Besides these grievances the Chinese had another, in that Yissun Temur neglected the ancient worship of the sky.

The Emperor divided the empire into eighteen departments. It had formerly been divided into twelve. These were controlled by a board called "the Lords of the Provinces."‡ The succession of bad seasons caused a great scarcity of grain among the poor, notwithstanding that a considerable amount was hoarded by the grandees. To get at this it was proposed to offer them, not money, but mandarinates in exchange for it, and this distribution of honours was very successful.§ The annals are crowded with calamities. In 1327 some thieves stole the silver tablet of Khaissan from the Temple of the Ancestors. During an earthquake that happened this year a mountain disappeared. Such disastrous revolutions in the earth's crust seem to have been very numerous at this period.‖ The Mongols were rapidly acquiring a literature, chiefly, it is true, consisting of translations from the Chinese and Thibetan, and we read that in this year the great history of China, by Sema kuang, was translated into Mongol.¶ The Chinese officials have a custom that on

* De Mailla, ix. 536, 537. † De Mailla, ix. 538, 539. ‡ Gaubil, 260.
§ De Mailla, ix. 537, 538. ‖ De Mailla, 540. ¶ Gaubil, 261.

the death of father or mother they wear mourning for three years, and retire into seclusion. At the beginning of Yissun Timur's reign this rule was extended to the Mongols, but was apparently found most irksome, for in 1328 it was decreed that mourning might be worn, but that the mourners should continue to exercise their functions.* Yissun Timur died at Shang tu, where he had gone to pass the summer heats, in August, 1328, in his thirty-sixth year, and his posthumous title was Tai ting. He was little skilled in government, and had only mediocre talents. He was more fitted to head an army than to occupy a throne, and left his empire a prey to factions and troubles.†

According to Colonel Yule it was between 1322 and 1328, that is, during the reign of Yissun Timur, that Friar Odoric, of Pordenone, was in China. He has left us a few notices which supplement those of Marco Polo, and I shall extract some of them. Describing the Khakan's palace at Tatu, he says, its basement was raised about two paces from the ground, and within, there were twenty-four columns of gold, and all the walls were hung with skins of red leather, said to be the finest in the world. In the midst of the palace was a great jar, more than two paces in height, made of a certain precious stone called merdacas ;‡ its price, he was told, exceeded the value of four great towns. "It was all hooped round with gold, and in every corner of it was a dragon, represented in the act of striking most fiercely. It had fringes of network of great pearls hanging from it, and these fringes were a span in breadth. Into this vessel drink was conducted by certain conduits from the court of the palace, and beside it were many golden goblets, from which those drank who listed. In the hall of the palace were also many golden peacocks, and when any of the Tartars wished to amuse their lord, they went one after another and clapped their hands, upon which the peacocks flapped their wings, and made as if they would dance."§ He tells us that "when the Khakan sat on his throne, the Queen was on his left hand, and a step lower two others of his women, while at the bottom of the steps stood the other ladies of his family. All of these, who were married, wore upon their heads the foot of a man, as it were a cubit and a half in length, and at the top of the foot there were certain cranes' feathers, the whole foot being set with great pearls, so that if there were in the whole world any fine and large pearls, they were to be found in the decorations of those ladies."‖ Colonel Yule quotes several authorities in regard to this head ornament, which are very interesting; thus, Ricold, of Montecroee, after telling a story of how the Tartar women helped to gain a great victory, adds, "In memory of this victory, the Tartars granted leave to their wives to wear lofty crowns to the height of a cubit or more. But,

* De Mailla, ix. 540. † De Mailla, ix. 540.

‡ Colonel Yule has, I think, proved that it was made of jade, called khas by the Mongols.

§ Cathay and the Way Thither, 130, 131. ‖ Cathay and the Way Thither, 131.

lest the women should wax over proud, thereupon they determined that these crowns should take the form of a foot, and, in fact, at the top of such a great crown, there is, as it were, a foot over it, as if to maintain a testimony that the women did not win the victory alone, but by the help of their husbands, who came to their rescue; and, as if it were said to them, crowned though ye be forget not that ye be under the power of your husbands, and so by a kind of natural reason, they seem to have divined that which is written in the law of God. 'Sub viri potestate eris.'"* Whatever the truth of this quaint sage, the fact of some such ornament being worn is also attested by others. Thus Rubruquis, speaking of the headdress of the Tartar women, says, "they have an ornament for their head called Boccá. This was made of the bark of trees or similar light stuff, round, and large enough to require both hands to span it. It was more than a cubit high, and was square above, like the capital of a pillar. The whole was covered with silk, and on the top or capital, there was put in the middle a thin tuft of quills or slender canes, also of a cubit or more, and this tuft was adorned at the top with peacocks' feathers, and round about with mallards' feathers and precious stones."† Women of a certain age among the Circassians and Ossetes still wear a headdress called Bogtac.‡ Odoric describes the court of the Khakan in much the same way that Polo does. He tells us he was three years at Khanbaligh, and often present at the festivals, for the minor friars had a place assigned them at court, and were in duty bound to go and give the Khakan their benison. He made diligent inquiries, and learnt that his players numbered thirteen tumens, *i.e.*, 130,000!!! Of those who kept the dogs, wild beasts, and fowls, fifteen tumans!!! of leeches, 400 idolators, eight Christians, and one Muhammedan. When the Khakan rode from Khanbaligh to Shangtu, or *vice versa*, he was escorted by four armies on horseback; one went a day's march before, one a day's march behind, and one on either hand, so that he travelled in the centre of a cross. His palanquin was made of lign aloes and gold, covered with fine skins, and ornamented with precious stones. The four Cuthe, *i.e.*, Kuesie,§ keeping guard by him.‖

The following story is so quaint that I have been tempted to extract it from Odoric's travels. "When I was still in the province of Manzi (*i.e.*, Southern China), I passed by the foot of the palace wall of a certain burgess, whose manner of life is thus:—He hath fifty damsels, virgins, who wait on him continually, and when he goeth to dinner and taketh his seat at table the dishes are brought to him by fives and fives, those virgins carrying them in with singing of songs and the music of many kinds of

* Peregrinatores Quatuor, 116, quoted in Cathay and the Way Thither, 132.
† Cathay and the Way Thither, 131. ‡ *Id.*, 132. § *Vide ante.*
‖ Cathay and the Way Thither, 135.

instruments. And they also feed him as if he were a pet sparrow, putting the food into his mouth, singing before him continually until those dishes be disposed of. Then other five dishes are brought by other five maidens, with other songs and kinds of music, while the first maidens retire, and thus he leadeth his life daily until he shall have lived it out."* This story illustrates the luxury and wealth which abounded in China during the Mongol supremacy.

KUSHALA KHAN.

YISSUN TIMUR had hardly closed his eyes when the Empress Regent sent to have the seals of government seized. Her eldest son Radchapika,† called Asukipa by De Mailla and Gaubil, was then nine years old, and had been declared his heir by his father; but there were some about the court who deemed that others had a better claim to it. When Batra succeeded his brother Khaissan, it was on condition that the latter's children should succeed him, but Batra had violated this agreement, and put his own son on the throne.

Khaissan had left two sons, of whom Kushala had a command in the north, while the other, called Tu Timur, had been long in exile, first in Hainan, and more lately at Kienkang or Nanking.

The chief partisan of the family of Khaissan was Yen Timur, the governor of Peking. He assembled the mandarins, recited to them the wrongs of his *protegés*, and imprisoned Upetula, the first minister, Tiemuku, the first censor, and certain influential mandarins, and effectually overawed the discontented. We are told that the officers whom he appointed were at a loss to know which of the two brothers was to be proclaimed, and only found out that it was Tu Timur when they were ordered to face the south and do homage in the prescribed form. Several princes and others who threatened a revolt were put to death. Meanwhile the Empress Regent caused her son to be proclaimed at Shangtu, and Wanchen, Prince of Leang, was named his first minister. Taché Timur was given command of the troops, and ordered to march against Tu Timur. Tu Timur having arrived at Tatu, he ordered several of those who had been imprisoned by Yen Timur to be executed.

The latter now pressed him to take advantage of the popular enthusiasm and have himself proclaimed Emperor. He replied that the crown belonged to his elder brother, who had performed very arduous services in the north. He at length, however, consented, but in his proclamation he declared that he intended to resign the dignity on his brother's arrival.

The division in the Imperial family was already beginning to bear

* Cathay and the Way Thither, 152. † Ssanang Setzen, 121.

fruit. We are told that Nankiatai, governor of Suchuan, made himself independent, and created his province into a separate kingdom. He took the title of Prince, put to death those who opposed his usurpation, appointed officers, and devastated Chen tao. He is treated as Emperor in the history of the Mongols.* His rebellion is interesting as the first token of that break-up of the empire which was so closely impending.

The party of the young prince, who is numbered among the Khakans by Ssanang Setzen, was by no means contemptible, and besides many of the princes of the blood and provincial governors, it also included the greater part of the western troops. Having been declared his heir by the late Sovereign, he was, according to Chinese usage, the legitimate Sovereign.† Yen Timur marched against the partisans of the young prince in Liau tung. He defeated Wanchen, who had captured Kiu yong koan. Meanwhile the officers of Asukipa occupied the famous fortress of Tung kuan, and even marched upon Peking. They were defeated. An end was at length put to the war by the successful march of Buka Timur, an uncle of Yen Timur, with several commanders from Eastern Tartary, who marched upon Shangtu, where the young prince held his court.‡ Its commander made several ineffectual sorties, and deserted with the Imperial seal and the jewels of Asukipa. Meanwhile that young claimant disappeared: no one knew how. His disappearance was the signal for the disintegration of his forces, which were completely dispersed. He was styled by the Chinese Tien chun.§ Tu Timur sent word to Kushala of what had happened. Meanwhile the latter advanced leisurely. He caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor at Karakorum, and there received Yen Timur, who came from his brother, and bore the Imperial seal and other insignia of office.‖

Yen Timur was well received by Kushala, who appointed several of his father's old officers as his ministers, and named his brother Tu Timur as his heir. Tu Timur sent messengers to Nankiatai to recall him to his allegiance, promising him that the past should be forgotten; but, as usual in China, such promise was not kept. His submission was followed by his execution and the confiscation of his goods. Kushala continued his march, and met his brother near Shangtu. The meeting was cordial enough on his part, but Tu Timur showed signs of jealousy, and Yen Timur complained of having been slighted by the Mongol grandees. The same evening, at a feast, Kushala was suddenly seized with illness. He died a few days after, not without suspicion of poisoning. This was in the latter part of 1329. He was only thirty years old, and received the posthumous title of Ming tsong. His body was removed to Shangtu.

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* De Mailla, ix. 547. † Gaubil, 263. ‡ De Mailla, ix. 545.
§ Gaubil, 263. ‖ D'Ohsson, ii. 550.

JIYAGHATU KHAN.

TU TIMUR, who is called Jiyaghatu Khan by Ssanang Setzen, now had himself proclaimed afresh, with greater ceremony than before. He was much attached to the Lamaists, and spent immense sums upon them. He summoned Nienchinkilas, a famous western Lama, whom he called his master, to his court, and sent the grandees of the court to meet him and do him honour. They obeyed, and offered him wine, while he treated them in a very cavalier manner. The president of the Imperial College, who was much piqued at this conduct, said to him, when presenting the cup, "You are a disciple of Buddha and master of all the Hochang, and I am a disciple of Confucius and head of all the literates of China. Confucius was as great as Buddha. Between us there is no need of so much ceremony." The Lama smiled, rose from his seat, and received the cup which the president offered him in the same attitude, standing.* The young Emperor ordered the college of Han lin to draw up a collection of the Mongol customs, similar to the works styled Hoei yao of the Thang and Sung dynasties. In imitation of Khubilai, he wished to have only one minister. He accordingly suppressed the rest, and appointed Yen Timur to the post. After his appointment, he became tyrannical, insolent, and very unpopular.†

Early in 1330 there was a revolt in Yunnan, where the Prince Tukien declared himself independent. Troops were sent against him, and were ordered to march by the country of Pa fan. Tukien was supported by the Lolos and other tribes of Miaotze, on the borders of Yunnan. The Khan's army, under the command of Timur buka, was defeated, and sent for reinforcements. Upon which the Prince Yuntu Timur was ordered to withdraw 20,000 men from the provinces of Kiang nan, Honan, and Kiang si, and to lead them by way of Hu kuang towards Yunnan.‡ These successful outbreaks at the extremities of the empire were doing a good deal, no doubt, to break the prestige of the Mongols. The court also was growing demoralised, and we are told that the Empress Putacheli having a grudge against her sister-in-law, the widow of the late Khan, had her assassinated by an eunuch.§

In order to gain the esteem of the literates, whose influence with the Chinese (at this time distressed by inundations and famine) was very great, fresh honours were decreed to the father and mother of Confucius. These inundations are said to have entirely ruined 5,180,000 arpens of land in the provinces of Kiang nan and Hu kuang, and to have reduced to poverty more than 400,000 families.‖

* De Mailla, ix. 550. † De Mailla, ix. 552. ‡ De Mailla, ix. 553. § Gaubil, 268.
‖ De Mailla, ix. 553.

In the latter part of 1330 the Emperor went in person to perform the great sacrifice to the sky. Previously it was done by deputy.* This was followed by a general amnesty, and by the proclamation of his young son Alatenatala as heir; he, however, died the next year.† The following year the harvest was still worse, and in the province of Chekiang there were 800,000 families who harvested nothing of either grain or rice. The war in Yunnan continued with doubtful success, but the Imperial general Alatenacheli having collected an army of 100,000 men, defeated the Lolos and other mountaineers, and killed two of their chiefs. He seems to have quelled the rebellion and pacified Yunnan and Suchuan.‡ It is a remarkable custom in China that the Imperial annals are not published or even seen by any one, save the officials of the College of Historians, during the Emperor's life. In the latter part of 1331 Tu Timur went to the college and ordered the bureau containing the account of his own doings to be opened. The chief officials were cowed, but a subordinate had the courage to throw himself at the Emperor's feet, and to declare that it was impossible the tribunal could continue to be independent; could pronounce judgment on the good and bad actions of the Emperor and his officers unless protected by secrecy. That it was indispensable that they should write the truth and omit nothing. That hitherto no Emperor had violated the sacred memoirs of his dynasty, much less of his own reign, and that he hoped the Emperor would not insist on doing so. Tu Timur, after some hesitation, assented to this reasoning, and praised the official for his integrity.§

Lo yu, one of the rebel chiefs in Yunnan, had escaped to the mountains; he collected a body of his people, and dividing them into sixty small parties, overran the country of Chun yuen, where they committed frightful devastation. A force marched against them, under the orders of the general Kiehé, who stormed their chief stronghold. Five hundred of them perished. Three sons and two brothers of Prince Tukien were made prisoners, while a third brother drowned himself rather than fall into the hands of the Chinese. Lo yu himself escaped.‖ We are told that Tu Timur was so occupied with his pleasures that he hardly deigned to show any interest in this distant campaign. Yen Timur possessed his entire confidence, and pandered to his tastes. So infatuated was the Emperor with him that he caused his own son Kulatana to live with him and recognise him as his father, wishing him even to change his name. A son of Yen Timur's, called Targai, was brought up in the palace in the place of Kulatana.

The conduct of the Emperor caused much discontent, and Yuelu Timur, son of Ananda, in conjunction with the heads of the Lama religion in China, formed a plot to displace him; but this was discovered, and they were duly punished.

* Gaubil, 268. † De Mailla, ix. 554. ‡ De Mailla, ix. 554. Gaubil, 268.
§ De Mailla, ix. 555. ‖ *Id.* 557.

He however survived only a short time, and died at Shangtu in the latter part of 1332.* His death occurs in the annals amidst the accounts of earthquakes and other disasters, that presaged so well the coming disasters to Mongol dominion. He was twenty-nine years old when he died; his posthumous title was Wen-tsong.

RINTSHENPAL KHAN.

I HAVE said how infatuated Tu Timur became with his minister Yen Timur, and how he had sent his son to be brought up in his house. This son was named originally Kulatana, but he then took the name of Yen tikusi. On the death of the Emperor, Yen Timur naturally wished to place this young prince on the throne, but the Empress Regent declared that Tu Timur had nominated the second son of Kushala as his successor. He is called Ilintshepan by De Mailla and Gaubil, Yléchebé by Hyacinthe, and Rintshenpal by Ssanang Setzen. He was only seven years old. She caused him to be proclaimed, and declared herself Regent; but he was of a delicate constitution, and died two months after. His title in Chinese history is Ning-tsong.†

TOGHON TIMUR KHAN.

ON the death of Ning-tsong, Yen Timur made another effort to put his *protegé* on the throne, but the Empress Regent again intervened in favour of Toghon Timur, the elder brother of Ning-tsong, urging that Yentikusi was too young, and that Tu Timur had promised to place a son of Kushala on the throne.

There were grave doubts about the legitimacy of Toghon Timur. His father had escaped westwards, as I have described,‡ and had married a descendant of Arselan, who had submitted to Jingis (clearly the Arslan Khan of the Karluks, to whom I have already referred). Toghon Timur was the product of this marriage. His mother had died many years before, and he himself had been exiled to an island on the Corean coast. As the rumour spread that this exile was prompted by Tu Timur's desire to remove a dangerous rival, who was clearly entitled to succeed him if he was the eldest son of Kushala, he published

* De Mailla, ix. 558. D'Ohsson, ii. 554. D'Ohsson, ii. 563, 564.

† De Mailla, ix. 559. Gaubil, 270.

‡ *Vide ante*

the news that Kushala had had no sons during his exile, and that Toghon Timur was not legitimate; he also removed him to Tsing kiang (Kuei lin fu) in Kwangsi. There he was on the death of his brother. Yen Timur went with a large cortege to bring him to the capital. He was coldly received, and grew suspicious. Toghon Timur, however, married his daughter. He shortly after died from his debauchery and excesses. He had been suspected, not without reason, of the deaths of Kushala Khan, and also of Tu Timur, and it was deemed fortunate for the new Khan that he should have died when he did. He is styled audacious and perfidious by De Mailla. He was extravagant and debauched. In his feasts he killed as many as thirteen and fourteen horses. On the death of Yissun Timur he forced his widow to marry him. Among his concubines were numbered forty princesses of the imperial blood, whom he took up one after another, retaining some of them only three days. The young Emperor was only thirteen, of limited capacity, and of a feeble and timid character.

He left the affairs of State in the management of his chief officers, whom he chose mainly from the family of Yen Timur. Bayan, a Merkit, and Satun, a brother of Yen Timur, were created chief ministers. De Mailla says that on the day when the former was appointed there was a dreadful earthquake at Tsin chan, as if to show how much heaven disapproved of the choice.* This was followed by other prodigies. A rain of blood, which discoloured the clothes of those it fell upon, in Kaifong fu; a shower of green threads, like hairs, in the district of Chang; while rain and drought devastated other districts;† and 13,000,000 people are said to have died in the southern provinces. Bayan and Santun did not agree. The latter shortly after died, and was succeeded by Tangkichi, the eldest son of Yen Timur,‡ who, jealous of his colleague, determined to rebel and to place Hoanho Timur, son of Shireki and grandson of the Khakan Mangu, on the throne. Bayan having heard of the conspiracy, caused the rebels to be arrested. Tangkichi was killed. His brother Targai took refuge in the apartments of his sister, the Empress, but was sabred in her presence. She herself was also executed, while Hoanho Timur committed suicide. Thus perished, says D'Ohsson, the illustrious house of Yen Timur.§

The Emperor was given up to frivolity. While famine and disaster were overtaking his people he engaged in hunting and other amusements, and when the Imperial censors blamed him, he endeavoured to bribe them into silence by presents. After some pressure, we are told, these were accepted, but the remonstrances were not discontinued.‖ We need not be cynics to doubt the efficacy of remonstrances when thus rewarded. Meanwhile revolts occurred in various provinces. A peasant, named

* De Mailla, ix. 563. † De Mailla, ix. 563. ‡ De Mailla says he was Sangtun's son, ix. 564.
§ Op. cit., ii. 560. ‖ De Mailla, ix. 567.

Chu kuang king, with some companions, raised a rebellion at Cheng chin in Kwan tung, erased the dynastic title of Yuen and set up that of Kin. Other similar rebellions took place at Hoei chau, in Kwang tung, and in Honan. These were put down, but the discontent was not eradicated.* The Emperor having remarked that the rebels were mainly Chinese, began to suspect that the mandarins had only an official, and not a real attachment to his dynasty. It was determined to deprive them of their horses, and to forbid them, on pain of death, to carry arms. The use of the Mongol language was also interdicted them.* The year 1337, like the preceding one, was marked by natural phenomena of a serious aspect to a race afraid of omens. A comet, heavy rains, hail (of which some of the stones were shaped like children and others like lions), and an earthquake. The last of which overturned the Temple-of-the-Ancestors of the reigning dynasty.

The following year a rebellion broke out in Fukien, the Imperial troops were beaten, and it was not till two years later that it was suppressed.† Another revolt broke out the next year in Honan. Everywhere, apparently, the people were growing weary of the exactions of the Mongols and the weakness of the court. To this was added the cruel and imperious conduct of Bayan. He was a Merkit by origin, and descended from the great Bayan of the days of Jingis; he had been governor of Honan, and rose to great favour during the reign of Tu Timur. After the death of Gegen Khan he monopolised almost all authority, and used it badly. With his own hand he had killed the Empress Péyau, and in 1339, for some unexplained reason, proposed to the Emperor to put to death all those with the surnames Chang, Wang, Lian, Li, and Chao. This did not come about, but it created him many enemies; and his conduct is set down as one of the main causes of the final expulsion of the Mongols from China.‡ He even took upon himself to have the prince Tan wang executed, and the princes Timur-buka and Koan-che-buka exiled without the Emperor's authority. Bayan had a brother, Matchartai, equal to him in talent but without his vices. He and his son Toto or Toktagha, fearing that Bayan's misconduct would lead to the ruin of the whole family, and mindful of the Chinese maxim that a faithful subject ought to sacrifice his family to his Sovereign and country, determined to make a representation to the Emperor. Toktagha accordingly did so, and plans were laid for deposing him. One day when Bayan absented himself from the city for the purpose of hunting, the gates were closed against him. He was deprived of his honours and exiled to Honan, but died on the way there of disappointment. On his way he halted at Ching ting fu, and some old men brought him out some wine. He asked them, referring to what Toktagha had done, if they had heard the news of a son who intended to kill his father.

* De Mailla, ix. 568. † De Mailla, ix. 570. ‡ De Mailla, ix. 571.

They replied that they had not, but that they had heard of subjects who wished to kill their Sovereigns. Confused by this ambiguous answer, Bayan, we are told, held down his head and passed on without reply.*

His brother Matchartai, the father of Toktagha, who had won much favour at court for his exemplary conduct, succeeded him. This was in 1340. The same year Toghon Timur caused the name of Tu Timur to be erased from the tablets of the ancestors. These tablets are made of wood or silver, five or six inches wide and a foot or more long, and have the name and title of the person and the year of his birth and death inscribed on them. The Chinese believe that the spirit of the deceased resides in them, and pay adoration to them. The name of Tu Timur was erased for the part he took in the murder of Kushala Khan, the father of Toghon Timur,† the exile of himself to Corea, and the indignity of suggesting that he was a bastard. At the same time the Empress Putacheli, who had preferred his younger brother to himself, was exiled to Tong ngan chau, where she shortly after died, while Yentikusi, the son of Tu Timur, was sent to Corea. He was put to death on the way by the mandarin who escorted him.‡ To escape responsibility for these events, which were against his counsel, Matchartai resigned his office of chief minister, and was succeeded by his son Toktagha. Toghon Timur now caused to be completed a great historical work, which had been in progress since the days of Khubilai Khan, namely, the history of the dynasties of the Liau, Kin, and Sung. According to Gaubil, this work contains calendars, astronomical observations, biographies of celebrated men, bibliographies of the various reigns, and many details on the neighbouring countries.§ It is somewhat scandalous to our age that it has not yet been translated. About the same time was published the King chi tai tien, a Chinese work containing the customs of the Mongols, and the political and other precepts of the different Emperors. This was a kind of sequel to a work published in the reign of Gegen Khan, with the title Tai Yuan tong chi, containing the Mongol laws. The year 1342 was marked by revolts in Hu kuang and Shan tung. These were quelled, the latter with some difficulty.‖ The following year there arrived—as a present to the Emperor—some horses from the country of Fu lang (*i.e.*, of the Franks). They were of a breed hitherto unknown in China. One of them was eleven feet and a half long, and six feet and a half high. It was black all over, except the hind feet, which were white. It is curious to meet with such a notice among the various accounts of disaster that occupy the annals. But these big western horses were doubtless very wonderful to the Chinese, who only knew the little breed of Mongolian ponies.

The particular horses are of greater interest to us, however, for they introduce us to another of those intrepid mediæval travellers whose

* De Mailla, ix. 575. † *Vide ante.* ‡ De Mailla, ix. 578. § D'Ohsson, iii. 565. Gaubil, 279.
‖ De Mailla, ix. 578.

audacity and enterprise have hardly been equalled in later times. The traveller who is brought into our notice by the horses above named was Marignolli, a Franciscan, who was probably born about 1290.* In 1338, says Colonel Yule, there arrived at Avignon an embassy from the great Khan of Cathay, consisting of Andrew, a Frank, and fifteen other persons. They brought two letters to the Pope; one purporting to be from the Khan himself, the other from certain Christian Alans in his service. It is possible that this Andrew was the Andrew, Bishop of Zayton, already named. Colonel Yule is disposed to accept the Khan's letter as genuine. It is thus phrased :—

"In the strength of the Omnipotent God, the Emperor of Emperors commandeth :

"We send our envoy, Andrew the Frank, with fifteen others, to the Pope, the Lord of the Christians, in Frankland, beyond the seven seas where the sun goes down, to open a way for the frequent exchange of messengers between us and the Pope; and to request the Pope himself to send us his blessing, and always to remember us in his holy prayers; and to commend to him the Alans, our servants and his Christian sons. Also we desire that our messengers bring back to us horses and other rarities from the sun setting.

"Written in Cambalec, in the year of the Rat, in the 6th month, on the 3rd day of the Moon."

Whether the letter be from the Khan himself or no, there cannot be much doubt about the arrival of this embassy, which was "graciously received by the Pope, Benedict the Twelfth, one mark of his favour being to create one of the Tartar envoys sergeant-at-arms to himself."† Shortly after he appointed legates to return the courtesies of the Khan, and also to further the cause of the faith. His letters to the great Khan, and to the Alans in reply, were accompanied by letters to the Khans of Kipchak and Jagatai, and to two Christian ministers of the latter Sovereign. With these letters the Eastern envoys departed from Avignon in 1338, bearing recommendations also from the Pope to the Doge and Senate of Venice, and to the Kings of Hungary and Sicily. The legates who were named were Nicholas Boneti, S.T.P., Nicholas of Molano, John of Florence (*i.e.*, Marignolli), and Gregory of Hungary. Marignolli's notices of his recollections were found during the last century in a Bohemian chronicle. The mission went by way of Constantinople, Kaffa, Serai (the capital of the Golden Horde), where they passed the winter of 1339; Almalig, where they stayed till 1341; Kamil, and finally arrived at Cambalec in May or June, 1342.‡

There they stayed three or four years, and returned to Europe by way of India. Marignolli expressly mentions horses among the presents he

* Cathay and the Way Thither, 312. † Cathay and the Way Thither, 318.
‡ Op. cit. 321.

took with him. One of these, which he presented to Uzbek, the Khan of the Golden Horde, he calls "a great war horse." This was no doubt similar to the one he took with him to China. He says that "when the grand Khan beheld the great horses, and the Pope's presents with his letter, and King Robert's too, with their golden seals; and when he saw them (the envoys) also, he rejoiced greatly, being delighted, yea exceedingly delighted with everything, and treated them with the greatest honour; and when he (Marignolli) entered the Kaam's presence it was in full festival vestments, with a very fine cross carried before him and candles and incense, while *Credo in unum Deum* was chaunted in that glorious palace where he dwelt. And when the chaunt was ended he bestowed a full benediction, which he received with all humility."* He tells us they were treated very liberally, not only in regard to meat and drink, but even down to such things as paper for lanterns, and the necessary servants were detached from the court to wait upon them, and this for nearly four years. They also kept him and his establishment clothed in costly raiment. He calculated that, considering there were thirty-two persons, it must have cost the Khan more than 4,000 marks to entertain them. "And," he adds, "we had many and glorious disputations with the Jews and other sectaries, and we made also a great harvest of souls in that empire." When he left, the Khan sent presents by him to the Pope, and also gave him an allowance for three years' expenses; he also sent a request that either he or some one else should be speedily sent back with the rank of cardinal, and with full powers to be bishop there; that he should be of the Minorite or Franciscan order, because they were the only priests whom they were acquainted with, and because Pope Girolamo, who sent them John of Montecorvino, whom they so much revered, was one of them.† The horses which our traveller took form a most curious link between Chinese and European history, inasmuch as they are mentioned in the Imperial annals of the former, and also in a contemporary Western chronicle, written by our traveller, who was the chaplain to the Emperor Charles the Fourth in the latter.‡

Gaubil tells us in his translation of the Chinese Chronology, 186, that there was preserved in the Imperial palace a picture in which Shunti (*i.e.*, Toghon Timur), the last Emperor of the Yuen dynasty, was represented on a fine horse, of which all the dimensions were detailed, and also that it was presented to Shunti by a foreigner of the kingdom of France. (Rather, as Colonel Yule suggests, of the kingdom of the Franks, Europeans in China, as in the East generally, being known as Franks.§) But we must proceed with our narrative.

* Cathay and the Way Thither, 339, 340. † Cathay and the Way Thither, 341.

‡ Marignolli, after his return to Europe, was created Bishop of Bisignano, in Calabria, and in 1354 was also made one of his domestic chaplains by the Emperor. Cathay and the Way Thither, 328.

§ Cathay and the Way Thither, 340.

In 1344, Toktagha weary of his office resigned it, and received the title of Ching wang. He was succeeded by Ilacho, a descendant of Bughurdshi,* one of Jingis Khan's favourite chiefs. He is called Alutu by De Mailla.†

In 1346, some thieves stole the silver tablets of the Emperors from the Temple of the Ancestors, a fact which, as De Mailla says, shows the unsettled condition to which things were fast tending. The weakness of the Emperor led to constant intriguing for place among the ministers. Ilacho grew disgusted. One Pierke buka, son of the Agutai who had been put to death by Khaissan, gained the Emperor's ear and persuaded him to exile Matchartai, who was so much esteemed for his integrity. His son Toktagha having failed to get this decision reversed, followed his father. Matchartai was sent to Kan chau, in Shen si, where he shortly after died.‡

Ilacho also determined to resign, especially as some of the Imperial censors supported Pierke buka in his intrigues. I am a great grandson of Bughurdshi, he said, and I am not very proud of being a minister. I only accepted the office to please the Emperor. He pressed me and I could only obey, but as the censors have thought me guilty I submit to their judgment, and resign with pleasure a post I only filled with repugnance. §

Pierke buka succeeded to the vacant office, his incapacity or misconduct led to his being superseded by the Prince Turtchí, who asked that he might have Tai ping as a colleague. This was granted, and they applied themselves with vigour to various reforms. One of their inspectors named Hanyong proceeded to found schools in the various departments, and to appoint special costumes for masters and pupils. He also ordered several temples to be destroyed, and the land they occupied to be brought into cultivation. The people who had suffered so much from the recent bad seasons were much pleased with these reforms. The Emperor was also interested and paid a visit to the Imperial College, to which he had not been since he mounted the throne. He gave a silver seal to a descendant of Confucius, who bore the title of Yen ching kong, and raised the mandarins who were there in charge to a higher rank.‖

At the end of 1348, the Imperial censor Chang chin presented a memoir on the fact that so many of Bayan's relatives were still at large, and that this encouraged the pirates and robbers on the frontier of the empire, who deemed themselves safe from justice, and he warned the Emperor that he was thus tempting the fate which overtook the dynasty of the Tang.¶ About this time Toktagha was recalled at the instance of Tai ping and recovered his influence at court. He was not on good terms however with his benefactor, and even joined in the chorus of voices

* Ssanang Setzen, 123. † De Mailla, ix. 580. ‡ Gaubil, 281. § De Mailla, ix. 583.
‖ De Mailla, ix. 585. ¶ De Mailla, ix. 587.

that depreciated him.* Tai ping seems to have lost his position, and his friends suggested that he should commit suicide, rather than outlive the disgrace. He refused, saying he was not conscious of any fault, and that he should only be confirming the judgment of his enemies if he killed himself. He retired to Fong yuen, his birthplace.

Toktagha was now appointed tutor to the heir apparent, Ayuchélitala. The lessons were given in the hall called Toan pen tang, at the bottom of which was placed a throne upon which the Emperor intended to sit sometimes. The young prince and his masters were ranged round the room. One Li hao ven was appointed to teach him statecraft, and composed for him several works on history, the duties of princes, &c., but his scholar was impatient of restraint and learnt little. He had a leaning towards Buddhism, and one day, when he gave an audience to some Coreans and Lamas, he caused much chagrin to the Chinese, by saying that he could not understand the doctrines contained in the Chinese books, which Li hao ven had tried so carefully to teach him, but that he understood perfectly the Buddhist doctrines.*

The Chinese discontent was increased by the favour shown to foreigners, especially to Ama† and Sue,‡ two Turks from the Kip chak, who were the Khakan's confidantes, and without capacity or talent§. Meanwhile, the condition of China was growing worse. The straw that eventually crushed the camel's back was not an important one. The banks of the Hoang ho, which has a reputation for changing its course, were constantly breaking down and causing inundations. In 1348, a mathematician named Kia lu made a report upon it, and suggested that the course of the river should be changed and turned back into an ancient channel, which was now deserted. In this opinion he was supported by Toktagha, and opposed by others, including the superintendent of public works, who declared the new course to be impracticable. It was decided to be made notwithstanding. It involved the cutting of an immense ditch, twenty-eight leagues long, and for this work a forced levy of 70,000 men was ordered from the people on the banks, and large taxes were levied to pay for the same. These causes led to a revolt, headed by one Han chan tong, who at first declared himself a Buddha, but his Chinese supporters deftly found a new excuse for him, in proclaiming that he was a scion of the ancient house of the Sung Emperors. He was joined by a large body of insurgents, who swore allegiance to him, and sacrificed a white horse and a black one, and adopted a red cap as their symbol. Han chan tong was shortly afterwards captured by the Mongols, but his wife and son escaped. This was in 1351.‖ Meanwhile, a pirate named Fang ku chin pillaged the coasts of Chékiang and Kiang nan, entered the river, and captured much booty. The grandees kept the matter secret, and the pirate and his brother were even rewarded.‖

* De Mailla, ix. 589. † The Kima of Ssanang Setzen, op. cit., 123. ‡ The Jugé of the same author, *id.* § De Mailla, ix. 592, 593. Gaubil, 286. ‖ Gaubil, 286.

Liau fu tong, a supporter of Han chan tong, continued to struggle after the latter's capture. He captured several towns in Kiang nan, and entered Honan. Another rebel, named Siu chau hoei, also appeared in Hu kuang. He had himself proclaimed Emperor at Ki chui, and gave his dynasty the title of Tien wan, and afterwards captured Yao chau and Siu chau. The Mongols fled before him. He descended the river Kiang with a numerous fleet. Meanwhile Li fu, one of the Imperial generals, threw several thousand beams whose ends were armed with hooks and iron points, into the river. Upon these the rebel fleet was forced, and while they were thus entangled he fired their ships by means of burning arrows. Many of the rebels thus perished. They were, however, still strong enough to attack Kiau kiang. Li fu marched to the rescue, but they had already forced a gate. He fought his way from street to street, and at length fell pierced with many wounds. He was a Chinese, and not a Mongol, and is specially named for his fidelity to the foreign dynasty by De Guignes, and was granted many posthumous titles of honour by the Emperor.*

At this time the Mongol army, commanded by Yesien Timur, Toktagha's brother, which had marched against the rebels in Honan, and was encamped at Cha ho, was seized with unaccountable panic and dispersed. The blame was laid upon its commander, but he was supported by his brother, who even punished the mandarin who had declared against him. The court began to grow nervous about the state of affairs, and determined to send a descendant of the Sung Emperor's, named Chao wan pu, in favour of whom many of the rebels pretended to rise, into Tartary.

Meanwhile Siu chau hoei continued his successes, and with the peculiar policy that animated the Tai ping rebels of our day, he allowed his soldiers to plunder the towns which he captured.

He now attacked Hang chau, the ancient capital of the Sung Emperors. The Mongol troops which were sent to rescue it, having arrived too late to save it, their intrepid commander, Tong pu siao, notwithstanding marched on. The rebels speedily evacuated the city. They were attacked when in a state of disorder. A portion of them took shelter in a miao or temple, Tong pu siao fired it, and not one escaped. Hang chau was recaptured Its fall was followed by that of several other towns.† Another rebellion in Hu kiang and Kiangsi was also put down at this time. The rebels were assisted, we are told, by a Tao si, who could by his magical arts cover a space of twelve li with storms. He was captured with his books. His head was cut off in presence of the army, and his books were burnt.‡

Meanwhile Fang ku chin, the pirate, continued his ravages, and Tia buka, who had occupied some of the most important places of trust in the empire, and was a man of considerable resources, was sent against him. He was then at the mouth of the Kiang. Tai buka, instead of

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* De Mailla, ix. 596. † De Mailla, ix. 599, 600. ‡ De Mailla, ix. 600.

attacking him, sent him proposals of peace. Fancying that some treachery was intended, he seized the envoy, mounted the Kiang with 200 boats, and pillaged the district of Mangan and its neighbourhood. Tai buka, seeing that his plans had failed, determined to collect a large force and to exterminate the pirates. Fang ku chin now made overtures for submission, but these were treacherous ones; and Tai buka having trusted his fleet too close to the enemy, he was captured after a hard resistance and was killed.*

Toktagha seeing how matters were going, determined to march himself against the rebels, notwithstanding the dictum of the grandees that the ministers are to the Sovereign what the hands and feet are to the body, and that all affairs ought to pass through their hands. He marched against those who were assembled near Pe siu chau. They were defeated, and the town was destroyed for having harboured them. This victory was balanced by a severe defeat sustained by the Imperial general Singki near Hu keau, in Kiang si. He had been sent against the arch rebel Siu chau hoei, with orders to recover Kiang chau. He gained several small successes, and posted his forces in the defile of the lake of Po yang to protect his recent conquests. There he was attacked by the rebels with great vigour. He himself was killed, and his death secured the victory to the enemy.† Gaubil says he was only wounded, and was captured alive, and that the rebels, who respected him as a hero, knelt down before him and gave him something to eat, but that he died of his wounds seven days after.‡

On the advice of Toktagha, Toghon Timur now, namely in 1353, nominated his son Aiyuchelitala,§ as his successor.

The pirate Fang ku chin continued his ravage, and intercepted the merchandise and grain that was sent from the southern provinces to the capital by sea. Another attempt to induce him to submit was made by the promise that he and his brothers should be appointed to certain important mandarinates. They suspected this lavish generosity, and continued their incursions and ravage, at the head of 10,000 ships.‖

Siu chau hoei, the arch rebel, had fixed his court at Kichui. There he was attacked by the Imperial generals Puyen Timur and Yahancha. He was defeated and 400 of his supporters captured.

While the empire was distracted by rebellions and other calamities, the Emperor was indulging in debauchery and extravagance. Toktagha had nominated Kima or Ama, to whom he was under obligations, as a minister. He gained the good opinion of the Empress Ki, and corrupted the Emperor's mind. He imported Lamas from Thibet, who introduced into the palace various voluptuous amusements. One of these games was called Yencher, which in Mongol means pleasure. It was accompanied

* De Mailla, ix. 602. † De Mailla, ix. 604. ‡ Gaubil, 291.
§ De Mailla, ix. 605. ‖ De Mailla, ix. 606.

by certain dances called Tien me. These were performed by sixteen young girls, whose hair, divided into many tresses, fell loosely over their shoulders. Their heads were covered with ivory caps, decorated with delicate open work. Their dresses had wide sleeves, and their petticoats were of red damask embroidered in silk. Over them was a kind of jacket, called a spirit dress. These were ornamented with a fringe that floated about gracefully while they danced. In their hands they held a kind of kiubalapan or sceptre. One of the party had a castagnette or little bell, with which she marked the time. In another kind of dance there were eleven girls, whose hair was negligently tied with very pretty handkerchiefs. They wore the ordinary dress, only that their caps were of the style worn during the dynasty of the Tang. Each one had a musical instrument. One a German flute, another a little drum, a third a guitar, &c. These musicians, under charge of the eunuch Antie buka, chiefly played when the Emperor worshipped Buddha. During the secret cultus, De Mailla says that only the eunuchs were admitted, and he suggests that various orgies were carried on.

As a reward apparently for providing the Emperor with these amusements, Kima was named chief minister, and the warnings and advice of his better subjects and of his son were alike disregarded by the Emperor.* Meanwhile the faithful Toktagha was making head against the rebels. In 1354 he recovered several towns of Kiang nan, and defeated the rebel leader Chang se ching, who had recently won a battle over the Imperial general Taché Timur.† These good services availed him little at the court, where the ungrateful Kima intrigued against him, and charged him with misspending the State's resources in the war, and with doing very little. A memoir on the subject was presented to the weak Emperor, through the censors, and Toghon Timur consented to the exile of his faithful minister. He was sent to the country of Hoai nan, and his brother Yesien Timur to Ning hia. The order reached him at the camp. Although counselled to resist, he received it on his knees, and told the officer who took it, that he recognised himself as unworthy of the Emperor's favours, and thanked him for having relieved him of responsibility. He distributed his armour and horses among the officers. He bade them be faithful to their new commander. He then mounted his horse and went away with his servants.

Toghon Timur continued his frivolous conduct. He now had a state barge built, of which he furnished the model. It was from 120 to 130 feet long, and from 20 to 25 feet wide. It was rowed by twenty-four rowers, magnificently dressed, and was used on the canal joining the summer and winter palaces. This barge was called the dragon. It was of the shape of that animal, and when it moved its head, eyes, tongue, claws, and tail were set in motion. In the midst of the boat was a kind of tower

* De Mailla, ix. 609. † De Mailla, ix. 609.

six or seven feet high, at the top of which were placed the two characters, San ching tien (*i.e.*, Hall of the Three Saints), in golden letters. Inside it was a statue of the goddess Yuniu, which marked the hours. At each hour water flowed from a basin. On each side of the goddess was the figure of a spirit, dressed in golden tissues; one held a bell; the other, an instrument made of bamboo, to strike the watches of the night, which were marked by a finger, while at every hour statues of lions and phœnixes respectively jumped and flapped their wings. On each side of the tower was the palace of the sun and moon, in front of which were figures of six immortals. At six and at mid-day they walked two and two, crossed the bridge, called the Bridge of Spirits, entered the Hall of the Three Saints, and returned to their places. This machine was made with extraordinary dexterity, and the Emperor had the credit of its invention.*

In 1355, Siu chau hoei, who had adopted the Imperial title, sent his general Ni wen tsiun to capture the country of Mien yang. He severely defeated the Mongols, and burnt a portion of their fleet. The court was little moved by these defeats in the south of the empire, but began to be more nervous when the rebels ventured across the Hoang ho, and made raids into Honan. The troops in that province were reprimanded, and reinforcements were sent there, which for a while kept it free from invasion.† Liau fu tong, the chief of the red caps of Honan, now proclaimed Han lin ulh, a son of the Sung Emperor Han chan tong under the title of Ming wang, and established his court at Pochau, in Honan. After some indecisive battles, he and his *protegé* were forced to take refuge towards Ngan.‡ Kima now prosecuted his designs against Toktagha. He changed his place of exile to Yunnan, but had him poisoned on the way. Toktagha is described as tall and majestic in person, of an affable and kind disposition, austere in virtue and disinterested, the companion of wise men, and he was very faithful to his Sovereign. De Mailla says his disgrace is an external reproach to the courtiers of Toghon Timur. He blames him, however, for his patronage of his brother Yesien Timur, and for his promotion of Kima.§

This year, namely in 1355, there comes upon the scene a very important individual named Chu yuen chang, who became the founder of the Ming dynasty. Originally a Buddhist priest, he had joined the rebel Ko tse hing as a private soldier, was promoted to the rank of officer, and ended by leading a band of his own. He captured Hoyan, which he protected from being plundered. This clemency gained him many adherents. He then crossed the Kiang and secured Tai ping, which he would not allow to be ravaged. We are told that an old literate named Tao ngan, at the head of some venerable men, went out to welcome him. He described the

* De Mailla, ix. 612. † De Mailla, ix. 613. ‡ De Mailla, ix. 617.
§ De Mailla, ix. 615.

empire as being troubled like a sea tossed with a violent wind, and said that those who were working to make themselves masters of it at the point of the sword, gained only a passing success at the cost of ruined provinces and pillaged people. He hoped that he would do otherwise, and in following the dictates of heaven would also gain the affection of the people. He was received in the city with a cordial welcome.*

The empire was in a dreadful state. The first minister Kima began to dread the consequences of his policy, which had reduced the Emperor to the verge of imbecility. He knew how he was disliked, and to reinstate his reputation determined to depose Toghon Timur, and to replace him by his son. He made his own father a party to the plot. The plot was disclosed by his sister, who was married to one of the Emperor's boon companions, who reported it to him. Kima and his brother were exiled, but were strangled on the way.† This was in 1356.

The rebel Chang se ching, who had been defeated by Toktagha, had recruited his forces, crossed the Kiang, and captured several towns of Eastern Che kiang. At the same time, Chu yuen chang, whom De Mailla calls "the destroyer of the empire of the Mongols," advanced from one success to another. Tsi king (now called Nanking), Chin kiang, and Chang chau were among his important captures. His policy was entirely different to that of the other rebels. As he allowed no plundering, he was welcomed by the inhabitants as a saviour, nor would he make common cause with the other disturbers of the peace.‡

However different their policy, the rebels in the north were not less successful. The troops of the revived Sung Emperor there captured Shang tu, the fortress of Ukoan, pillaged Tung hoa, and ravaged the country. That their success was due to the feebleness of the government is shown by the fact that when the Mongol general Chaghan Timur chose to exercise a little vigour, he managed to disperse them with only 500 cuirassiers.§ Further east Liau fu tong, the chief patron of the pretended Sung Emperor, was more successful, and overran a large part of Shang tung and Honan. The Emperor, who concluded that the unpractised and undisciplined rebels only made head against the Imperial troops because of the want of skill and weakness of his commanders, sent them strict orders to attack them vigorously. The rebels, who heard of this, fanned the feeling by so dropping a letter, offering the general Taché Timur a high command among them, that it came into official hands. The general was so affected by this, that he fell ill and died. The Emperor, who was assured of his innocence, gave his command to his son Polo Timur,‖ but it was of small avail. Tsinan and Hokien successively fell into the hands of the Sung pretender, and the Imperial troops were badly beaten near the village of Wei kia chuang, and their commander Tong toan siao, a brave

* De Mailla, ix. 616. † De Mailla, ix. 618. ‡ De Mailla, ix. 620.
§ De Mailla, ix. 621. ‖ De Mailla, ix. 623.

and resolute officer, was killed. This was in 1357. The rebel commander on this occasion was Maokué, and he followed up his success by making raids as far as the environs of Ta tu. The Emperor was counselled by some to seek refuge in Tartary, by others that he should go to the country of Koan chen. This was opposed by the minister Tai ping. He summoned a skilled general, who defeated Maokue, but his defeat was balanced by the victory of Liau fu tong, who took possession of Pien ling, or Kai fong fu, the capital of Honan, which was basely deserted by its commander. He took his *protegé* there and made it his capital. The other arch rebel Siu chau hoei, who had set up the dynasty of Tien wang, was master of nearly all Hu kuang and Kiang si. He had secured the services of an able Chinaman, named Chin yeou lang, who rose from being the son of a fisherman to a post of confidence, and to the command of a large force.* He descended the river Kiang, both by land and in boats, and proceeded to attack the strong fortress of Ngan king. The Imperialists opposed him, fought bravely but ineffectually for four days and nights, and had to retire. The Kiang being now free, the rebels advanced as far as the walls of Ngan king. It was well defended by its commander Yukiué, but was as bravely attacked. There was a severe carnage. Yukiué was badly wounded and committed suicide. His wife and children threw themselves into the ditch, while the greater part of the garrison preferred to perish in the flames, rather than submit to the rebels.† This was in 1358. During the same year, the troops of the revived Sung dynasty, whose capital, as I have said, was Kai fong fu, made a cruel raid into Shan si, and desolated the country beyond the Great Wall. Another division made a long detour; entered Liau tung; pillaged its capital, Liau yang; and advanced as far as the borders of Corea; and on its return, burnt the magnificent palace which Khubilai had built at Shangtu. We are told this caused the Emperor more pain than all his other disasters, and so feeble was he that he ordered it to be rebuilt at once, and had to be reminded that in the distracted condition of the empire, it was impossible to raise the necessary funds.

The progress of Chu yuen chang, the founder of the Ming dynasty, was, if slower, more secured, as he gained the goodwill of the districts which he occupied by his moderation. The pirate chief, Fang ku chin, who saw that the Mongol power was crumbling, and that Chu yuen chang was their most promising successor, determined to submit to him, and sent his son as a hostage. He returned him to his father, urging that hostages were only needed by those who could not trust each other's word. Shortly after, Fang ku chin sent him a magnificently caparisoned horse. He refused, saying he merely wanted to serve the State, and needed grain, cloth, and silk to clothe his soldiers with, and had no taste for jewels. A large part of Che kiang fell into his hands.

* De Mailla, ix. 625. † De Mailla, ix. 626, 627.

The generals of the Sung pretender soon after engaged in quarrels and murdered one another. The court of Siu chau hoei, the other Imperial pretender, was also the scene of violence. His troops attacked the important town of Sin chau. Twice they were beaten off, but the third time they succeeded, after a siege which De Mailla says was one of the most remarkable in history. The garrison did not scruple to feed on human flesh, and even to kill the old people and the useless inhabitants for food. It was at length captured after a subterraneous attack, and several distinguished officers who defended it perished sword in hand.* After the capture of Long hing and Sin chau, the pretender wished to move his capital to the former town, but was resisted by his chief general, Chin yeou leang. As he persisted, the latter determined to suppress him, arranged an ambuscade, into which he fell with his escort. He spared his life and left him his title, but put him under restraint, and himself took the title of Prince of Han. He marched against Tai ping, taking his prisoner with him. When he had captured the town, he had him murdered, and then had himself proclaimed Emperor, giving his dynasty the name of Han.

The Mongol general, Chaghan Timur, determined to take advantage of this disunion. He marched rapidly with three divisions upon Kai fong fu, and having blockaded it for some time, assaulted and captured it, but Liau fu tong and his *protegé*, the Sung Emperor, eluded pursuit and escaped. The Mongol court continued to be the scene of intrigue and dissipation. Ayuchélitala, the heir to the throne, in concert with his mother Ki, tried to induce the minister Tai ping to persuade Toghon Timur to abdicate. Tai ping refused, and was supported by the grandees. The young prince revenged himself by having several of them poisoned, and others condemned to death, and Tai ping, seeing that his authority was vanishing, resigned his office. This was in the early part of 1360. He was succeeded by two scoundrels, the eunuch Pa pu hoa and Chosse kien, "grand seigneur" of Kuélié.† Their chief object was to enrich themselves, and keep the Emperor ignorant of the grave position of affairs.

Meanwhile the proverbial discipline of the Mongols began to give way, and to join in the general decay of authority.

Chaghan Timur, who had been so successful in his campaign in Honan, quarrelled with Polo Timur, as to their respective authorities in the district of Tsin ki. The Emperor tried to settle matters by making a new division, but he afterwards favoured Polo Timur, and ordered Chaghan to surrender the district of Ki ning to him. He refused, crossed the Yellow River, and marched against his rival, but retired on the peremptory orders of the Emperor, that each of the two generals should retire to his own government.‡ This was in 1360, and about the same time Aluhoei

* De Mailla, ix. 631. † De Mailla, ix. 633. ‡ De Mailla, ix. 635.

Timur, a descendant of Ogotai, in the eighth generation, having collected a force of several hundred thousand troops, marched towards the frontier with the intention of displacing the Emperor, whom he charged with not being able to defend the heritage he had received from his ancestors, and with having already lost half of it. He defeated the Imperial general who was sent against him. The court was naturally afraid, but misfortunes may sometimes be turned to advantage. The Emperor's son thought that if his enemy, the minister Tai ping, was sent against the rebel, he would necessarily fail, and as certainly be disgraced, but there was in the rebel army, an old *protegé* of Tai ping's, who, out of consideration for his former patron, surrendered his new master. He was sent on to the Emperor, was tried, and put to death.* The founder of the Ming dynasty continued to strengthen his position, and now marched against the Han pretender, who had so basely killed and displaced his master, Siu chau hoei. He defeated him and captured several towns of Kiang si. This was in 1361. At this time, the vigour of Chaghan Timur seemed to promise that the Mongol authority might yet be everywhere restored. He had recovered Honan, and now entered Shang tung, crossing the Yellow River. He captured one city after another, and was further encouraged by the invitation of one of the rebels, Tien fong, who joined his army. So successful was he, that at the beginning of 1362 there only remained in the province of Shan tung the town of Itu which had not surrendered. He proceeded to lay siege to it, when his career and the reviving hopes of the Mongols were shattered by his assassination. This was effected by Wang se ching, a friend of Tien fong's, who had gone over with him, and had latterly plotted in concert with him against the great Mongol commander. The two confederates took refuge within the city, and Kuku Timur, the adopted son of Chaghan Timur, was granted the latter's dignities and command. He continued the siege vigorously, and entered the town by means of galleries undermining the walls. He sent the chief prisoners to the court, reserving only the two murderers for his own vengeance. These he took to his father's corpse, and having torn out their hearts offered them to his manes.

A revolt now broke out in Corea. The Empress Ki was a Corean. She persuaded the Emperor to depose the tributary King of that secluded kingdom, and to appoint one of her relatives in his place. To this the Coreans refused to submit, and the Mongol army which was sent against them suffered a terrible defeat. Of 10,000 men, of which it consisted, only seventeen escaped. Another revolt took place at the other end of the empire. One of the officers of Siu chau hoei, who had been sent to conquer Suchuan, having heard of his master's death, occupied a large part of that province, where he had himself declared Emperor, and gave

* De Mailla, ix. 636.

his dynasty the name of Hia.* Chin yeou leang (the murderer of Siu chau hoei), whom I have described as founding a new dynasty called Han, had, as I have said, been defeated by Chu yuen chang and deprived of his capital. He now raised a fresh force, and made a furious attack by water and land upon the captured city, with a force of 200,000 men, but after a three days' struggle between the fleets he was killed by an arrow. His fleet dispersed, and his son Chin chan ulh, who had been appointed his successor, was taken prisoner. Another son, Chin li, escaped, and was proclaimed Emperor; but he was speedily forced to surrender, and the whole province of Hu kuang became subject to the conqueror Chu yuen chang, whose moderation in victory was as remarkable as his prowess in fight. He now advanced against Ngan fong, where the revived Sung Emperor had lately retired.

Meanwhile the Mongol court was the scene of constant dissensions. Polo Timur, the old rival of Chaghan Timur, became the rival also of his son Kuku Timur, and sent an envoy to get possession of the coveted district of Tsinki, which had aroused his envy originally. This, however, was defeated.

The heir to the throne, or dauphin, was a turbulent and ambitious prince. His great object, which was much pressed by his Corean mother, the Empress Ki, was to persuade his father to abdicate in his favour. The young prince was persuaded by his father's two disreputable ministers that some of the grandees who opposed themselves to the intrigues of the court were plotting against him, upon which he had two of them put to death. The evil councillors of the prince were afraid that Tukien Timur, a friend of the two victims, might revenge their death, determined to ruin him also. They charged him with malpractice. He was supported by his friend Polo Timur, upon which the young prince got the latter's commission as general of Tai tong cancelled, and gave it to his rival Tuku Timur. He in turn supplied some troops to Tukien Timur, with which he seized the fortress of Kiu yong koan, and they determined to sweep the court of its crowd of intriguers and scoundrels. Tukien Timur defeated the troops sent against him, and advanced to the river Tsing ho, while the young prince thought it prudent to escape to Tartary with his guards. Polo Timur insisted that the two obnoxious ministers should be surrendered to him, and that he should be reinstated in his command; and after some parleying, in which he was very firm, his terms were agreed to.† The Emperor now sent a peremptory order to his son to return. He did so, but at the head of 120,000 men, and at the same time ordered Kuku Timur to attack Polo Timur in his appanage of Tai tong. The latter, leaving a strong force to protect Tai tong, marched upon the capital. At his approach the troops of the young prince melted away, and he was constrained to retire, and went to Ta yuen fu, the

* De Mailla, ix. 640. † De Mailla, ix. 646.

capital of Shansi.* Polo Timur now entered Peking, went to the palace, threw himself on his knees before the Emperor, and asked for pardon for what he had done, urging the strong excuse he had for his conduct. The Emperor appointed him generalissimo of the Imperial forces and first minister. He had Tolo Timur, one of the Emperor's companions in debauchery, put to death, and cleared the palace of its crowd of eunuchs, Lamas, &c. And at his instance the Emperor once more summoned the prince to return. This was in 1364. Chagrined at the influence of his enemy Polo Timur, the prince determined at all hazards to punish him, and collected a large force, with which he again marched towards the capital.

Polo Timur sent an army against him; but either his discipline or his haughtiness had disgusted the soldiers, and they refused to fight. He was furious, and killed several officers without discrimination, and gave himself up to wine and debauchery. A conspiracy was formed against him, to which the Emperor was apparently a party,† and one day as he was entering the palace his head was cut off with the stroke of a sabre. The Emperor sent it to his son, who now returned, and appointed Kuku Timur to his office.

In 1366, Ming yu chin, who had taken the title of Emperor of Hia, died, and was succeeded by his son Ming ching, a boy of nine years old, while his mother was appointed Regent. The history of China at this period is curious to a Western student. Each rebel, as soon as he had a decent following, and had conquered a small territory, had himself proclaimed Emperor, and adopted a dynastic title for himself and his successors. So that beside the Yuen Emperors at Peking, there were two or three others in various parts of the empire, each with a stately dynastic title. The most important of them, of course, was the founder of the Ming dynasty. He had lately occupied the towns of Kao yeou fu, Hao chau, Se chau, Pe siu chau, and Ning chau, and those of the southern district of Hoai, almost without opposition. He fixed his court at Kien kang, where he collected a great number of Chinese literates, and guided his conduct by their advice. He promoted only those who were distinguished for their talents, and was as affable to the poor as he was strict with the grandees. In 1366, his generals Suta and Chang yu chun marched against Chang se ching, who had set up an independent sovereignty in a portion of Che kiang and Kiang nan. They defeated his armies and captured Hu chau, one of the richest and most beautiful towns of Che kiang, and afterwards occupied Hang chau, the capital of that province. At the end of the same year, *i.e.*, in 1366, Han lin ulh, the representative of the revived Sung dynasty, died, and his party dispersed.‡

Chang se ching, after his late defeat, had taken refuge at Ping kiang. There the Ming generals followed him. They captured the town and

* Gaubil, 310. † Gaubil, 311. ‡ De Mailla, ix. 652.

took him prisoner. He was sent on to Kien kang, where he was affably received by the Ming Emperor, but he was so much dejected by his fall that he went and hanged himself.* While the Ming Emperor was gradually and surely subduing the country south of the Yang tse kiang, confusion continued to reign at the Mongol court. The dauphin tried once more to persuade his feeble father to abdicate. Kuku Timur disapproved of this, and as a consequence gained the prince's ill will. Shortly after, he was ordered to march at the head of the troops against the rebels in the country of Hoai, with the intention, no doubt, of getting him out of the way. He evaded the order, and had the temerity to kill a person whom the Emperor had sent to him to try and heal his differences with the young prince. The Emperor was naturally enraged, nominated his son commander-in-chief of the empire, and again ordered him to march against the rebels in Kiang hoai. He again evaded the order, to the disgust of his officers, and was then deprived of his office, and exiled him to Yu chau; Gaubil says to Tche chu, in Shansi. His brother Toin Timur was also disgraced.

The pirate chief Fang ku chin had only nominally submitted to the Ming Emperor. He refused to go in person to his court or to send the promised tribute of grain, and had even allied himself with Kuku Timur in the north, and Chin yeou ting (who had occupied a portion of Fukien) in the south. The Ming Emperor sent an army, which captured his three chief strongholds of Wen chau, Tai chau, and King yuen, while the pirate sought refuge on an island off the coast. Thence, having repented of his conduct, he sent his son with offers of submission and offering to become a faithful subject of the Ming, and shortly after went in person with his principal officers, and made his peace with the founder of the dynasty. The latter, having nothing now to fear in the south, which was almost all in his power, determined to attack the Mongols in the north.† He ordered Suta, his first general, and Chang yu chun to march at the head of 250,000 troops, upon the district of Chong yuen, while Hu ting chui went with the troops of Ngan ki and Ning kue, secured the provinces of Fukien and Kuan tong, and another general that of Kuan si. Chongchitcheng and nine princes of the blood were captured. They were sent to Kien kang, but the former died on the way. The latter were courteously received, and a mandarin was ordered to escort them to the Mongol court.‡ The main army of 250,000 men, under the command of Suta and Chang yu chun, marched towards the north; they speedily conquered the country between the rivers Hoai and Hoang ho, and having entered the province of Shan tung, they issued a proclamation, setting out that it was the Chinese who ought to rule the barbarians, and not that the latter should rule in China. That the Mongols had not conquered China either by their strength or courage, but

* De Mailla, ix. 652. † De Mailla, ix. 654. ‡ Gaubil, 314.

by the favour of heaven. That now this same heaven deprived them of it on account of their crimes. Since the days of Jingis the order of succession had been disturbed, brothers had poisoned brothers, and sons had taken their fathers' wives, all subordination had been destroyed, the laws of China despised, and heaven had sent Chu to restore them. Everywhere they were gladly received. They speedily occupied Shan tung, and Honan followed its example; its cities opened their gates at their approach.

The Emperor sent for Kuku Timur to go to the rescue with all his troops. He went at the head of a large force, but instead of covering the threatened court, he encamped near Ta yuen, in Shansi. Hitherto Chu yuen Chang, whom we have named the Ming Emperor by anticipation, had only taken the title of Prince of U. He now, namely, on the first of February, 1368, being the first day of the Chinese year, had himself proclaimed Emperor at Kien kang. He gave his dynasty the name of Ming (*i.e.*, light), and to the years of his reign that of Hung wu (*i.e.*, fortunate war). In August, 1368, he set out from Nanking and marched towards the Imperial capital. At the same time, Suta and Chang yu chun entered the province of Peh chehli and captured Tong chau, defeating and killing the Mongol general Puyen Timur. The Chinese army now appeared at Tatu or Peking. At this critical moment, one Che lie men took the tablets of the Mongol Emperors from the palace, and went north to Mongolia, with the heir to the throne. Toghon Timur decided to follow them, left Peking by the gate Kien té men, and retired to Shangtu. The capital did not long resist the Chinese, although, we are told, that Timur Buka, the prince of Hoai; the minister, King tsong, and many others bravely died in its defence.*

In the foregoing narrative of the gradual sapping of the Mongol power in China, and of its eventual overthrow, I have followed the Chinese account, as given by De Mailla and Gaubil. If we turn to the native chronicler Ssanang Setzen, we find a very different story. There we have little confession of decrepitude at the court and of the general decay of public virtue and authority. There it is treason, the machinations of evil men, and the more potent working of fate which caused the disaster. For the reigns that intervene between Jingis and Toghon Timur he furnishes hardly any material, except indeed in the case of Khubilai, whose conversion to Lamaism was a notable event in Mongol history, and upon which I shall enlarge in a future chapter, and his account is little more than a mere list of the Khans, with the dates of their birth, accession, and death. With the reign of Toghon Timur he begins to be much more detailed, and as his story is interesting as a picture of Mongol modes of thought, I shall abstract it.

I may say *in limine* that he seems to have made a curious error,

* De Mailla, ix. 657.

which was not detected by Schmidt, and which prevents his account as it stands from being reconciled with that of the Chinese. He has confounded Chu, the founder of the Ming dynasty, with Sue, or Suesue, as he is called by De Mailla, the companion and assistant of Kima or Hama, in the administration which brought ruin on the Mongols. Rolling both these personages into one, he applies the name Juge to him, and has told the continuous story as if it all applied to the supplanter of Toghon Timur.

Premising this, we are in a position to examine his narrative. He tells us, then, that in 1344 an old man named Jui, of the family Ju, had a son who took the name of Juge. At his birth there radiated from his house a five-tinted rainbow.

At this time there lived a great grandson of Boghordshi Noyan, of the Arulads, named Ilacho Ching sang, son of Hla. He spoke to the Khakan as follows: "When this happens at the birth of a common person it is not without meaning. He is of a foreign family. It were well to make an end of him while yet a boy." The Khakan, however, blamed this warning and let the boy live. Then spake Ilacho once more: "You will not heed my advice now. In the end it may be your power shall tremble before him. It seems to me that this boy when grown up will bring upon us many calamities and troubles." When the boy had grown up, and showed uncommon sharpness and intelligence, the Khakan grew very fond of him. He then issued the following order: "Toktagha and Kharatsang, father and son, I appoint over the western provinces; while the eastern ones I place under Juge and Bugha, sons of old Jui." Thus Juge obtained the chief authority in the eastern provinces. Shortly after this Juge Noyan and a Chinese minister named Kima Bindshing (*i.e.*, the Hama of De Mailla), much trusted by the Khakan, made a plot against him. They began by suggesting that Toktagha Taishi was indisposed towards the Khakan and meant to make himself independent and to rule over the foreign peoples. This suggestion was apparently sent to the Khakan by the hand of Kima.

About that time the Khakan dreamt that a wild boar with iron tusks rushed into the city and wounded the people, who were driven hither and thither without finding shelter. Meanwhile the sun and moon rushed together and perished.

The following morning the Khakan demanded the meaning of this dream from the Chinese Wang Sangtsang. He replied: "This dream is a prophecy that the Khakan will lose his empire." As an antidote to this lugubrious interpretation, the Khakan sought a fresh interpreter in Ilacho Ching sang, of the Arulads, who replied: "I fear the dream may not betoken much happiness. Have I not said it before? Shortly there will rise smoke in this place and dust in that." The Khakan now had recourse again to Toktagha Taishi, of the Kunkurats, who spoke out thus: "The swine with iron tusks signifies a man of the family Ju who

has hostile intentions. The strife between the sun and moon betokens that the Khakan and his subjects will quarrel." "What is to be done, then?" said the Khakan. Toktagha replied that the former counsel of Ilacho was very good, and that he could give no better, and he bade him kill the men of the family Ju. The Khakan thought that Toktagha was jealous of Juge, who had been promoted over him, and that this prompted his advice. He accordingly allowed Juge to live on. The latter heard of what had passed. He drew more and more people into his plot, and meanwhile Toktagha's warnings were neglected by the Khakan. Juge was naturally suspicious of Toktagha, and had him watched by spies. The latter heard of this, and on one occasion when he knew such an one was coming, he placed a basin of water at his door. This he covered with shreds of felt, and placed a knife and some hair on it. When the spy saw this he returned home and reported it to his master. The very enigmatical riddle was thus interpreted by Juge: "The water in the basin represents the whole people, 'the world's ocean.' The shavings of felt signify the Khakan, the Taishi, the princes, and lordlings who sail on the sea like steered ships. The knife and hair signify the power of the empire, sharp as a knife and fine as hair. I must get rid of this dangerous man in some way. So long as he lives I cannot carry out my design. He knows everything." Having arranged his plan, he sent the Khakan the following notice through Kima Bingdshing: "There is no longer any doubt that Toktagha Taishi has evil designs against the person of the Khakan. He can satisfy himself of this by summoning him to appear before him. He will certainly not go." This was told to the Khakan by a third person. Upon which Kima Bingdshing received orders to go to the Taishi and fetch him to the court.

He set out, but retraced his steps when he had gone part way, and reported that although he had invited the Taishi to come, yet he had refused. Then spake the Khakan: "If he were faithful and innocent, what reason is there why he should not come? It seems made out that he has some evil designs."

He then ordered Kima Bingdshing to take troops with him and to kill Toktagha Taishi. Kima Bingdshing accordingly collected some troops, which he stationed at the city Siro Khakan. Meanwhile he himself sent to Toktagha Taishi and announced to him that he was the bearer of secret despatches. During the conversation that followed he said, "Some one has told the Khakan you have evil designs against him. To disprove this he has sent me to summon you, so that he may speak with you."

The Taishi was suspicious of the whole affair, but "as his time had come" he was obliged to go, even against his will; and as he had been the most faithful of the Khakan's servants, he went on in the hope that the invitation possibly was genuine. On their departure Kima Bingdshing said: "I will speed on to arrange that the posthorses shall be ready. Delay and negligence will bring upon us the Khan's rebuke." Upon this he went on

ahead, collected his troops together, surrounded the Taishi, and killed him. Such is Ssanang Setzen's account of the destruction of the faithful Toktagha. It will be remembered that in the Chinese account he was the victim of Ama's or Kima's jealousy, while nothing is said about Suesue; and as to Chu, the founder of the Ming dynasty, he only appears for the first time in the Chinese accounts in the year of Toktagha's death.

But to continue the story as told by the Mongol prince.

When Kima Bingdshing, on his return, gave an account of his doings, the Khakan ordered that Juge Noyan should be promoted to the government of the eastern as well as the western provinces, and that Kima should have the direction of all internal affairs. At this time Juge Noyan made the following remonstrance to the Khakan: "As my lord has raised me to such a distinguished position, it is unbecoming in me when I go to my house that I should seek repose. If the small governors (in the provinces) are zealous men, the people will be oppressed. I wish myself to overhaul their doings, and would go and superintend their tax collecting." The Khakan consented, with the words "Be this so also."

Juge Noyan thereupon set out on his tramp, but had not returned in three years. Upon which the Khakan was very angry, and gave the following order: "As Juge Noyan has stayed so long away he shall not be received in the city when he returns." The guards were ordered to see that this was carried out strictly.

About this time the Khakan had the following dream:—There appeared to him an old hoary man, who addressed him with angry mien and voice: "Thou thyself hast killed thy faithful watchdog, and now the strange wolf comes into thy inclosure, and by what means canst thou hope to keep him off?" With these words the vision disappeared.

The Khakan was much disquieted by this dream, and said to himself, "The watchdog was surely Toktagha Taishi, whom I have killed, and the wolf that comes from without is surely the approaching Juge." The Khakan told the dream to Ananda Madi Lama. The latter, after a while, answered him, and said: "In one of the Shastirs (S'astras) called Sain ügetu Erdenin Sang, written by our former leader, the Bogda Sâkia Pandita, who attained to the furthest limits of all wisdom, it is said, 'It is well not to yield to one's closest friends in everything, but to wish to make a friend of an alien enemy is ruinous.' The meaning of your dream is, that having killed your faithful watchdog Toktagha Taishi, that you then gave your confidence to an alien wolf, namely, Juge, and it has shown you the unfailing end of this policy." When the Khakan asked what was the best to be done, the Lama replied: "In the time of your ancestor, the Bogda Khubilai Setzen Khakan, it happened that the sublime chief of the faith, P'agpa Lama, spent three days in crying and lamentation." "Wherefore, my Lama," said the Khakan, "dost thou weep so distressingly?" P'agpa Lama answered: "Neither in your nor in my

time, but in nine or ten generations hence, there will be born a Khakan named Toghon. In his day will our religion go under, and this is the reason of my grief." "How canst thou, who art so young, my Lama," said the Khakan, "know what will happen so far off in the future?" "Khakan," said P'agpa Lama, "I know that long ago there once fell for seven days a rain of blood." The Khakan then ordered the ancient books to be examined. In one of these it was found that in the reign of the Chinese Emperor Tai tsóng, of the Tang, there fell in China during seven days a rain of blood. Upon this a learned Chinese philologist named Tang Wang tsang, an assistant of Sunitu Bakshi, a younger brother of the Indian Türbel ugei Bakshi spake to the Emperor as follows: "This is a forewarning that not in your time, but in the tenth generation from you, when the Emperor Ingshi Ting, of the Tang, shall be born again in your family (*i.e.*, by Metemptsychosis), a vicissitude will impend over your dynasty." When the Khakan (Khubilai) had this passage pointed out in the book he became more than ever attached to the faith. The Lama Ananda Madi then delivered the following not very consoling homily to Toghon Timur: "The prophecy of the Bogda will surely happen when its time has arrived, and who can prevent its issue? Nevertheless it will conduce to your good if you will invoke the sublime Lama, if you will trust in the three superior disciples, and keep faithful to your tutelary genius."

The Khakan, whose mind was excited by the Shimnus (*i.e.*, the evil spirits), turned upon the Lama in a rage, and said: "Lama, make thy way homewards." The Lama, who was much rejoiced with this answer, replied: "The order of the Khakan that I should return home while the golden girths of his house are still tight and his noble realm is still powerful is not a suggestion of his own. It comes directly from the Lama." With these words he took his departure homewards.

In this Saga we have the characteristic features of Mongol notions as to the moral government of the world. The influence of an unswerving fate, the curious faith in dreams and their interpretation, and a ready excuse for disaster in the predestined and not to be averted course of events, rather than in the decrepitude of the ruler and his servants.

But to conclude Ssanang Setzen's story. He goes on to say that Juge Noyan remained three years in the city of Nanking, and confirmed a pact with the eight hundred and eighty thousand Chinese by a solemn oath. Then he set out, and sent the Khakan the following note: "Conformably to the decrees of the all powerful and of the Khakan, I have taken hold of the rudder, which I still hold." He had tampered with the guards of the various forts, whom he had gained over by bribes and presents, and he everywhere marched with a following of 90,000 two-wheeled waggons, on which were stowed all kinds of costly objects, which he could distribute; 30,000 waggons were filled with merely rich objects, a second 30,000 with all kinds of weapons and war stores, and a third with

food and provisions. With these he seems to have approached the city, where the waggons with costly objects were first unladen. In the waggons of the other two divisions lay concealed completely armed and equipped men. Besides these there were also three large cannons covered with wax, which it was pretended were torches to be used if night should come on before the first section was unladen. The warriors in the other waggons were told that the time for them to rise would be when the wax had burnt down to the tinder sponge and the fire threatened to burn the stores.

Such, according to the Mongol prince, was the treacherous caravan that approached the city. When the first 30,000 waggons were unladen, the cannons were fired off, the armed men sprang from their retreat and occupied the place, where the panic was too great for them to think of defence. The Khakan, seeing the fulfilment of the fatal dream at hand, hid away the great seal, Chas Boo,* in his sleeve, and fled with his wives and children, under the guidance of Ilacho Ching sang, of the Arulads; Bucha Ching sang, of the Naimans; and Togholcho Baghatur Taidshi, a descendant of Kassar, the brother of Jingis, with seven companions, who cut a passage for him.

Thus did Toghon Timur Uchagatu Khakan lose his capital, Daitu, and his kingdom, and while he was given up to pleasure and debauchery he was fooled by the wily plotting of his hostile subjects.† I will now add the curious Jeremiah-like wail which Setzen says that the Khakan uttered as he left the city by the gate Moltoshi, amidst cries of distress and woe.

"My great capital, my Daitu, decked with various sheen. My delicious cool summer seat, Shangtu Keibung Kurdu Balghassun. Yellow plains, the pleasant playground of my God-like sires. How ill I've done to lose my kingdom thus.

"Oh, my Daitu, built in the yellow serpent year with sixfold skill. My Shantu Keibung, union of the nine and ninety perfect things. My fortune founded on benign religion and my stately power. My great name and fame as the Almighty Khakan.

"When I arose betimes and looked forth, how the fragrance blew towards me. Before, behind, where'er I looked was grace and beauty. My noble Daitu, built by the mighty Setzen Khakan, where neither summer nor winter brought dull ennui. My Daitu, where my fathers dwelt in joy and gladness, my faithful lords and princes, and my dear people. Oh, that I had followed the sage words of Ilacho Ching sang. That I had not nursed the wily treachery of Juge Noyan. What fatal error to exile my wise Toktagha Taishi; to send the noble Lama to his home again. Alas for my Imperial fame and all my happy days. My Daitu, made cynosure of art by Khubilai Setzen Khakan. Ye are all

* *Vide ante sub vocem* Jingis. † Ssanang Setzen, 123-135.

torn from me, and even my good name is gone. Thou treacherous Chinaman, Juge Noyan." *

When the Emperor escaped from his capital, he went first to Shangtu, and not feeling safe there, afterwards continued his flight to Ing chang fu, which Timkowski describes as a town now destroyed, in the district of Kichikten, on the north-east of the Dolonnor.† It is, according to Schmidt, the same which Ssanang Setzen calls Bars Chotan, *i.e.*, Tiger city, which he says is found on some of the Jesuit maps.‡

Notwithstanding the fall of the capital, the great Western provinces still held out. Kuku Timur had a strong force in Shansi, and Li se chi, who commanded in Shensi, seemed disposed to set up an independent sovereignty there.§ After the capture of Yen king, the Ming Emperor ordered Sutu and Chang yu chun to conquer the former province; they were assisted by other generals, who entered it at several points, and captured the town of Hoai king. Ta yuen was then the capital of Shansi. Upon this city Suta marched at the head of the main army. Kuku Timur had set out to attack Pet pin, but he now retraced his steps to save his capital. He was attacked suddenly in his camp, during the night, by the Chinese forces. He was occupied in writing despatches by candle light; he managed to escape on a horse without a saddle, with but one boot on, and in the company of only ten followers; but his army, 40,000 strong, with the second in command, Ho pi mà, had to surrender.‖ Besides other booty, Suta captured 40,000 horses. Kuku Timur was pursued towards Kan su. Ta yuen submitted, and the Chinese army was divided into several bodies, which rapidly subdued the remaining towns of Shansi. The Ming Emperor busied himself, meanwhile, in destroying the luxurious surroundings of the late court, and in introducing greater simplicity. The magnificent chariots of the Mongol Emperors, decorated with gold and silver work, were exchanged for copper ones, and we are told, that one day he noticed a celebrated tower, built by the same luxurious sovereigns, which was of a very rich structure. In it were two figures, that sounded a bell and beat a drum at each hour, and having examined it for a while in silence, he remarked that the Yuen dynasty would still have been flourishing if the Emperors had busied themselves with the improvement of the people rather than with these trifles, and he ordered it to be destroyed.¶ In the second month of 1369 an edict was published, ordering the composition of the history of the late dynasty. The first minister Li chan chang was charged with revising it.

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* Ssanang Setzen, 137. Schott has given a translation differing somewhat from Schmidt's in the transactions of the Berlin Academy for 1849, but I fancy it is not so literal as Schmidt's, which I have followed.

† Timkowski's Travels, ii. 208. ‡ Ssanang Setzen, 139. Schott in Berlin Transactions for 1849, 503.

§ De Mailla, x. 16. ‖ Delamarre's Ming Annals, 16.

¶ De Mailla, x. 20.

While Suta was conquering Shansi, Esu, a dependent of the Mongol Emperor, made a diversion towards Pet pin. Its garrison was weak, but its commander having collected a large number of boats on the river Pin, extending for almost a league, placed red flags on them, and made such a noise with drums and cymbals, that Esu was afraid to venture an attack and retired.* Suta now prepared to cross the Hoang ho, and to reduce Shensi, where many of the Mongols who fled from Shansi had joined the forces of Li se chi. His passage over the river was not disputed; the town of Tsin yuen submitted at his approach, and its garrison fled; at Koan kia tong there was considerable resistance, and its commander rather than surrender killed himself and his family, and his example was followed by several other officers.† Other successes followed. Fong tsiang, where Li se chi had taken refuge, submitted, and he was forced to fly, while the towns of Long chau, Tsin Chau, and Kong chang followed its example. Li se chi, pressed on every side, at length determined to surrender, and was well received by the Chinese general. His submission was followed by the surrender of Lin thao, and that of several other towns.‡

While Suta's progress was everywhere a triumphant march, the other great Ming general, Chang yu chun, was also most successful further east. He defeated the Mongol general Wen tshin at Kin chau, and Esu at Thsuen nin, and proceeded to attack Ta hin, about which he hid 1,000 horsemen in eight ambuscades. The garrison, which tried to escape during the night, were all captured. He then became master of Khai pin, and pursued the fallen Emperor towards the north, captured Prince Khin sén, who was a member of the Imperial family, and the general Tin chau, and decapitated them; he also took 10,000 prisoners, as many chariots, 3,000 horses and 5,000 cattle, and the province of Ky pet (Peking) was entirely subdued.§ The brave general, Chang yu chun, died in his camp at Liau ho choan; he was a great loss to the Ming Emperor, for he had acquired much skill and power, and boasted that at the head of 100,000 men he would undertake to traverse China from end to end, whence he was called Chang-hundred-thousand.‖ His command was given to Li wen chong, who received orders to march against the frontier town of Ta tong, which the Mongols still held, and which would make a good base whence they could attack the empire. The new general executed his part bravely; neither the snow nor rain that fell in torrents availed the garrison much, he forced his way into the town, and captured or killed 10,000 of its garrison. Its commander, Tho lie pet, was among the prisoners.¶ He was taken to the court, where the Emperor presented him with a State robe.** The fugitives were pursued as far as Mang kotsang. Meanwhile the town of King yang made a most

* Delamarre, op. cit., 18. † De Mailla, x. 26. ‡ De Mailla, x. 27, 28. § Delamarre, 21.
‖ Delamarre, 22. ¶ Delamarre, 22. ** De Mailla, x. 31.

determined defence. Its commander was named Chang sang chin. The Chinese beleagured it on every side, but he made desperate sorties, and he sent for aid to his brother and to the Mongol general Kuku Timur, who were at Ninghia, for help. They sent a body of troops under Hantchar, to make a diversion, which captured the town of Yuen chau; and another took Pang yuen, but neither reached their goal, the beleagured city.. Seven of the Mongol generals at this time were known from their intrepidity as the seven lances. These were Chang se tao, Chang sang chin, Wang pao pao (*i.e.*, Kuku Timur), Ho tsong che, Hantchar, Yao hoei, and Kong hing.

Chang sang chin, finding that his desperate efforts were of little avail, now sent out to treat with Suta; but the latter said he must pay the penalty of rebellion and die. He twitted him with the soubriquet just mentioned, and said that he was determined to show that the golden shields (*i.e.*, the Ming troops) were more than a match for the much-vaunted seven lances. At length his soldiers were wearied out, and began to plot with the besiegers; one of the gates was opened, and the Chinese marched in. Chang sang chin and his father threw themselves into the ditch, but were taken out and executed, as were also their chief supporters, while others who escaped were pursued beyond the Hoang ho. The province of Shensi being pacified, Suta returned to his master, and left the army in command of Fong tsong y.*

The Mongols, although broken and disintegrated, still continued to make intermittent efforts to regain a footing in their old empire. Thus, we are told that no sooner was Suta gone than Kuku Timur advanced by way of Suchau and laid siege to Lan chau. This he pressed very hard. He defeated Yu kuang, who came to rescue it, and having captured him, took him up to the city and bade him tell the garrison that their hoped-for succour had vanished. He, on the contrary, bade them take no heed of his defeat, and that Suta was at hand with a large force. The Mongols, in a rage, cut him in pieces. The resistance was so bravely continued that the Mongols had at length to raise the siege. Chang wen was much lauded at the court for his defence of the city, and the Emperor read him and Suta a very proper homily, in which praise and counsel were judiciously combined.† About this time the Mongols also laid siege to Fong tsiang. They employed a kind of hood made of basketwork plaited with thonrs, shaped like half a boat, and reminding one of the similar shields used in the siege operations of the Romans. Each of these hoods was carried by six men. They were impervious to either stones or arrows, and the besieged employed hooks to tear them asunder, and also set fire to them. Besides this mode of approach, the Mongols also tried to enter the town by an underground excavation, but their efforts failed; their good fortune had gone.‡

* De Mailla, x. 32. † De Mailla, x. 34. ‡ Delamarre, 24.

The Mongol Emperor still remained, it would appear, in the neighbourhood of the Great Wall, while his chief general Kuku Timur, called Wang pao pao by De Mailla, was encamped to the north-west. Suta was now ordered to march against him, and Li wen chong to march against Toghon Timur, and to enter the desert of Shamo, as if hunting, by the gate Ku yong koan.

Suta set out in the second month of 1370 to take command of his army. He advanced as far as Ping si, whence he sent on a detachment under Teng yu to reconnoitre the enemy's position. He found him in a camp protected by several strong ditches, at a place called Chen erh ku, and having attempted to storm it, was beaten off and lost many men. When Suta himself arrived the attack was renewed, the camp was forced, and a terrible slaughter followed. The Mongol princes of Khin than and Wen tsi, the Chinese Prince Yen tsi hiao, several generals, 1,800 officers and grandees, and 80,000 soldiers fell into the conqueror's hands* (De Mailla would make it out that 85,000 men were slaughtered), besides 15,280 horses, and a large number of camels, mules, and baggage. Kuku, with his wife and ten followers, escaped and fled, first to Ning hia, and afterwards to Karakorum. Suta now detached a division of his troops, under Ten yu, to overawe the Tufans or Thibetans, who were more favourably disposed to the setting than the rising dynasty. Their King, Holananpu, with several grandees, came to his camp and submitted. Ten yu continued his march for 1,000 li beyond Kan su, and secured the submission of the people west of the Hoang ho, while his subordinate Wei ching went to occupy Ho chau. Here he found only ruined houses and heaps of corpses. The inhabitants having shown some desire to welcome the Ming dynasty had been slaughtered by the Mongols. The soldiers were much depressed by the sight, and wished to leave the place, but Wei ching reminded them their duty was to face such evils and not desert them, and he bade them make themselves everlastingly famous by rebuilding the ruined town. They set to work with a will, and with the assistance of the neighbouring peasants and the strangers they attracted there, swept away the traces of the revenge of the Mongols.

Soon after this prosperous campaign Suta returned once more to the court. Let us now follow Li wen chong, who, as I have said, had been sent against the Yuen Emperor. He despatched one division towards Yun chau, where Horuta and Halai, two Mongol leaders, with all the garrison were captured. Other divisions took Tong ching chau, U chau, and Su chau. Li wen chong, with the main army, went by way of the mountain Ye hu ling, and captured Chau chin, who defended the defile there. At the mountain Lo to khan he met the Mongol army, commanded by Mantse cha puting and Turchipala. He attacked them and captured their baggage, and then marched on to Shangtu, whose

* Delamarre, 37. De Mailla, x. 41.

commander surrendered. He then advanced towards Ing chang, where the Yuen Emperor had taken refuge. He learnt on the march that he was dead.*

He was fifty-one years old, and had reigned for thirty-five years. His title in Chinese history is Chun-ti.

It is curious to read that in this very year Pope Urban the Fifth, who was probably far removed from any news of these revolutions in the far east, nominated the Franciscan William de Prat, a doctor in theology at Paris, Archbishop of Khanbaligh. He left with twelve companions, bearing letters to the Emperor of China and the Tartar princes on his way.†

In reviewing the life of Toghon Timur we must be struck by the ease and rapidity with which the Mongol dominion in China was shattered to pieces, and we must conclude that its strength was but of a hollow character, and more a pretence than a reality. Its history is curiously repeated in the history of other Chinese dynasties, in which we find an equally surprising decay of authority. One other thing is very remarkable in these dynastic revolutions, so often caused in China by an invasion of barbarous tribes from without, and that is the very little immediate effect they have had in modifying the customs, laws, or habits of the people. The conquest comes and destroys a great deal, like the invasion of a locust swarm does, but in a few years all is green again, and the greenness is pretty much the same greenness as before. If the Chinese have been so often conquered by their neighbours, they have at least the cynical satisfaction that they have also rapidly conquered their conquerors. Have imposed upon them their idiosyncracies and have forced them to assimilate themselves to them. In most cases they have borrowed little from the invaders, who have had their national peculiarities demoralised by contact with the exacting Philistinism that is so largely the heritage of Chinamen. And apparently these invaders have affected the immoveable race as little as the choughs who make such a noise about the Cornish cliffs have affected *them*. In the case of the Mongols this was not altogether so. It is true that they adopted the Chinese civilisation, and that in reading their annals after they settled in China, we do not feel that we are dealing with a different folk to those who founded the Ming empire. Yet there can be no doubt that their far-reaching enterprise, their widely-extended empire, the vast number of western people whom they had at their court, must have introduced a great mass of fresh ideas and notions, and made their period an epoch of renaissance in the arts and literature. In the words of D'Ohsson, we find bodies of Alans and Kipchaks employed in the war in Tungking, while Chinese engineers were found in the Mongol armies on the Tigris, and Persian astronomers and mathematicians compared notes with those

* De Mailla, x. 38. † D'Ohsson, ii. 607.

of China.* The Mongol Sovereigns controlled the destinies and commanded the resources of so many peoples, that their court might well be described as a microcosm of the known world.

When we come to inquire what were the immediate causes of their downfall, we shall not have far to go. The later period of the Mongol dominion was marked by extraordinary natural phenomena, such as earthquakes, droughts, floods, &c. These in a densely-peopled country cause wide-spread misery and distress, and in most cases the government which has not provided the remedy is visited with blame for the disaster. These evils, in many cases local no doubt, caused many of the local outbreaks that gradually sapped the Mongol power. They were doubtless supplemented by the harsh conduct of the local Mongol governors, by the outrageous exactions and ill-conduct of the Lamas, who, as a sacred caste, deemed themselves privileged to do almost as they pleased, even where they were so hated and despised as in China. The depreciated currency, to which I have already referred, no doubt brought great distress upon the poor. Meanwhile the court was extravagant and profligate. Independence and honesty were not virtues that a minister could practise long and retain his post. Adventurers and intriguers surrounded the throne, and their creatures were placed in positions of responsibility. Discipline broke down in the army, and the officers, so famous two or three generations before for their strict observance of duty, quarrelled with one another and with the court. Lastly, there was the overpowering feeling, fostered no doubt everywhere by the literates, that these Mongols were mere barbarians whom it was an indignity to obey; that they ought to be the servants and *protegés* of the Chinese and not their masters; and that the sooner they were rid of them and the better.

BILIKTU KHAN.

As I have said, the Ming general Li wen chong heard of the death of Toghon Timur as he was marching against Ing chang fu, where he had taken shelter. Having sent word to his master, he continued his march, and having severely defeated a body of Mongols who would have disputed his passage, he appeared before the city, which opened its gates. Ayuchelipata, the heir to the throne, managed to escape towards Karakorum, but his son Maitilipalat was captured, as were also the late Emperor's harem and several princes and grandees. They were sent off as prisoners to China. Li wen chong continued his advance to Hingchau, where 37,000

* D'Ohsson, ii. 611.

† Schott says the name is Sanscrit, and probably means Son of Maitreya, op. cit., 504

Mongols submitted; thence he marched to Honglo khan, where 16,000 more submitted. The power of the Mongols was fairly broken, and the Emperor received the congratulations of his court on this event. In his reply he said *inter alia* that he had not taken up arms against the Yuen dynasty, but merely to put down the rebels who desolated the empire, and if the Yuen Emperors had only behaved decently, he would not have displaced them. The grandees demanded that the captive Prince Maitilipala should be imolated in the hall of the Emperor's ancestors.* The Emperor refused: he said that there were precedents for such a course, but he would not follow them. The princes of Yuen had been masters of China for nearly a hundred years, while his own ancestors had been their subjects, and he could not bring himself to do such a thing. He merely ordered that the young prince should take off his Mongol dress and that he should dress himself in the Chinese fashion. After which he created him a prince of the third rank, with the title of Marquis of Thsengli (*i.e.*, who respects politeness),† and gave him and the princesses a palace and attendants. Meanwhile the heir to the throne retired to Karakorum, where he was shortly afterwards joined by Kuku Timur, by whom he was proclaimed Emperor.‡ He is called Gaiucheritala in the Ming annals; Ngai jeouchili pala by De Mailla;§ Aijen fu li tha la by Remusat;‖ and Ajur shiridara by Timkowski.¶ This name, as Schmidt says, appears to be Sanscrit, and to be properly Ajusri-Dara. Petis de la Croix and De Guignes call him Bisurdar. The form of the name in the Muhammedan accounts is apparently a corruption of Biliktu Khakan, which is the name he bears in Ssanang Setzen. Biliktu means "the wise," which makes it probable that it is a title.** Setzen says he was born in 1338, and mounted the throne in 1371.

The great province of Liau tung still held out for the Mongols, but early in 1371 it was surrendered by its governor Liau y, who sent to the Ming Emperor an enumeration of the soldiers, inhabitants, and towns there. The Emperor kept him in his employment, but he was shortly after assassinated by some officers who were faithful to the fallen dynasty, namely, Hong pao pao and Ma yen hoei. The latter was afterwards captured, but Pao pao escaped to Naha chu.

The Mongol general Kao kia nu still controlled the mountain fortresses of Liau tung, while Naha chu had a strong force in the King ghan range on its borders.†† The latter constantly threatened Liau tung, and its inhabitants sent for aid to the Ming Emperor, who despatched two armies, one by sea, the other by land. The latter captured several fortresses and prisoners, among these latter were the Princes Petu buka, Peyen buka, and Manpe timur. They were taken to the Ming court, where the Emperor gave them houses, &c.‡‡

* De Mailla, x. 40. † Delamarre, i. 29. ‡ De Mailla, x. 42. § *Id.*, x. 42.
‖ Recherches sur la ville de Karakorum, 52. ¶ Travels, 208.
** Schmidt's Ssanang Setzen, 403. †† De Mailla, x. 50. ‡‡ De Mailla, x. 54.

Meanwhile the Ming Emperor had another campaign on his hands at the other end of the empire. The great province of Suchuan has always been a centre of rebellion; its isolated position and great wealth and resources doubtless being the cause. When the Yuen dynasty fell, the Chinese officers there did not submit to the Ming at once, but set up an independent authority, and it required a sharp campaign, which is described by De Mailla, to bring it to terms.* Its history is, however, no part of our subject. More connected with it is the submission of the remoter province of Yunnan. Its governor Patsaluarmi, the Prince of Leang, remained faithful to the Mongols. After they had been driven beyond the Great Wall, he continued to send them embassies which evaded the Ming troops, but after the submission of Suchuan, and after the capture of Su wi one of these envoys, the Ming Emperor thought it a good opportunity to send an embassy to him. He accordingly sent Wang-y, who was well received by the Prince of Leang. At this time there happened to be a messenger of the ex-Emperor's in Yunnan, who had gone there to raise a contribution. His name was Tho tho. He was enraged at the reception Wang-y received, and was very insolent to him, wishing him to prostrate himself. The Ming envoy replied with some spirit: "Heaven has put an end to the Yuen dynasty. And is it seemly that the expiring sparks of a torch should dispute the brightness of the sun and moon. It is you who ought thus to salute me." It would seem that the Prince of Leang was intimidated by Tho tho, for we are told that Wang-y committed the happy despatch.† De Mailla says he was put to death with his suite.‡

At the beginning of the fifth year of his reign the Ming Emperor presented each of his faithful generals, Suta, Li wen chong, and Fong ching, with fifty bows of Kiao chi and a hundred red bows, which princes alone had the right to use.

Meanwhile Biliktu and Kuku Timur collected a formidable force in Mongolia, with which to invade China, and the Ming Emperor determined to forestal them, and in 1372 despatched 400,000 men in three divisions, over which Suta was generalissimo. He marched by way of Yen men, and straight for Holin or Karakorum, with one division; a second division went to the east, under Li wen chong, by way of Ku yong koan; while a third entered Kansu, under Fong ching. The first of these armies advanced to the Tula; there it encountered the Mongols under Kuku Timur, in alliance with another body under Hotsongchi. The Chinese were badly beaten, and lost more than 10,000 men, and were only saved annihilation by the strength of the intrenchments behind which they were posted. They seem to have retreated safely, but we are not told how. The army under Fong ching was more lucky. Beyond Si leang its advance guard encountered a body

* De Mailla, op. cit., x. 54-62. † Delamarre, 40. ‡ Op. cit., x. 69.

of Mongols, commanded by Chetsikan, and drove them towards Yong chang. A few days after it encountered another body at Ulakan, under Turchipa, and captured many camels and oxen. Having been joined by the main army, they again advanced against another Mongol force, under Buka, but it fled, and Buka was killed by an arrow. Four hundred Mongols shared his fate. Another body, consisting of 840 families, under Sonarkia and Koan chu, surrendered. Advancing to Yetsinai, Puyen Timur and his people submitted. Thence towards Pie kiac han, where an Imperial prince named Torchipang was encamped. The latter fled, and the Chinese captured one of his officers and more than 100,000 head of horses, camels, and sheep. Thence he turned back towards China, capturing on the way 20,000 more cattle.

The third army, which went by the east towards the Tula, attacked the Mongols under Halachan, but was defeated, and lost severely. The Chinese history rhetorically covers the retreat with some minor advantages, but it is very clear that the Imperial forces were anything but successful.

We are told that in their retreat they found the roads across the desert obliterated by the rolling sand, and that many men and horses died from thirst. At San korma the horses trampled in the sand and discovered a spring, which saved the army. They now divided thier army into two bodies. One under Kuchi encountered a Mongol force, and although the men were much emaciated by their recent hardships, they showed such a bold front that the Mongols fled and abandoned their cattle and horses, which proved a very seasonable supply. The other body, under Li wen chong himself, marched through a better country further east, beat several bodies of Mongols, and captured 1,840 of their leaders with their families. These were sent on to the court.*

This campaign, indecisive as it was, probably did much to disintegrate the Mongols, and to weaken the central authority at Karakorum. The following year some of the Mongols made a raid as far as the gate of Leang chau, but were defeated and pursued to the district of Yetsinai. Their chief Yesur, with many of his followers, were killed. Another leader called Ubatu surrendered.†

The attacks on the frontier continued, and in 1374 fresh armies were sent under Suta and Li wen chong; they advanced to Peteng, where they captured Polo Timur and his suite. Many smaller detachments were also captured along the frontier. The Emperor ordered them to be set at liberty, and encouraged them to settle on the frontier by offers of land.‡ Some time after, Todochely, a Mongol prince caught plundering in Kao chau, was beheaded. Several other chiefs were also captured there, *inter alia* the Prince of Lu, they were put to death. During the same year the Ming Emperor called together his council and addressed

* De Mailla, x. 65. † De Mailla, x. 68. ‡ De Mailla, x. 70.

them : " Plants and trees grow in spring and die in autumn, other things are subject to the same vicissitudes, and man himself is not exempt from them. Maitilipala, grandson of the last Emperor of the Yuen, has now been here five years; he is no longer a child; his father and mother seem to have abandoned him; we had better send him back to them with the presents I am despatching." The young prince, we are told, was by no means wishful to go, but he was sent, notwithstanding, under the charge of two eunuchs, who were bidden to take especial care of him.*

In 1375 there came news to the Ming court that Kuku Timur, the great Mongol general, was dead. He had retired to the King ghan mountains, to his palace at Halanahai, and there died. His wife, Maochi, would not survive him and went and hanged herself. The Ming Emperor having assembled his generals, asked them to name an extraordinary hero, they all replied Chang yu choen. "He was no doubt a hero," said the Emperor, "but if you would name an extraordinary one, it was the Prince Pao pao, *i.e.*, Kuku Timur."† In the latter part of this year, Nahachu threatened the frontiers of Liau tung with a considerable army. The Chinese commanders Ma yun and Ye wang marched against him. His point of attack was the city of Kiai chau. The Chinese commanders, we are told, cut slabs of ice with which they built a wall, upon which they poured water until it was all frozen hard. This wall formed a fortification some distance from the town, and close to the river Tsu ho. A short distance from this again they placed a number of fascines, &c., on the river and covered them with earth, so as to make it appear it was solid ground instead of a mere floating mass. Having planted his people in ambuscade about the town, they so frightened the Mongols by their hidden voices that they fancied a large army was there, and retreated. They mistook the ice walls for a strong fort, which they allowed to divert their march, and lastly, in their hurry, they trusted themselves on the floating fascines, &c., through which their horses sank, and the Chinese massacred a large number of them. Nahachu escaped with a few followers northwards.‡ In 1376 Peyen Timur made a raid upon the district of Yen ngan, in Shensi, but the Chinese cut off his retreat, captured nearly all his men and also a large quantity of cattle, and constrained him to surrender.§ These continual disasters could not, however, entirely eradicate that peculiar loyalty which is such a beautiful trait in the character of the better Chinese. Thus we are told that Tse yu, who had been trusted with several employments by the Mongols, had retired to Lan chau after the great defeat of Kuku Timur, in the previous reign. The Ming Emperor sent messengers to bring him to the capital; he escaped, and was recaptured. As he passed by Lo yang, in Honan, its commander wished him to prostrate himself, but he remained

* De Mailla, x. 71. † Delamarre, 55. ‡ De Mailla, x. 73-76. Delamarre, 56, 57.
§ De Mailla, x. 77.

immoveable, even when they burnt his beard, nor would he see his wife who came to him. On his arrival at the court he was offered a place, but refused it in these terms: "Your Majesty, honouring my mediocrity instead of putting me to death as I expected, has increased my shame by giving me a uniform and a banquet, and would now promote me to further dignity. Your Majesty's greatness of soul is as wide as the heaven and the earth. I cannot sufficiently avow it. It is not that I am unwilling to perform the meanest office, but I am bound by sacred oaths. I cannot change my old affection so rapidly. Although a simple 'bourgeois' of but small parts, I was permitted by my late master to ride on horseback, and to receive a public salary for fifteen years. I blush to have done nothing worthy of so much honour. Although its servant, I have been witness of the fall of the Imperial family. If I added to this, infidelity, how could I meet the gaze of the functionaries of the empire. Since my arrest I have not ceased to wish that I had died long ago. It is true I want to gain no meretricious fame by my death, yet if you would regard my simplicity and my inextinguishable affections, and put me to death, the day will be the chiefest day of my life."

The Emperor was much touched with this address, and ordered the magistrates to conduct him beyond the Great Wall, so that he might go and join his old master at Karakorum.* Biliktu Khan died in 1378. In this both Ssanang Setzen and the Chinese authorities agree. His reign added a painful chapter to the later Mongol annals. The list of their disasters was much lengthened; they were excluded from Liau tung, and wherever they tried to force a way into the borders of the empire, they were beaten back. They were once more confined to the great desert, whence they originally sprang.

USSAKHAL KHAN.

BILIKTU KHAN was succeeded by his brother Ussakhal.† He is called Yuthokusthiemor in the Ming annals,‡ and Tukus Timur by De Mailla.§ The last named author says he was the son of the late Khan, and that he was preferred to Maitilipala, without it causing any trouble. Ssanang Setzen is no doubt right. In Mongol history the uncle is generally preferred to the nephew. In fact, when the nephew was young this was the recognised succession, and the words of the Chinese writer favour this conclusion. Ussakhal Khakan was born in 1342, and mounted the throne in 1379. He was recognised without opposition, and the Ming Emperor sent him an envoy to congratulate him on his acces-

* Delamarre, 61, 62. † Ssanang Setzen, 139. ‡ Delamarre, 66. § Op. cit., x. 78.

sion,* and he also composed a memoir in honour of the deceased Khan. In 1380 the Mongol general Hotochi or Thohotchi, who was encamped at Itsilailu, was making preparations to attack the Chinese borders. The Emperor sent his general Mu in against them. He advanced within fifty li of the enemy secretly, and then invested the army of Hotochi on all four sides at once. Baffled by this manœuvre the latter ordered his people to lay down their arms, and submitted. Thus the Chinese general won a considerable triumph without striking a blow.†

The next year Arbuka or Nairbuka, a Mongol officer, threatened the country by the Yellow River. The Chinese troops advanced to meet him. He retired, but was hotly pursued and overtaken near the mountain Si hoei khan, where an engagement followed, in which Pieli buka and Wen tong, with a large quantity of baggage, were captured.

Meanwhile, the Prince of Leang still ruled in Yunnan on behalf of the Mongols, and the Ming Emperor appointed Fu yeou te, who had commanded in the expedition against Arbuka at the head of 300,000 troops, to march into that remote province. Having assembled his forces in Hu kuang, he marched by two routes, one entered Yunnan by way of Su chuan, the other by the province of Kuei chau. The main army speedily captured Pu ting and Pu ngan, and received the submission of the mountain chiefs, who only wore very loosely the yoke of the Prince of Leang. The latter sent an army of 100,000, under his general Talima, to guard the defiles of Kio tsing. The Imperial army crossed the river Long kiang at night, and attacked the troops of Yunnan, which then as in our own day were obstinately brave. At length, after great efforts, they defeated them. Talima and 20,000 of his soldiers were captured. The Prince of Leang, on hearing of this defeat, abandoned his capital, fled to the mountain Lo tso khan, and ended by drowning himself and his family in the lake Tienchi.‡

The Chinese now marched upon the capital of the province, which was surrendered by its Mongol governor Koan in pao, and the following day Yesien Timur, an officer of the late Prince of Leang, gave up his official seal. The thorough subjugation of the country still cost a good deal of blood and trouble, the mountain tribes being very impatient of restraint. The details of the campaign are given by De Mailla.§ At length the work was done, and the more important prisoners were sent on to the court. Among these were Pepe, son of the Mongol prince Chun wang; Koan in pao; Chelibuka; 318 members of the family of the Prince of Leang; and 160 others. They were provided with houses, and generously treated by the Emperor. The conquest of Yunnan deprived the Mongols of their last foothold in China. Let us now turn to the north.

* De Mailla, x. 78. † De Mailla, x. 80. Delamarre, 72.
‡ De Mailla, x. 83. Delamarre, 76, 77. § Op. cit., x. 83-85.

There they were by no means completely cowed. Nahachu or Narachu had again collected a large force in the Kin shan mountains, and made raids upon Liau tung. The Chinese Emperor determined to punish him, and sent a formidable army under the command of Fong chin. A body of Mongols encamped at King chau was attacked by a Chinese general named Lan yu, under cover of a heavy snow storm, and dispersed. Kolai, its commander, was killed, and his son Pulanghi captured. Meanwhile, a Mongol general named Lailau, who had been captured by the Chinese and well treated, was sent on to Nahachu to bring him to terms. He in return sent the Ming general a present of some horses, and offered to submit. He even asked for an interview. At this he presented the Chinese commander with a cup full of wine. The latter, not to be outdone in politeness, took off his dress and asked Nahachu to put it on. A rivalry ensued as to who should take the offer of civility first, and as the Chinese commander would not give way, Nahachu lost his temper, muttered something between his teeth, and hastened away. The Chinese tried to stop him, and in the melée that ensued, he was wounded in the shoulder. When the news of this reached the Mongol camp it caused confusion there. Most of the Mongols dispersed. Out of 100,000, 40,000 at once submitted. Their herds were so numerous that they occupied 100 lis of country. Two nephews of Nahachu, who attempted to collect the debris of their uncle's clans, were persuaded also to submit. The officer who offered them terms breaking his bow in their presence as a token of his sincerity.* This had a great effect on their followers, many of whom marched towards the south and acknowledged the Ming, and we are told that at the seventh month of 1387 the whole horde of Nahachu, called by De Mailla, Inuanchelapatu, entirely submitted. This horde of Nahachu, which seems to have had an independent and substantive position of its own, probably comprised the various tribes which had been assigned as their heritage to his brothers Juji Kassar and Utsuken, by Jingis, and which had obeyed Nayan, the celebrated rebel in the reign of Khubilai.

Fong chin, the Chinese commander, was now accused of malpractices, and was recalled, and Lan yu, one of his subordinates, was appointed generalissimo of the armies of the north. He proposed that they should attack the Mongols in their head quarters at Karakorum, and thoroughly scatter them. Permission was granted him, and with more than 100,000 men he advanced towards the north.

Ussakhal was encamped near the lake Buyur, so full of reminiscences of the glorious days of Jingis. The Chinese advanced stealthily, lighting no fires and marching in the night, the last stage of their journey being covered by a cloud of sand.† They seem to have completely surprised the enemy, who raised their camp and fled after a short resistance.

* De Mailla, x. 91. † Delamarre, i. 92.

Ussakhal and his son and heir Tien pao nu, with Honkilai and Cheliemen, fled. Ti pao nu, his second son, sixty-four persons of his suite, Pilito, the wife of the prince royal, many princesses, and fifty-nine of their cortège were captured. Besides these, Torchi, the Prince of U; Talima, Prince of Tai; Palan, one of the best Mongol generals; 2,994 officers, and 77,000 soldiers were made prisoners. One hundred and fifty thousand head of cattle, the Imperial seal, and an immense booty of gold, silver, and valuables fell into the hands of the conqueror. Ti pao nu was taken to the court, and shortly afterwards exiled to the island of Luchu.

After dividing their country into several departments, the Emperor appointed Mongol officers over them, and allowed them to administer according to their own customs. This terrible catastrophe, which is not mentioned by Ssanang Setzen, is told in detail by the Chinese authors, relied upon by De Mailla, x. 92, *et seq.*; Timskowski, ii. 208; and D'Ohsson, ii. 599. It effectually destroyed the power of the Eastern Mongols for a long time, and allowed the Western Mongols or Kalmuks to become supreme in Mongolia.

After his defeat the Mongol Khan fled, intending to take refuge with his minister Gniaochu at Karakorum, and had gone as far as the Tula, when he was suddenly attacked by one of his relatives called Esutiel,* his troops were dispersed, and he was left with only sixteen horsemen and Gniaochu, who had reached him; as he fled he was overtaken by a snow-storm. The soldiers of Esutiel now came up and killed him, together with his son Tienpaonu.† Both Ssanang Setzen and the Ming annals agree in placing his death in 1388, although the former says nothing about his violent end, and in fact barely gives us the dates of his birth, accession, and death.

ENGKE SORIKTU KHAN.

ACCORDING to Ssanang Setzen, Ussakhal left three sons, the eldest of whom, named Engke Soriktu, the Ayke of Petis de la Croix, succeeded him. It would seem that Esutiel or Yessutier is the Chinese corruption of this name, and that Engke is to be identified with the assassin of Ussakhal, and it is very probable that he was not the son, but either the nephew or grand-nephew of Ussakhal, being the son or grandson of Toghon Timur. We are acquainted with two of Ussakhal's sons in the Chinese narrative. One of them was captured by the Chinese, the other was killed with his father; and while it is highly improbable that a Mongol Khan would be murdered and supplanted by his son, it is very

* De Mailla calls him Yessutier, x. 94. † Delamarre, i. 97.

probable that the descendants of Toghon Timur would covet their father's throne; and I am disposed to make Engke a son of the Maitiripala, already named, who was set aside by Ussakhal.

The usurpation of Engke or Esutiel was not at all grateful to the Chinese court, which had hoped that the Mongols would have submitted on the death of Ussakhal. An army was accordingly sent northwards, under the orders of Fu yeou ti. He divided it into two sections; one of these marched by way of Ku pe keou towards Todu, where the Mongol general Nairbuka was encamped. When its commander drew near he sent Koan tong, an old friend of Nairbuka's, to persuade him to submit. On meeting one another they embraced, and the Mongol general was persuaded to go to the Chinese camp. There he was well received and entertained. Orders were given not to molest his camp, and Nairbuka was left in command of it. He was much touched by this generosity, and declared that the Emperor had no more faithful subject.*

The other division of Fu yeou ti's army advanced as far as the north of the Shamo desert, but returned without having seen a Mongol or done anything. There can be no doubt that the whole nation was disintegrated and scattered. Whatever authority Engke had was very local, and other chiefs in other neighbourhoods seem to have set up an independent authority of their own, their main bond of union being the plundering of the Chinese frontier. Thus we read that in the beginning of 1391 one of these local chiefs, who belonged to the Imperial family and was named Hotachacheli, marched to attack the Mongols who had submitted to the Ming. The Imperial troops marced against him as far as the river Tor, near the mountain Helinia, but failed to find him.† He is probably the Unorchiri mentioned by Timkowski, who tells us that he fixed his camp at a place called Khe Emil (? Khamil), to the west of Karakorum.‡

In the latter part of 1391 the Mongols had captured Khamil, to the west Kansu. The Chinese stormed the place, put to death all who resisted, and took prisoner Pielieki, who had taken the title of King, and Sanlicheko, both of them of the Mongol Imperial family; with Yochan, minister of State, and 300 soldiers.§ The northern frontier was well protected, and it was chiefly in these western parts of the empire that these disturbances occurred. In 1392 another invasion took place there, in which the Mongol Prince Yuelu Timur was the chief actor. He fortified several strongholds in Han tong, but they were recaptured, and after several defeats he was forced to surrender. His followers were set free, but he and his son were sent on to the court, where they were beheaded as rebels who had once submitted and then broken faith.‖

According to Ssanang Setzen, Engke Soriktu mounted his somewhat shadowy throne in 1389, and died in 1392. He was succeeded by his brother Elbek Khan.¶

* De Mailla, x. 95, 96. † De Mailla, x. 96. ‡ Timkowski's Travels, ii. 209.
§ De Mailla, x. 97. ‖ De Mailla, x. 98. ¶ Ssanang Setzen, 139.

ELBEK KHAN.

ELBEK, we are told, was born in 1361. His full name, as given by Setzen, is Elbek Nigulessukshi Khakan. He mounted the throne in 1392, and was killed in 1399. During this period I find only one reference to Mongol affairs in the Chinese annals. This is in 1396, where we are told the Emperor sent the Prince of Yen to inspect the frontier. That he went beyond the boundary as far as the mountain Checher, where he had a fierce struggle with the Mongols, and captured their general Solin Timur. He then marched towards Nielanhatu, where he met and defeated another body of them commanded by Niela and Nichai.* Ssanang Setzen has a very quaint Saga referring to this Khan. He says that he was one day out hunting and killed some hares. As their blood trickled out on the snow he exclaimed: "Give me a wife with a face as white as this snow and cheeks as crimson as this blood." Upon which Chuchai Dadshu, a Uirat, replied, "Khakan, the beauty of Uldsheitu Chung Goa Beidshi, the wife of thy brother, surpasses this by far." Then spoke the Khakan, "My Chuchai Dadshu, if thou wilt accomplish my wish and contrive that I shall see her, I will raise thee to the dignity of Ching sang, and will give thee authority over the Durben Uirat." Chuchai waited until the husband was absent on the chase, when he hastened to the wife and told her the fame of her beauty had spread widely, and that the Khakan wished to see her. She replied in scorn and anger: "Was ever such a custom known that heaven and earth should meet together, and that exalted princes should see their sisters-in-law. Does the Khakan wish the death of his younger brother, or has he become a raving dog?" When this was reported to the Khan he was furious, had his brother murdered, and made his sister-in-law his wife. Soon after Chuchai Dadshu repaired in State to the Khan while he was hawking, to demand the dignity of Ching sang, which had been promised him. When Chung Goa Beidshi heard that he was waiting outside for the arrival of the Khakan, she sent the servant of her former husband to summon him in, as she wished to show him every courtesy and distinction. She offered him fermented butter in a silver bowl, and thus addressed him: "To thee I owe it that I have been raised from a lowly to an exalted position, that my title of Beidshi has been changed to that of Begi Taigho. While formerly I was only the Beidshi of an insignificant Taidshi, I am now the Khatun of the lofty Khakan. I am not unmindful of thy deserts; the higher recompense I must leave to the Khakan, thy master, but as an acknowledgment I present thee with this bowl." Hereupon she presented him with the bowl, which

* De Mailla, x. 102.

he accepted without suspicion. The draught made him unconscious. Leaving him lying on her bed, she then dishevelled her hair, scratched herself in many places, and by her cries summoned a crowd of people. She despatched a servant to summon the Khakan, and on his arrival she sobbed and cried. He asked why she wept. She told him how she had given Chuchai Dadshu the bowl and what she had said to him, and then she said "he got drunk with the drink I offered him, began to speak in an unseemly manner, pulled me about, and when I resisted reduced me to this plight." Chuchai Dadshu, when he heard this, rushed out, took to his horse, and sought to escape. Then said the Khakan, "The flight of this Chuchai proves his guilt," gave chase, and overtook him. They fought; he shot at the Khakan and wounded his little finger, but was notwithstanding overpowered and killed. He was then flayed and his skin was taken home by the Khakan to show his wife. She was not satisfied with the sight only. "Let us try," she said, "how human hide tastes." Thereupon she licked the fat from the dripping skin, and she sucked the blood from the Khan's bruised finger, and said, "Now I have licked the blood of the cruel Khakan and the fat of his instigator Chuchai. I have long wished to avenge the death of my partner. If I myself now die I shall be free again. Let me, Khakan, return speedily to my home." The Khan, infatuated with the beauty of Chung Beidshi, was not even angry with her. But he spoke to Batula, the son of Chuchai: "I have killed thy father wrongfully." He then gave him his daughter Samur Gundshi to wife, gave him the title of Ching sang, and conferred upon him the headship of the Durben Uirat.*

This narrative is very interesting. Its details are probably fabulous, but they illustrate very remarkably the point of view of Mongol morality and the kind of heroism which they patronise. Cruel and stern and Draconic, and yet not without its lessons for our decrepid times. It is interesting also because its chief characters are undoubtedly historical persons, and it clears up somewhat a very hazy period of Asiatic history. Chuchai Dadshu is named by Pallas among the ancestors of the Royal house of the Sungars.† Pallas is a very independent authority, as he had never seen the narrative of Ssanang Setzen, and collected his information from the European Kalmuks. He gives only a bare list of names, and for some time Ssanang Setzen's narrative is invaluable. We now proceed: "When Ugetshi Khaskhagha, of the *Kergüd* (*i.e.*, the Keraits), heard of all this he was very angry, and said the reign of this Khakan is most unrighteous. First he kills his brother and makes his widow his own wife; then, at her instigation, he puts his minister Chuchai to death without right or justice; and at last, ashamed of his injustice to him, he gives the lordship over the Durben Uirat to Batula, my subject, while I, the prince, am still living." When the Khakan heard of the hatred and

* Ssanang Setzen, 139-143.

† He calls him Goochai Dajoo, Samlungen hist., Nach., ueb. die Mong. Volk., 35.

rancour of Ugetshi Khaskhagha, he suggested to his son-in-law Batula Chingssang that he should be killed. Warned of his danger by the Khakan's chief wife, Ugetshi, without loss of time marched against him, and killed him; took his wife Uldshei Chung Beidshi to his own tent; and subjected the greater part of the Mongol people."* This revolution was of considerable importance in Mongol history. The chief of the Keraits became, as he was before the supremacy of Jingis, the over lord of the Mongol race. I shall refer to him again in treating of the history of the Keraits, in a later chapter. Although he became supreme, the line of Khakans of the Mongols proper was still preserved.

GUN TIMUR KHAN.

SSANANG SETZEN tells us that the violent deposition of Elbek caused much confusion, but at length Gun Timur, the eldest son of Elbek, who was born in 1377, mounted the throne in 1400, and died in 1402, without children. He is also mentioned in the Ming annals, which say that after Tokus Timur (*i.e.*, Ussakhal Khan), there were five reigns until that of *Kuen* Timur. "The names of these kings they say were not known, but they were all assassinated.† I know nothing recorded of his reign, which was probably a merely nominal one, Ugetshi having all the real power.

ULDSHEI TIMUR KHAN.

SSANANG SETZEN tells us that Gun Timur was succeeded by his younger brother Uldshei Timur,‡ who was born in 1397, and became Khan in 1403. Schmidt unhesitatingly identifies him with the Gultsi of Timkowski and the Kulichi of De Mailla. I believe this to be entirely wrong. The Kulichi of De Mailla and Kuilichi of the Ming annals was an usurper who violently possessed himself of the throne, and who would not take the title of Khan of the Mongols, but only that of Khan of the Tartars, for fear of arousing against him the members of the Imperial family of Yuen. That is to say, he was not a member of that family, but an interloper, and his whole history shows that he was no other than the Ugetshi of Ssanang Setzen, of which name Gultsi and Kulichi are corruptions. On the other hand I believe that Uldshei Timur is to be identified with the Eltshy Timur Khan mentioned by Petis de la Croix,§ and also with the Penlacheli of De Mailla and the

* Ssanang Setzen, 145. † Delamarre, 97. ‡ Ssanang Setzen, 145.
§ Schmidt's Ssanang Setzen, 404.

Ming annals, the Buniachiri of Timkowski. It would appear that for a short time after the death of Gun Timur there was an interregnum in the Khanate, and that Ugetshi the usurper had the supreme authority, and we find accordingly, that in 1404 the Chinese Emperor sent him an official seal and presents. Meanwhile Batula Ching sang, who I believe was the Mahamu of the Chinese writers,* reigned over the Kalmuks or Durben Uirat. When the Emperor sent presents to Ugetshi, he also sent others to Marhapa, Yesuntai, and Halutai, three chieftains who were impatient of obeying one who did not belong to the legitimate Imperial stock.† Of these Halutai was the chief. He is called the minister of Kuilichi in the Ming annals, which name his companions Fahul and Chahantaluha.‡

In concert with Mahamu, Halutai and his companions attacked the usurper and drove him away. They then sent their homage to the Chinese court.§ Schmidt is disposed to identify the Halutai of the Chinese authors with the Aroktai of Ssanang Setzen. We are told by the Chinese authors that Halutai having dispossessed Kulichi or Ugetshi, nominated Penyacheli, who was sprung from the Imperial family, as Khan. This took place at Piechipali.‖ We are further told that he had been abandoned during the times of trouble, and deprived of the means of supporting his dignity.¶ This agrees with the account Petis de la Croix gives of Eltshy Timur, *i.e.*, of the Khan Uldshei. He tells us that he had gone to the court of the celebrated Timurlenk, where he stayed till that conqueror's death. He then returned home again, and mounted the throne in 1405, which is very nearly the same date as that given by Ssanang Setzen. This passage from Petis de la Croix is very interesting. It recalls to us the fact that while the Mongol power in the East had crumbled away: in the West the heir of the Mongol authority and traditions, the great Timurlenk, raised up a mighty empire, which rivalled the splendour, if not the renown and wide authority of that of Jingis Khan himself.

In 1409, the Chinese Emperor sent Liau Timur buka into Tartary with despatches addressed to the Mongol Khan, with these he also sent seals and patents of promotion. These symbols of subjection, which the Chinese authors call favours, were neglected by Peniacheli, *i.e.*, Uldshei, who contrived to detach Patu Timur, his son Talan, Lunturhoei, and his son Pieliko, from the allegiance they had promised the Chinese many years before.

Two months later Kintaputai and Koki were also sent into the north with presents for Halutai, Marhapa, Tohorchi, Hachi Timur, and many others. These were also rejected: Koki was killed, and Kintaputai was sent home again. These chieftains then went and joined Peniacheli. The

* On this question, see below, in the chapter on the Sungars.
† De Mailla, x. 153. ‡ Delamarre, 155. § De Mailla, x. 153.
‖ Delamarre, 167. ¶ Timkowski, op. cit., ii. 209.

Emperor, who was much irritated, determined apparently to support their rivals, and named Mahamu (*i.e.*, Batula Ching sang) Prince of Chun ning. Thai pin was made Prince of Hien-y, and Pathu pula Prince of Ganlo.* An army was also sent north to punish the contumacious princes. Its command was given to Kiau fu. When he had passed the Great Wall he detached a body of 1,000 to 1,200 cavalry, which defeated a small body of Mongols to the south of the river Lokuho, and captured its commander. From him they learnt that Peniacheli had retreated further north. Kiau fu determined to pursue him, although only a portion of his army was with him, and in fact when he had only 10,000 men. The Mongols, who heard of this, planted an ambuscade, into which the Chinese fell. Kiau fu, with the greater number of his officers, perished.† The Emperor sent emissaries into Mongolia to examine the conduct of the generals, and the guilty were punished with extreme severity.‡ He determined to march himself against the Mongols. His army was 500,000 strong,§ and he set out early in 1411. He traversed 10,000 li of country without meeting the enemy, and advanced as far as the sea of Ko loan hai (*i.e.*, the Baikal), which is more than 20,000 li in circumference, and into which flow the rivers Hannan (*i.e.*, the Onon), Luku, and five others.‖ When he arrived at the Luku, he found that Peniacheli had fled towards the west, and Halutai towards the east. The former first reached the river Niekurtcha and then the Onon. The Chinese pursued him with a flying column. He was overtaken on the banks of the Onon, where Jingis Khan had taken the title of Emperor. A panic seized the Mongol army, which began to disperse. Peniacheli then abandoned his baggage, and fled with only seven companions.¶

Halutai having rallied the *debris* of the army of Peniacheli and incorporated it with his own, had the temerity to encounter the Imperial forces. He, too, was beaten, and after being unhorsed and losing 200 of his best officers, fled, and the Chinese Emperor returned in triumph to Peking.** The unfortunate Mongol Khan was shortly after murdered by Mahamu, the chief of the Uirats.†† This is dated by the Chinese in 1412. Ssanang Setzen places the death of Uldshei in 1410. The former authorities are no doubt right.

DELBEK KHAN.

SSANANG SETZEN tells us that Uldshei was succeeded by his son Delbek. Schmidt says he could not find him mentioned elsewhere, but we

* De Mailla, x. 167. Delamarre, 166. † De Mailla, x. 168. ‡ Timkowski, ii. 210.
§ Delamarre, 169. ‖ De Mailla, x. 171. ¶ De Mailla, x. 171.
** De Mailla, x. 171. Delamarre, 170. †† De Mailla, x. 172. Delamarre, 180.

certainly find him named both in the Ming annals and by De Mailla, where we are told that Mahamu having assassinated Peniacheli, of his own authority made Talipa Khakan.* Talipa is certainly the Chinese corruption of Delbek, and this coincidence increases the certainty that Uldshei and Peniacheli were the same person. Ssanang Setzen tells us Delbek was born in 1395 and mounted the throne in 1411. This is only a difference of a year from the Chinese account, which dates Talipa's accession in 1412.

Ssanang Setzen makes Delbek a son of Uldshei, but here again it seems hardly probable that Mahamu would murder the father, who was the *protegé* of Halutai, and put the son as his own *protegé* on the throne. Whoever he was it is clear he was a mere puppet in the hands of his patron, who held the reins of power. De Mailla says the Chinese Emperor was pleased with Mahamu for his conduct in the supplanting of Uldshei.† Mahamu seems shortly after to have defeated Halutai, and compelled him with the *débris* of his horde and his family to find refuge on the Chinese frontier, and appeal to the Emperor for succour. The latter appointed him Prince of Honing (*i.e.*, of Karakorum), and assigned him a camping ground north of the desert of Shamo. This was in 1414.‡ Mahamu was naturally enraged at this, and withheld his tribute. The Ming Emperor determined to march in person into Tartary to see how matters stood. He was accompanied by a large army and by his grandson, whom he had nominated as his heir. When they arrived at Salihor § they heard that the Mongols were only 100 lis distant, and shortly after they came upon them under Talipa (*i.e.*, Delbek), Mahamu Taiping, and Polo, at the head of 30,000 men.‖ The Ming annals state that the advance guard of the Imperial army, under Liau king, first encountered the enemy at Khanghalihai,¶ and killed several of them, after which the Emperor hastened on by forced marches until he reached Hulanhuchauen. He goes on to say the Mongols were utterly routed, that ten sons of princes and several thousand soldiers were killed. The Chinese went in pursuit, broke through the mountain Yukao, and penetrated as far as the river Tula. Mahamu had fled; the Emperor wished to pursue him, but was persuaded to return by his followers.** A good deal of this seems to be mere courtly rhetoric, for in the more sober narrative of De Mailla we are told that the Emperor having determined to crush the enemy by a decisive coup, attacked him, that it cost him more dearly than he expected, for the Mongols fought bravely all day, the number of killed was about the same on both sides, and that although the Mongols were inferior in number, they only retired from the battle-

* Delamarre, 180. De Mailla, x. 173.
† De Mailla, x. 173. ‡ De Mailla, x. 173.
§ ? The Sarikahar mentioned in the early wars of Jingis. *Vide ante*, 51.
‖ De Mailla, x. 174. ¶ Delamarre, 182. ** Delamarre, 182.

field at night, when they crossed the Tula and went northwards. Halutai sent to the Emperor to excuse himself for not having come to his assistance, on the ground that he was ill. The Emperor feigned to believe him, and sent him 100 measures of rice, 100 mules, and 100 sheep, and also sent 1,000 measures of grain to be distributed among his followers. He then retired homewards.* It would appear probable that Delbek perished in this battle, which was fought in 1415, for we do not again hear of him in the Chinese annals, while Ssanang Setzen tells us he died in 1415.†

ADAI KHAN.

WE now enter upon a period during which the Mongols passed under the yoke of the Uirats, a yoke which pressed upon them very heavily for nearly fifty years. Mahamu was the chief of these Uirats.

It would seem from the Chinese accounts that he was not entirely supreme, however, for we find constant references to Halutai as the leader of at least a portion of the Mongols proper. It becomes an interesting thing to discover who this Halutai was. Schmidt is disposed to identify him with the Aroktai of Ssanang Setzen, but this is very improbable. Aroktai was a slave during a large part of the period when the Chinese annals show that Halutai was an active party leader. Aroktai never rises above a subordinate position, while we are expressly told that Halutai usurped the office of Khan. Again, Aroktai is a mere nickname, and is hardly likely to have been adopted in the Chinese annals. A close reading of Ssanang Setzen's narrative will, however, enable us to identify Halutai with a person mentioned by that chronicler, and to reconcile the two narratives completely. Ssanang Setzen, after describing the way in which the Mongols became in great part subject to the Uirats, says, "At that time Adai Taidshi, of the Khortshins, a descendant of Utsuken, ruled over the rest of the Mongols." I am convinced that this Adai was no other than the Halutai of the Chinese authors. We have seen several times in the course of this history that the tribes assigned to Utsuken in Eastern Mongolia, filled a particular rôle of their own,‡ and on the several occasions in which they occur, it is as a semi-independent portion of the Mongol community, both powerful and aggressive. It would seem that while the greater portion of the Mongol community fell under the authority of the Uirats, these eastern tribes remained independent under their leader Adai, a worthy successor of Nayan and Narachu:

* De Mailla, x. 174, 175. † Ssanang Setzen, 145. ‡ Ssanang Setzen, 147.

According to Ssanang Setzen, Batula Chingsang (that is, Mahamu) was murdered by Ugetshi, his old rival, and this may be so, for in the Chinese accounts we only read of the defeat and flight of Kuilichi in 1404, and not of his death. It may be therefore that he continued to rule over the Keraits, and that he did murder Mahamu. Ssanang Setzen dates this in 1415, but the Chinese authorities, who are probably right, fix Mahamu's death in 1418.

According to Ssanang Setzen, he had in 1399 taken prisoner a man named Ugudeleku, who belonged to the tribe of Assod. He made a slave of him, fastened a basket on his back, and made him collect dry dung, whence he got his name of Aroktai (Arok being the basket used by the Mongols for collecting dung for fuel).* Aroktai was still in his service when he was murdered by Ugetshi. Soon after this we are told the Durben Uirat held a great assembly, on the termination of which, three of its members returning home met Aroktai going to his usual employment of collecting dung. When they approached him he demanded what business had been transacted at the meeting. "Who would have thought," said one of them, "that this creature dragging about his dung-basket would have been troubled about affairs of State; why," he said contemptuously, "it is determined to rebuild the city of Chorum khan" (Karakorum, which had probably been destroyed by the Chinese); "to raise Adsai Taidshi† to the dignity of Khakan, and that fellow Aroktai to that of Taishi." Throwing away his basket, Aroktai arose and shouted, "These are not your words. It is a command of the gods. For me a humble subject it is a small matter, but as for Adsai, he is a son of the gods. Thou Almighty Father hast done this." With these words he bowed himself adoringly before the gods.‡

When Ugetshi murdered his rival, Aroktai also fell into his hands. It will be remembered that the widow and posthumous son of the Khan Elbek were both under his control.§

On the death of Ugetshi, which followed closely upon that of his victim, he was succeeded by his son Esseku. The latter married Samur Gundshi, the widow of Batula. He reigned until 1425.‖ Meanwhile the three distinguished prisoners whom I have named continued to live at his court. On his death, his widow Samur Gundshi, who, it will be remembered, was a daughter of Elbek Khan, determined to set free the three prisoners and to send them home to their people the Mongols. It would seem she was anxious to revenge her former husband's death, and she therefore sent them word that Esseku was dead, that his people were without a head, and that if the Mongols would march quickly against their oppressors they would succeed.¶ The three prisoners were there-

* Schmidt's Ssanang Setzen, 145 and 404. † He was the posthumous son of Elbek Khan.
‡ Ssanang Setzen, 147. § *Vide ante*, 352. ‖ Ssanang Setzen, 147.
¶ Ssanang Setzen, 147.

upon released and went home, and we are told that they joined Adai Taishi, who had not yet proclaimed himself Khan. Let us now turn once more to the Chinese narrative.

According to the Ming annals, Halutai (*i.e.*, Adai) had become very arrogant in consequence of his increasing wealth and power. He had retained the Imperial envoys who had been sent to him, and had passed and repassed the Great Wall for the purpose of plunder. In 1422, he had penetrated as far as Hinho, and killed the major-general Khy.* De Mailla says merely that being rid of his rival Mahamu, he had determined to make himself independent. Not to outrage the feelings of his subjects, he reappointed Peniacheli to the nominal post of Khan. This must be a mistake, for Peniacheli was killed by Mahamu long before. Perhaps a son of Peniacheli is meant. Seeing that this appointment displeased the Emperor, he determined to be before him, and to forestal punishment by invading the borders of China, and advanced as far as the gates of Ning hia.† The Emperor thereupon determined once more to invade Mongolia, and left Peking at the festival of the new year. He divided his army into several bodies, which enclosed a large area of country, by detachments that could mutually support one another. Halutai was disconcerted by this movement, and retired towards the Kulun lake. The Emperor sent an army in pursuit which failed to overtake him, but his baggage and herds, which were left on the Nieleang lake, were captured.‡ The army then returned to Peking. This was in 1422. Two years later Halutai determined to displace his *protegé* Peniacheli (?), who is described as an indolent and weak prince. He not only took away his rank, but shortly after had him killed, and caused himself to be recognised as Khan by the army.§

The three State prisoners who were sent home, as I have said, by Samur Gundshi, were Uldsheitu Chung Beidshi the widow and Adsai the posthumous son of the Mongol Khan Elbek, and Aroktai. We are told by Ssanang Setzen that Adai married Chung Beidshi, and then had himself proclaimed Khan before the Ordus or eight white houses of Jingis Khan, *i.e.*, in the very arcana of Mongol sovereignty. He at the same time appointed Aroktai to the rank of Taishi.‖ Ssanang Setzen dates this in 1426, which is only two years later than the date when the Chinese authorities make Halutai mount the throne.

According to De Mailla, Halutai, when he took the title of Khan, marched towards the Chinese frontier as far as Suen fu. The Emperor once more advanced in person against him. At Cha ching (Delamarre says on the river Si yang), on his way, he received the submission of Hoche Timur and Ku Natai, of the Mongol Imperial family, and learnt from them that Halutai had been completely defeated by the Uirat chief

* Delamarre, 196. † De Mailla, x. 179. ‡ The Ming annals call it Menlo.
§ De Mailla, x. 180. ‖ Ssanang Setzen, 147 and 404.

Toghon Timur, the successor of Mahamu, and that he had been abandoned by many of his people. The Chinese army advanced as far as Wei chan kiau, where it received the submission of the Prince Yesien tukan, whom the Emperor created Prince of Chong yong, and changed his name to Kin-chong, and also honoured his relative Pokantai, as well as Chapu and six other chiefs of his horde, with military ranks. He then returned with his army to Peking.

The Ming annals tell us that Kin chong was constantly urging upon the Emperor that he should overwhelm Halutai. He offered to lead a flying column and to bring him bound hand and foot to the Emperor. The Emperor hesitated, but at length consented when it was reported to him that the indefatigable chieftain had made a raid into the district of Tai tong and carried off a rich booty. He set out with a large army, giving command of the flying column to Ching miau and the Mongol prince Kin chong. On arriving at Sie ming, he heard that Halutai had hastily retired, that he had lost a large number of men and cattle in the snow, which was ten feet deep, and that he had reached the river Talan-namur, where he hoped to recruit.* The Emperor, we are told, was weary of the war, and offered terms to those who would submit. The road was strewn with bones, the miserable monuments of former expeditions. He caused these to be buried, and himself composed an epitaph over them.† On arriving at Talan-namur he sent detachments in various directions to search for the Mongols. For a month they traversed the vast steppes to and fro, but found nothing but ruts and footmarks in the sand, which seemed many days old. Afraid of being overtaken by the winter, he at length ordered his troops to retire, but before doing so he had a pyramid erected, with an inscription upon it telling posterity how far he had penetrated.‡ He shortly after died. Timkowski says his death was caused by vexation at not having succeeded in revenging himself upon the refractory Halutai. This campaign was fought in 1424 or 1425.

Halutai had gained a practical victory, and for many years the Chinese did not disturb the Mongol dominions. But the strife between Mongols and Uirats still continued there, and we read that in 1426 news arrived at the Chinese court that Toghon, the chief of the Uirats, had raised Toto Timur to the dignity of Khan. I know nothing more of this personage, who was put up doubtless as a rival to Adai or Halutai.§

Let us now turn once more to Ssanang Setzen, whose narrative at this point I cannot confirm by that of the Chinese authorities. He tells us that when Adai was joined by Adsai and Aroktai the three marched together against the Uirats, whom they defeated, capturing their chief, the son of Batula ching sang. When he was brought in, Adsai said, "Let us now

* De Mailla, x. 181. † Deshauarre, 200. ‡ De Mailla, x. 182
§ De Mailla, x. 186.

imitate the generosity of my elder sister Gundshi, and allow this her son to depart freely." Upon which Aroktai answered, "It is dangerous to let loose the brood of a savage beast. We ought not to cherish the son of our enemy. Heed not the imprudent counsel of this young man that we should let our prisoner go." Adai approved the advice of Aroktai, and handed his prisoner over to him. "In former times thy father Batula Tching sang," said the fortune-favoured dung collector, "fastened a basket on my back, called me Aroktai, treated me with contumely, and reduced me to slavery. Now that our fortunes are reversed, I will treat his son in a similar fashion to that he treated me." Upon which he fastened a great iron kettle (called a Toghon) on his back, and called him Toghon. For some time he remained a slave in the service of Aroktai. After a while he escaped, and repaired to the chiefs of the Durben Uirat, told them that confusion reigned among the Mongols, whose allegiance was very much divided, and persuaded them to march against them. The Mongol Adai Khan was at the time hunting in company with two young Uirats, named Saimutshin and Salmutshin, to whom he had entrusted his bowcase full of arrows, while he himself had gone on with only four great arrows in his quiver. When the young men deserted, the Khan, we are told, killed four pursuers with his four arrows and then escaped to the Imperial Ordu, where he hid himself; he was, however, discovered, captured, and put to death.* Ssanang Setzen dates his death in 1438, when he was nine-and-forty.† It is probable that Aroktai shared his fate. According to the Ming annals, Halutai was surprised and killed by Toghon at the mountain Una, in the seventh month of 1434.‡ De Mailla adds, after mentioning the appointment of a successor by the victor, that the Halachan (*i.e.*, the Khortshins, the special tribe of Adai) and other tribes submitted.§ This is a very conclusive proof, if the many other facts were not sufficient, that I am right in identifying Adai Khan with the Halutai of the Chinese authors.

ADSAI KHAN.

THE Ming annals tell us that after the death of Halutai his subjects elected Athai in his place. He is probably the Adsai of Ssanang Setzen's narrative. He was clearly a very small person, the real Khan being the nominee of the Uirat chief Toghon. We are told he was persecuted by him, and took refuge beyond Itsilailu, under the name of Nakhuan, whence he made incursions towards the towns of Kan and Leang. He was defeated by Chen miao and driven towards the mountain Su u. This

* Ssanang Setzen, 150, 151. † Ssanang Setzen, 153.
‡ Delamarre, 235. § De Mailla, x. 196.

was in 1435.* Two years later, we are told, he renewed his incursions in company with Torchepe, in the provinces of Kan chau and Leang chau. He was again attacked, and fifty of the Mongol chiefs were decapitated and their tribes were subjected. We are told Torchepe fled beyond He thsuen.† As Athai is not again mentioned, it is probable he was killed in this fight, and it may well be that Ssanang Setzen has confused his reign with his predecessor's, and made Taissong Khan mount the throne only on his death.

TAISSONG KHAN.

SSANANG SETZEN tells us that Adsai Khan left three sons, of whom the eldest was Taissong, who was born in 1422, and mounted the throne in 1439. He is, as Schmidt has said, the Totobuka of the Chinese authors. De Mailla says he was put on the throne by Toghon, the Uirat chief, after he had killed Halutai in 1435. Toghon died in 1444, and was succeeded as chief of the Uirats and patron of the Mongols by his son Yesien.‡ Yesien is the Essen of Ssanang Setzen. He was clearly the autocrat of the desert, and the Khan his *protegé* was probably of little more consequence than the later Merovingians in the hands of the two Pepins. I have described in a later chapter his war with China, in which he captured the Emperor himself. Here it will suffice to say that his invasion was made in conjunction with Totobuka, who, as the Ming annals say, although he was Khakan, had fewer soldiers than he.§

According to the Ming annals, Totobuka's wife was the eldest sister of Yesien or Essen, the latter wished that his sister's son should succeed to the Khanate, and Totobuka having refused, Yesien assassinated him and sent his wife and son to the Chinese. This was in 1451.‖ De Mailla dates the same event in 1454,¶ but the former is doubtless right, and agrees very closely with Ssanang Setzen, who dates Taissong's death in 1452.** According to him the tyranny of Essen Khakan had caused great dissatisfaction among the Mongols, many of whom gathered round Taissong. At length, with his brother Akbardshi, whom he had appointed Ching sang, and a younger brother named Mandoghol, he marched at the head of his army against the Uirats. A fierce fight, which I have described later on,†† took place between the rival sections in the land of Turufanu Khara (*i.e.* of Turfan). Taissong was deserted by several of the leading Mongols, including his brother the Chin sang Akbardshi, who

* Delamarre, 240. † Delamarre, 244. ‡ De Mailla, x. 205. § Delamarre, 277.
‖ Delamarre, 289. ¶ Op. cit., x. 232. ** Ssanang Setzen, 159.
†† *Vide sub vocem* Durben Uirat.

had apparently been seduced by the fair promises of Essen, and suffered a severe defeat. He fled on his swift grey horse towards the Kentei Khan mountains and the river Kerulon, but on the way he was arrested by a man named Tsabdan, of the Khorlad tribe. Taissong had married his daughter, but had afterwards divorced her and sent her home. When the flying Khakan came in sight, he shouted, "Our enemy is in a strait; let us kill him;" but his daughter pressed him not to do so, saying the fault was on her side. "To lay hands on one of the Bordshigs would be an evil act," she said. "If we kill him in his urgent distress it will surely go hard with us sometime." Notwithstanding his daughter's warning, he put him to death.* As I have said, the Mongol chronicler dates this in 1452.

AKBARDSHI KHAN.

AFTER Akbardshi had joined the Uirats and deserted his brother, he thus addressed their chief: "Yesterday my meddlesome son Kharghotsok Taishi remarked, it were better to drive away or to hack in pieces an alien than to put confidence in him and to appease his illwill. Annoyed at this, I ordered him to be quiet." The Mongols and Uirats present smiled derisively at this ingenuous frankness of the Khan, and they agreed that he was "a donkey."

The Uirat chief, who discussed the matter afterwards, remarked that although Akbardshi was as stupid as an ox, yet that his son Kharghotsok Taishi was a very different person, that he was evidently determined to keep alive the feeling of revenge which the Mongols naturally had for their oppressors the Uirats, that it was imprudent to nurse such a fox in one's bosom, and that it would be well to put both father and son to death. Essen Taishi, who wished to save his son-in-law Kharghotsok, argued that although Akbardshi was a stupid person, yet he had deserted his own brother to join them, and that the son was a man of parts who might be useful to them. Abdulla Setzen argued on the contrary in this wise: "How can the father, who is his brother's heir, who is a slanderer of his own son, and a despiser of his nearest kin, be a friend to us, who are strangers to him and his natural enemies. And as to the son, has he not disclosed what his intentions are? Has he not already used inimical phrases towards us?" In this all were agreed, and a plot was formed to ruin the Jinong.

Accordingly, Abdulla Setzen went to him and said: "We all, the Mongols and the Uirats without exception, are thy subjects. Consent, O

* Ssanang Setzen, 159.

Jinong, our master, to occupy the throne of the Khakan, and to raise our Essen to the rank of Jinong." He consented, but when Abdulla had gone Kharghotsok Taishi addressed his father, and said: "Above in the blue vault of heaven the sun and moon rule. Below on earth the Khakan and the Jinong do the same; but the titles of Taishi and Ching sang are reserved for the sons of the gods (*i.e.*, for those of royal blood). How can you, therefore, surrender your title to another?" This rebuke was not well received by his father, who sharply reprimanded him. Upon which he answered again: "I know it to be against law and custom for one to answer his prince or his father. What I said, however, I said for the best and for your own sake, but it would seem you are determined to ruin yourself and to bind the Mongols to their yoke." He thereupon departed, and Akbardshi, who assembled the Forty and the Four (*i.e.*, the Mongols and the Uirats), occupied the throne of the Khakan, and raised Essen to the rank of Jinong.

The Uirat chiefs meanwhile continued their plot. They invited Akbardshi to a grand feast, which was prepared in two adjoining tents, one being built over a deep pit covered with felt; and it was arranged that the Khan and his dependants should enter the tent according to their rank, each one escorted by two men, and that under cover of shouts of greeting, when they took their cups, they should be seized. The invitation was accepted. As soon as the Khan and his followers entered the tent a song was sung, which was followed by a loud shout. They were seized and put to death, and then buried in the deep hole already prepared in the adjoining tent.*

Meanwhile Kharghotsok Taidshi had stayed in his yurt, but his servant Inak Gere had gone secretly to spy out what was being done. He returned with the news that none of the guests were to be seen, but that blood was flowing from the lower part of the other tent. Kharghotsok upon this remarked that there was nothing for it now but a speedy flight or death, and he set off with his servant Inak Gere. He was pursued by a body of Uirats, but at length reached the craggy mountains of Ongghon Khaya, where he hid himself; but Tsalbin Baghatur, Turin, and a third Uirat clambered up the rocks. The first had a double suit of armour on. As they drew near Inak Gere shot him through and through, and when he fell he knocked the other two into the crevasse. After this Chalak Turgen, of the Torguts, essayed to clamber up. He had protected himself with threefold armour, and also carried a javelin. Inak shouted out that he could not hurt him where he was, and bade the Taidshi shoot. The latter thereupon made a desperate effort, and shot him through and through, so that the arrow went through his back and killed him. The rest of the pursuers then turned and fled. The Taidshi and his henchman being relieved from their

* Ssanang Setzen, 159-163.

anxiety, waited until nightfall, when the latter furtively returned and stole Essen Khakan's black horse called Bughura Khabsan, and his light-coloured mare called Ermek Shirkhatshin, with which he returned in safety. The Taidshi mounted the horse and his servant the mare. They set out intending to take refuge with the Khan of Togmak,* who was a descendant of Juji. On their way they put up at the house of a rich man of Togmak, called Ak Möngke, with whom the Taidshi formed a friendship.

There he stayed for some time, and sent the faithful Inak Gere back to Mongolia to inquire whether Essen Taishi still lived, and how it fared with the Forty and the Four, and told him to return with his wife, if he found it feasible, and if she were still free. About this time Ak Möngke arranged a hunt, in the course of which ten steppe antelopes were started, of which the Taidshi killed nine, and only missed one. This aroused the envy of Yakshi Möngke, the younger brother of Ak Möngke, who killed the Taidshi, and then gave it out that his death had happened by accident from the glancing of an arrow. When Inak Gere returned, he inquired about his master from the horse-herdsman of Ak Möngke, and when he heard of his fate he killed the herdsman, drove off a portion of the herd, and returned to Essen Khakan, to whom he reported his master's fate.†

Kharghotsok Taidshi had married Setsek Beidshi, the daughter of Essen Khakan. Her father meanwhile wished her to marry another husband, but she replied she would not do so until she learnt of the death of Kharghotsok, and she told him further that she was *enceinte*, and had been so for seven months. The Khakan, her father, gave orders that if her child should prove to be a son he was to be put to death, but if a daughter she was to be spared. The child proved to be a son, and was born in 1452. The mother succeeded in deceiving those deputed to examine the matter by substituting the little daughter of Odoi Emegen, of the Khulabad clan of the Chakhar tribe, and sending her boy to its great-great-grandmother Samur Gundshi. It will be remembered that she was the daughter of Elbek Khan, and had been married to Batula Ching sang, and was therefore Essen's grandmother. She received him kindly, named him Bayan Mongke, and gave him Kharatshin Taibutshin, the wife of Sangkhaldur, of the Solongos, for a nurse.

Essen Khakan, when he heard of this, wrote to his grandmother, asking her to put the boy to death. This she refused, saying: "Do you already begin to fear that the boy when he has grown up will take vengeance on you? Is he not the son (*i.e.*, the descendant) of my brother as well as of your son-in-law? If my son Toghon were alive, he might well say why did you permit your grandson Essen to live?"

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* Togmak was a name given by the Mongols to Kipchak, the country of the Golden Horde. Schmidt's Ssanang Setzen, 407.

† Ssanang Setzen, 165.

Essen was disconcerted by his grandmother's decision. He said nothing at the time, but afterwards confessed to his friends that he had made up his mind to eradicate the family of the Bordshigs, and that as his grandmother objected, they must waylay the boy secretly. Inak Gere overheard this, and reported it to Gundshi, who replied that she would send the boy to the Mongols if she could only find a trusty man to take charge of him. Inak said that he knew of a discontented Uirat named Ugetai Daibo, who had told him his grievance, and had complained that although he had commanded a Khoskhigo (*i.e.*, a banner) when he was only thirteen years old, and had employed all his powers in the service of Essen, yet he had not received the slightest reward from him. Inak said that he would prove him, and then try to induce him to enter into their plan. Upon which he sought Ugetai and told him that Essen had determined to waylay the three-year-old son of Setsek Beidshi. "If you would gain some honour for yourself," he said, "you may do so by undertaking a commission for Gundshi, and escorting the boy safely to the Mongols. Not only will you gain honour for yourself, but you will also secure ample remuneration and glory for your family." Ugetai Daibo willingly accepted the proposal, and the young treasure was accordingly sent away to the Mongols. Besides Ugetai, who belonged to the Gol Minghan of the Uirats, there also went with him Bulai Taishi, of the Kharatshin Mongols; Bayantai Mergen, of the Sartaghol; and Esselei Daibo, of the Kunkurats.*

This Saga, which I have taken almost verbatim from Ssanang Setzen, shows how thoroughly the Mongols were at this time subject to the yoke of the Uirats. There is nothing to confirm the story (which is, however, no doubt perfectly reliable in its main facts) in the Chinese annals.

UKEKTU KHAN.

DURING his usurpation, Essen seems to have appointed two chiefs to superintend the two divisions of the Eastern Mongols; Alak Chingsang over the Baraghon Gar or left division, and Timur Chingsang over the Segon Gar or right division. The former is the Ala of the Ming annals,† and the Hala of Mailla. He is mentioned as sending tribute to the Chinese court in 1451.‡ The same year the Chinese Emperor sent envoys into Mongolia, bearing two seals of office and patents of rank, conferring the title of Khan upon both Hala and Essen, thus treating the two on an equality.§ Timur may be the Peyen Timur so often mentioned in the history of Essen. I cannot trace the origin of

* Ssanang Setzen, 159-169.

† Delamarre, 299. ‡ De Mailla, x. 222. § De Mailla, x. 224.

either Alak or Timur. According to Ssanang Setzen, the two one day went to the court of Essen, and demanded that as he was Khakan of both the Four and the Forty, *i.e.*, of the Uirats and the Mongols, he should grant the title of Taidshi to Alak. Essen replied he had already granted it to his son.* His visitors reproached him bitterly, and told him that he fancied it was his own prowess which had raised him to his present position, while it was really the skill of his dependants, and left in a rage. They soon after returned with an army. Essen was forced to fly; his wife, children, cattle, and riches fell a prey to the Mongols. In his flight he was overtaken by one named Bagho, whose father he had killed; he seized him and put him to death, and hung his body on a tree in the mountain Kugei Khan.† Setzen puts his death in 1452. The Ming annals date it in 1454.

Ssanang Setzen tells us that soon after Essen's death, the young widow of Taissong Khan took his son Mergus Khas in a box on horseback, and marched off with a considerable force, some riding on horseback, some on the backs of bullocks, and others on foot, and fell upon the Uirats in the mountains Khangghai Dsabkhan. There a great booty was captured. On her return, Mergus Khas was placed on the throne with the title of Ukektu Khan. He was not obeyed, however, by the greater part of the Mongols, and was murdered by Dogholang Taidshi, of the seven Tumeds, when he was only eight years old, and after a reign of scarcely a year.‡

MOLON KHAN.

TAISSONG KHAN was murdered, as I have said, by his father-in-law Tsabdan, because after marrying his daughter he had sent her home again. This daughter, when she returned to her father, took her son Molon Taidshi, who was then three years old, with her. He remained with his grandfather till he was sixteen. Tsabdan was then (*i.e.*, in 1453) murdered by Khubtshir, of the Khorlad tribe, who carried off Molon and made a slave of him. Upon this there came ill luck upon the tribe. When the sorcerers and other wise men were consulted about it, they gave it as their opinion that it was due to their neglecting the Bordshigs, *i.e.*, the sacred Imperial family. This opinion was generally endorsed, and they sent off the young Taidshi with an escort to Molikhai Ong, of the Ukligud tribe. On his arrival he was received with acclamation, and they cried out, "Through thee will the people once more be reduced to order. Mount the throne of the Khakan." Upon which they mounted

* The Ming annals say he not only refused Alak the place, but also killed his two sons.
† Ssanang Setzen, 169. ‡ Ssanang Setzen, 171.

him on a dappled grey horse, put a golden sceptre in his hand, took him before the god, and placed him on the throne. This was in 1453.*

Molon Khan is, no doubt, the Maeulh of the Ming annals. They tell us that after Alak Ching sang had killed Essen, he was in his turn put to death by Puilai, who then sought out Maeulh, the son of Totobuka (*i.e.*, of Taissong), and put him on the throne with the title of Little King. Thenceforward, they say, Puilai and his officers Maolihai, &c., became influential chieftains among the Tartars.† I have not found any one mentioned by Ssanang Setzen who answers to Puilai, but Maolihai is clearly the Molikhai of that author.

Molon Khan had not a very long lease of power. Khodobagha, who belonged to the Solonghos tribe, hinted to the young Khan that Molikhai was intriguing with his wife, and was also marching with an army against him. The Khan was loth to believe this, and said that it was hardly possible that his benefactor should do it, but he sent out a messenger to see. Molikhai then happened to be hunting. The messenger seeing the dust raised by the hunt did not wait for further evidence, but returned with his report. The Khakan thought he had better forestal Molikhai, and marched against him. Khodobagha now repaired to the latter, and told him the Khan was marching against him to overwhelm him. He also was credulous, saying he could hardly be marching against him who had only been his benefactor and never had any evil designs against him. "If you think that I lie, send out messengers to inquire," said the crafty Khodobagha. Molichai said he would go and see for himself, and went with his people to a hill, whence he saw the advancing army. He then girt on his armour, sprinkled an offering before the gods, and thus addressed them: "Sublime and everlasting Tegri, (*i.e.*, supreme gods), ye are witness; Lord Bogda, you are witness also, that I have been faithful to the son of your race, but he has repaid me with evil. Judge ye between the offspring of your golden race, Molon Khakan, and me, Molikhai Ong, who am his subject. Your favourable or unfavourable sentence shall decide between us." Molikhai then advanced against the Khan at the head of his men, and killed him. He was only eighteen years old. This was in 1454.‡ When Monggutsar, the chief wife of Molon, heard the news, she broke out into wailing and sobbing, and said, "O Khodobagha, it is thou who hast befouled the good name of my husband, and hast wrought a divorce between him, my lord and Khakan, and me. O Khodobagha, it is thou who hast disturbed the resettled condition of the State, hast parted the subjects from their Khakan, and hast sown discord between him and Molikhai Ong." When Molikhai Ong heard this wail, he repented of what he had done, had the tongue of the treacherous Khodobagha torn out, and then had him put to death.

*Ssanang Setzen, 171. † Delamarre, 300. ‡ Ssanang Setzen, 173.

MANDAGHOL KHAN.

AFTER the death of Molon Khan, there seems to have been an interregnum. Ssanang Setzen does not name any Khan between the death of the former in 1454, and the accession of Mandaghol Khan in 1463. It is very probable that the Mongols continued to be more or less subject to the Uirats, and that any Khan they had was purely a nominal one. During this interval, namely, in the year 1460, I find it stated in the Ming annals that Puilai, Maolihai (*i.e.*, Molikhai), and others made raids upon the Chinese frontier.* This Puilai, I believe, to have been the chief of the Uirats, for he is mentioned several times prominently in the Chinese history, while he does not appear in Ssanang Setzen, who confuses himself very much to the history of his own people, the Eastern Mongols.

Molon Khan left no sons, and according to Ssanang Setzen was succeeded in 1463 by his great-uncle Mandaghol, the youngest son of Adsai. His mother was a Uirat. To revenge the death of Ukektu Khan, he marched against Dogholang Taidshi, a descendant of Khadshikin, killed him, and subjected the seven Tumeds to his authority.† Like the other Mongol Khans of this period, Mandaghol no doubt bore the title of Siao vang tsu or Little King.

It will be remembered that Akbardshi Khan left a grandson named Bayan Mongke, who was protected by the aged Samur Gundshi from the jealous spite of Essen. He was now produced and taken to the court of his great-uncle Mandaghol Khan. The latter was greatly rejoiced, he expressed a wish that he might prove a fruitful branch of the Bordshigs, and he changed his name from Bayan Mongke to Bolkho Jinong. Mandaghol seems to be the Tui mentioned by De Mailla.‡ He says that in the sixth year of Ing tsong, *i.e.*, in 1462, Maolihai (*i.e.*, Molikhai) invaded the districts of Ku yuen, Leang chau, and King chau, having been assisted by Holochu and Monko, who were enemies of Pohai (? Puilai). He attacked the latter and killed him, and caused Tui, the brother of Siao wang tse, to be nominated as Khan. This description and the date make it pretty certain that Tui is no other than Mandaghol. The three confederates, finding the country fertile, settled there and sent their submission to the Imperial court. Their country was more than 100 lis from east to west, from Pien tiau koan in Shensi as far as Ninghia; on the south it bordered on the Great Wall; and on the north was watered by the Yellow River for a space of 800 li.

We are told by Ssanang Setzen that to revenge the death of Molon Khan, Mandaghol marched against Molikhai and killed him. We are

* Delamarre, 318. † Ssanang Setzen, 175. ‡ De Mailla, x. 301.

told further, that at this time he lived on good terms with Bolkho Jinong, and reigned with strictness and authority over the six Tumens.

We now hear of another piece of treacherous intrigue which nearly caused a fresh revolution among the Mongols. A dependant of Bolkho Jinong told the Khan the latter had evil designs against him, and meant to rob him of his wife. The Khan refused to believe him, and told his nephew what he had said, and when he found it was all a slander, he ordered his nose and lips to be cut off, and then had him put to death. A second Mongol named Issama Taishi shortly after took up the same scandal, and at the same time he poisoned the mind of Bolkho Jinong against his uncle. The repetition of the story aroused the Khan's suspicions, and after a somewhat ill-tempered exchange of messages, he ordered an army to march against Bolkho Jinong, who fled, and his people and cattle were harried. Mandaghol Khan died in 1467 and left two daughters, but no son. His nephew Bolkho Jinong was murdered three years later by five conspirators of the tribe Jungshiyabo.*

DAYAN KHAN.

BOLKHO JINONG left an infant son named Batu Mongke. His widow married Issama, the slanderer, who had caused the quarrel with his uncle. The young prince remained however with his nurse Bakhai. From her he was taken by force by a Mongol named Timur Khadak. But the boy had received such rough treatment that he had grown up humpbacked. Ssanang Setzen tells us that the wife of Timur Khadak tried to straighten it by rubbing it with a silver bowl. He then goes on to tell a quaint story of how Mandughai Ssetzen Khatun, the young widow of Mandaghol, was wooed by Unebolod Ong of the Khortshins. She said that if there had not been a descendant of the Imperial house in existence she would have listened to him, but that such an one did exist in the person of Batu Mongke. She also consulted two of her friends as to what she should do. One of them said it would be better for the people if she married Unebolod at once, and did not wait until the boy grew to maturity. Her other friend, named Saghan Agha, argued differently. She told her that if she married the descendant of Khassar she would darken her path, divorce herself from the people, and lose the title of Khatun; while if she protected the boy, she would in turn be cherished by the gods; she would rule over the whole people, and would retain with honour her title of Khatun. This last argument commended itself to Mandughai Ssetzen, and she punished her former adviser by hitting her on the head with a bowl full of tea.

* Ssanang Setzen, 177 and 179.

Thereupon she took the then five-year-old Batu Mongke by the hand, and led him before the great Goddess-mother of the Royal House. Having made an offering, she said, "I have wandered unconsciously into a place where one cannot distinguish black from white. The family of the Bordshigs is nearly extinct. Unebolod, the descendant of Khassar, has wooed me. For this reason I now appear before thee, mother of princes. My distracted vision can hardly recognise a piebald horse. When the descendant of Khassar suggested that the boy was too young and insignificant, I began to be nervous about him, and fearing for his life, I came here. If I should be guilty of despising thy noble gates, or of contemning thy sublime threshold; or if I should accept Unebolod as my husband, then, mother of princes, punish me, thy daughter-in-law and slave. If, on the contrary, I sincerely fulfil my promises, and protect thy little descendant Batu Mongke, and in due time become his housewife, then be thou compassionate towards us, and grant that from our union there may be born seven sons and only one daughter. If thou wilt grant my wish, I will name my seven sons the seven Bolods (*i.e.*, the seven men of steel), and will fan the flames on thine altar." When Mandughai returned home, Unebolod heard of what had taken place, reconciled himself gracefully to circumstances, and ceased his wooing.

Mandughai Ssetzen Khatun, who was then twenty-three years old, was thereupon married to the five-year-old Batu Mongké. This was in 1470. Having seated him before the goddess on a throne, she gave him the name of Dayan Khakan, and expressed a hope that he would rule the united people.

Upon which the wise Mandughai Ssetzen Khatun loosened her hair and collected it in a bunch on the crown of her head (? the distinguishing mark of a married woman), and putting Dayan Khakan in a waggon, she marched with him at the head of the army against the Durben Uirat, from whom they captured much booty.*

It is very clear that at this time the Monghol Khan had but a titular authority, and that other chiefs held sway elsewhere. Thus we read in the Ming annals, under the year 1473, that Mantlu, Puilohu, and Kiaokiaslan made a raid into China. These raids had been very frequent of late years, and from 1470 there had been three or four each year. The result being that several millions!!! of men and cattle had been carried off. The frontier commanders had not opposed them, or had merely attacked their rear guard in retiring, and killed some of the old and helpless people. Their great aim was to be able to report a sufficient number of heads decapitated, upon which there was an *ad valorem* system of recompense. If they were beaten, the only punishment they suffered was a degradation in rank.

The three chiefs already named made a raid in 1473, in which they

* Ssanang Setzen, 179-183.

penetrated as far as Thsin chau and Gan tin. Wang yue, governor of the military division of Yen sui, having collected a large force, marched against them, and hearing that the enemy had placed their old people, wives, and children near the Red Salt lake, he planted ten ambuscades. Meanwhile, with the main army he attacked their camp, burnt their yurts and huts, and destroyed the old people and children, the cattle and baggage. This terrible harrying, that reads so like a Scotch raid on the borders, had its effect. When the Mongols returned and discovered the fate of their families, they wept bitterly. They retired towards the north, and deserted the country enclosed by the elbow of the Yellow River, and known as the country of the Ordus. For many years they were content merely to plunder the remote frontier, and even sent several embassies with their submission.* In 1475, Mantlu and Kiaokiaslan sent such an embassy with offers of homage.† This Mantlu is doubtless Mandulai Agholkho, a chief of the Ordus, mentioned by Ssanang Setzen.‡

The notices of the Mongols in the Chinese annals now become very scattered. We read that in 1483 the Siau wang tsi or "Little Prince" made an incursion into Tathong at the head of 30,000 men, and captured a great booty. They burnt the town of Pie pao. §

Under the year 1488, I find it stated in De Mailla that news arrived at the court of the death of Patu Khan, of the Mongols, and of the election of Peyen in his stead. ‖ This is clearly a mistake, which has probably arisen from the confusion between the name Batu and the title Dayan. Ssanang Setzen's narrative, which at this time is very circumstantial, is entirely at issue with any such occurrence, nor is De Mailla's statement confirmed by anything in the Ming annals. Returning to the native chronicler, we find that in 1482, her husband being then seventeen years old, Mandughai Ssetzen Khatun gave birth to Toro Bolod and Ulus Bolod, who were twins. In 1484 she had a daughter called Toroltu Gundshi, and a son Barsa Bolod, who were also twins; while in 1490 she had a son Arsu Bolod, and afterwards again two twins, Altshu Bolod and Watshir Bolod. While she was pregnant with the latter two, the Four Uirats made a raid. She put herself at the head of the army, but fell off her horse. Upon this, four chiefs planted themselves around her, remounted her on a horse called Sain Khongkhor, belonging to one Saikhan, of the Bayaghod tribe, and brought her out of the *melée* in safety. This mention of the horse's name, which occurs so frequently in the Mongol Sagas, is surely a very characteristic trait of a race of nomades whose perpetual life on horseback entitles them almost to the character of centaurs. After her adventure, the Khatun bore the twins already named, and shortly after had another son named Ara Bolod. Thus was Mandughai's prayer answered, to the great joy of the people. Besides these

* Delamarre, 357, 358. † Delamarre, 365. ‡ Op. cit., 185, *et seq.*
§ Delamarre, 381. ‖ De Mailla, x. 255.

seven sons, Dayan Khan had four others by two other wives, namely, Gere Bolod Taidshi, Gere Sanda Taidshi, Ubshighun Ching Taidshi, and Geretu Taidshi.*

The Ming annals tell us that in 1497 "the Little Prince" (*i.e.*, Dayan Khan) invaded Chao ho chuan, and that Liau chen was killed in opposing him. Two years later, another chief named Hochai † invaded Ta thong with 7,000 men. They completely defeated the Chinese border commanders, and killed one of them named Hong and 800 of his people. In 1500, Hochai made a fresh raid into the same district. Troops were sent against him, but apparently without any result, as none is recorded.‡ In 1501, Hochai with "the Little Prince" again made an incursion. The whole Chinese frontier from Liau tung to the borders of Thibet seems to have been more or less attacked. The Ming annals sardonically note that one Chinese commander actually succeeded in killing three of the enemy, and reported this at court as a victory. Meanwhile "the Little Prince" and Hochai, dividing their army of 100,000 men into several bodies, pillaged on all sides the country of Ku yuen and Nin hia.§ The conduct of the border commanders caused great dissatisfaction at court. The expenses of the war, in which no fruits seemed to be gathered, were immense. A bitter complaint was lodged against the generals by Khu chen, who said that the campaign had cost 1,600,000 taels, and the result was the death of three enemies only, that is, 500,000 taels for each head, while the officers and soldiers who had been reported as worthy of reward were 10,000 in number. In 1504 Hochai made another incursion into Ta thong, while in 1505 "the Little Prince" again crossed the border.‖ Unfortunately this year is the last in which we can rely upon the Ming annals, which have not been translated further, nor, I am told, is there much prospect of their being so. Reverting once more therefore to Ssanang Setzen, it would seem that Issama Taishi, who had married his mother as I have already described, conspired against Dayan Khan, who thereupon sent Toghodshi Shigushi, of the Khorlats, at the head of some troops. Issama having been killed by Toghodshi, the latter ordered his wife Shiker Taigho, who was Dayan's mother, to mount on horseback and follow him. She was in great grief at her husband's fate and refused, upon which Toghodshi addressed her in a rage and said, "Was the noble Jinong (*i.e.*, Bolkho Jinong, *vide ante*, 368) your lawful husband too base for you? Is your son Dayan Khan too insignificant for you? Do you despise your people the Chakhar Tumen? Do you regard the traitor Issama as better than these? Saying this, he put his hand on his sword, upon which Shiker Taigho was afraid, and set out on her journey; nevertheless her conduct had gained her the ill

* Ssanang Setzen, 183.

† Perhaps the Toghodshi Shigushi of Ssanang Setzen, who was a general of Dayan Khan's, *vide* op. cit., 183.

‡ Delamarre, 425, 426. § Delamarre, 427. ‖ Delamarre, 429-438.

will and scorn of everybody." Toghodshi married Khulutai, Issama's daughter, and escorted Shiker Taigho to the Khan, her son.*

Meanwhile three of the Mongol chiefs, of the Baraghon Tumen or left division of the Mongols, approached the Khan with the following prayer. "You sit on the throne as our legitimate ruler. You have vanquished and subdued your enemies and those who envy you. By your wife, and in answer to her prayer you have had seven sons, the seven Bolods. Thus have you lighted a bright glowing lamp and created a sweet smelling incense in the eight white houses of the Lord Bogda. It is only now requisite that you should collect dues equally from all the great race of the Jirgughan. We have come therefore to beg that you will appoint one of your sons to the dignity of Jinong, and let him go with us." The request was acceded to by the Khan and his wife, and those who were present, and Ulus Bolod was appointed Jinong over the three Baraghon Tumens, and was duly installed in the presence of the gods.

This appointment was not pleasing to some of the other chiefs, who had doubtless long been practically independent, and especially to Ibiri Taishi, of the Jungshiyabo, and Mandulai Agholkho, of the Ordus tribe. "Why should we have a ruler over us," they said, "we can rule our states without assistance, we must waylay this Abaghai." † They drew a Mongol named Boldshumar into the plot, and instructed him that on a certain day when the people came to prostrate themselves, he was, under pretence that it belonged to him, to seize the horse of the Jinong, and to raise an altercation, when the rest would come to his rescue. The following day, accordingly, Boldshumar approached the Jinong and seized his horse by the bridle; the latter bade him leave loose, and when he did not do so, hit him over the head with a strap. Upon this Ibiri and Mandulai raised an outcry. A fierce struggle ensued, during which the conspirators pressed round, and although Ibiri was wounded in the breast, and Abaghai succeeded in cutting down one of his followers, he was himself shot from behind and killed.‡

De Mailla has a reference to this event. He says, "Siao wang tsi (*i.e.*, the Little Prince) had three sons, Horlun, Hotchu, and Mankoan-chin, of whom Ye pula was the guardian." He elsewhere tells us Ye pula was the chief of the tribe Inchaopoa, that is, he was the Ibiri chief of the Jungshigabo of Ssanang Setzen. He says that Yepula, discontented with serving these princes, killed Horlun, and having passed the Yellow River he retired to the country of Sihai (*i.e.*, the country of Kokonoor), where he began to grow in power.§ Ssanang Setzen says that to punish the murder of his son, Dayan Khakan set out against the Baraghon Tumen. On his way he came to a narrow pass called

* Ssanang Setzen, 183 and 185.

† Abaghai, according to Schmidt, was used as a nickname, and was probably appropriated to the second son of the Khan. It means uncle. Ssanang Setzen, 408.

‡ Ssanang Setzen, 185 and 187. § De Mailla, x. 301.

Ongghonu Sube. As he was passing it a Mongol came up, driving a vast herd of cattle, and to announce his approach blew loudly on his horn. The echo of this, and the noise of the tramping herd was mistaken by some of the Mongols for an adverse army. A panic seized them and they fled. In the flight Dayan Khakan was thrown from his horse called Eber Khossa head foremost into the mud, from which he was released by his companions. Meanwhile night came on, the fugitives lost their way in the pass, the army was forced to pick its way over the rough mountain, and many slipped off their saddles and were lost, whence the place was called Jingkhortsagun Dabagha.

In reference to this incident Baghatur Negorekei composed a scornful song about the Khan. "Instead of staying at home," he said, "the three Segon Tumens (*i.e.*, the right-hand Tumens) marched hither. They determined to win by fair means or foul, but the gods have prevented them. Have caused the Khan to fall, and scattered his wives and families in all directions." When Dayan Khan returned from this expedition, the three Baraghon Tumens (*i.e.*, the three left-hand Tumens) with Ibiri and Mandulai at their head, marched against him. He had notice sent him by Khossai Tabunang, who happened to be in their camp, and the Khan had time to overtake the tribes Keshikten and Kendshigod, who had loitered on their march, and whom he overtook at a place called Gakhai Elessun, and to attack them. When he was told of the scornful song of Baghatur Negorekei, he was greatly excited, and prostrating himself before the gods, he said, "They have suddenly given expression to anger, and commenced hostilities. Ibiri and Mandulai have murdered the innocent. They aroused suspicions against Ulus Bolod, and have befooled Baghatur Negorekei into using such mettlesome phrases. Be you my witness, and judge great god, my father." Having made an offering, he assembled the three right-hand Tumens, and their near allies, the Khortshins, and marched against the enemy. They did not refuse to meet him, and the two armies drew near one another at the mountain Dalan Terigun. Before the fight, the Khan thus addressed his men: "The Ordus, as the guardians of the eight white houses of Jingis Khan, are a fortunate people; but you, Uriyangkhans, who were appointed guardians of the noble remains of Jingis, are also a very fortunate people. Join yourselves with the Khortshins—cousins with cousins. The twelve tribes of the Khalkas shall fight with the twelve Tumeds, and the eight tribes of the Chakhars with the Jungshiyabos." From this address we may gather that the Ordus, Tumeds, and Jungshiyabos formed the three Baraghon Tumens; and the Chakhars, Khalkas, and Uriyangkhans the three Segon Tumens. The struggle was a very severe one, and at one time a general charge of the enemy's troops threatened to defeat the Khan's forces. At this juncture, Barsa Bolod, the Khan's son, who saw the danger, collected forty of his bravest followers and charged at their head, cut his way through the ranks of

the Tumeds, and reached those of the Ordus. There he was recognised by the standard-bearer of the Ordus, who shouted to him, "Here is the Black Standard of the Khakan. I return it to his descendant." Giving him the standard, the two stood close together, upon which the Ordus, who were pursuing the Uriyangkhans and were deceived by the manœuvre, rallied back to their standard, where they were badly cut in pieces. A portion of the enemy now submitted. The rest were pursued by Dayan Khan as far as the Kokonoor lake, where he was acknowledged by all the three sections of the Baraghon Tumen. Mandulai Agholkho, the Ordus chief, was killed in the mountain Adshinu Tsaidam, which thence was renamed Agholkho Tsaidam. Ibiri Taishi, the other chief rebel, was deserted by his people, and fled to Khamil, where he was assassinated.*

Hitherto Dayan had apparently not been properly installed, for we are told that having now restored order in the six Tumens, he solemnly took the title of Khakan before the eight white houses of Jingis, and as such did homage there. He then appointed his grandson Bodi, the son of Toro Bolod, who had died in 1523, to be his successor; and to reward Barsa Bolod for his brave conduct in the late war, he appointed him Jinong over the three Baraghon Tumens. He then rewarded the various people who had faithfully served him and his children. They are specifically mentioned by Ssanang Setzen. Some he appointed Dai Darchans. To others he gave salaries; to others, golden tamghas or seals; and to others, titles. His only daughter Töröltu Gundshi was married to Baghassun Darkhan Tabunang of the Saraghod tribe. Some time after a rebellion took place among the Uriyangkhans. This was suppressed. One of their tribes called Sorghol was nearly destroyed, and the rest made prisoners. The Uriyangkhans were then incorporated with the remaining five Tumens.

Ssanang Setzen dates the death of Dayan Khan in 1543. This seems hard to reconcile with the scattered notices of De Mailla, which show Anda and Kisiang, other Mongol chiefs, acting very independently long before this, and says further, that as early as 1528 they had become so powerful that they no longer obeyed "the Little Prince." This can only be reconciled on the supposition that Dayan Khan lost his control over the Baraghon Tumens in his later days.†

His reign was a memorable one in Mongol history. The long series of minorities of civil wars, &c., had disintegrated the nation very considerably. He once more united it. According to Ssanang Setzen his successor in the rank of Over Khan was his grandson Bodi.

Barsa Bolod became Jinong over the greater part of the three Baraghon Tumens; Arsu Bolod Mergen Khungtaidshi, prince of the seven Tumeds; Altso Bolod of the middle five tribes of the Khalkas; Gere Sandsa over the seven further tribes of the Khalkas; Wadshir Bolod over the

* Ssanang Setzen, 189-193. † De Mailla, x. 308.

eight tribes of the Keshikten of the Chakhars; Ara Bolod over the Khotshid of the Chakhars; Gere Bolod over the Aokhan Naiman of the Chakhars; and Ubassandsa over the Assod and Jungshiyabo.* This division led to the eventual breaking to pieces of the Mongol power. The tribes of Mongol proper were practically divided into two great sections, the Segon Gar section, to which the Imperial Ordus belonged; and the Baraghon Gar or Eastern section, over which the Jinongs ruled. I shall here follow the main line.

BODI KHAN.

DAYAN'S eldest son Torobolod died in his father's lifetime, and Bodi Taidshi his son was, on the death of Dayan, raised to the position of Over Khan. His authority over the Baraghon Tumens was purely nominal. For many years the tribes forming that division had under the leadership of Anda and his brother raised the renown of the Mongol arms to a very high pitch. Bodi Khan succeeded his grandfather in 1544. He is probably the Puchi of De Mailla.†

Soon after his accession Baghatur Molosai of the Khortshins tried to persuade him to march against the Baraghon Tumens to destroy their organisation, and to incorporate them with the Segon Tumens. This advice would have been carried out but for the eloquent counsel of his mother. She said: "You speak of breaking the union of the three Baraghon Tumens and of subjecting them. After the great battle at Dalan Teregun, Surtukhaya Ong of the Khortshins gave your noble grandfather the following advice: 'If you leave these three Baraghons united, our posterity will be harassed and harried by them; but we shall have perpetual peace if you unite together the two main stems of the Chakhars and Bayars, the numerous Jungshiyabo with our 200,000 Khortshins, and the twelve clans of the Tumeds with the twelve clans of the Khalkas.' To this advice your noble grandfather thus answered: 'My intention was to pursue my son's murderers, and to revenge myself upon them, and I have taught the people the consequence of the crime of Ibiri and Mandulai. What further advantage should I have gained if I had become the Lord and Khakan of the whole people, merely to divide still more the remaining 60,000 which were left out of the noble 400,000?' In this wise did your noble grandfather oppose such counsel. Will you now do contrary to his advice and presume to judge better than he? In your case there remains further reason against destroying the three Baraghons. How can it have ever entered your mind to wish to undo the noble bond of union established by your grandfather, by which

* Ssanang Setzen, 205. † De Mailla, x. 302.

peace has been assured to these great peoples? The middle son of Gun Belik, eldest son of Barsa Bolod, is Buyanggholai Toghar Daitshing. If this man sees an enemy he can't restrain his desire to measure himself against him. He is a hero who unarmoured throws himself into a *melée* with men protected by armour. The son of Ilete Altan, who was the son of Barsa Bolod, is Senge Dugufeng Timur, and he is so strong and active that he is accustomed to jump over a camel when armed *cap-a-pie* in complete steel. One of the sons of Gun Belik Mergen Jinong is Nom Tarni Goa Taidshi. His son is called Khutuktai-Setzen Taidshi; of him men report that he not only knows the past but also the future thoroughly. Another son of Mergen Jinong is Buyanggholai Toghar Daitshing. The son of this man, named Belgei Daibung Taidshi, is so strong that in stretching his bow he pulls until his shoulder blades overlap one another, so that he is obliged to put a cushion between them; he can cut off any joint of the tail from a running fox which any one may choose. His younger brother, called Borsai Khatan Baghatur, shoots, as one hears, with such force that his arrow passes through three wooden shovels when put together. If it happened that you should carry out your plan and bring them under your yoke, then it might be well; but if your plan miscarried, then you would have brought upon yourself and others irreparable injury."

Bodi Alak Khan agreed with his mother's advice and desisted from his plan. He ruled the whole people in peace and quiet, and died after he had reigned for four years in 1547.*

KUDANG KHAN.

BODI KHAN left three sons, Daraissun Taidshi, Kukjutai Taidshi, and Ongghon Toghar. Daraissun was born in 1520, and mounted the throne before the white houses in 1548, on which occasion he made a treaty of peace and friendship with the Baraghon Tumens. On his return home he was met by Altan Khan, a celebrated chieftain of that section,† who thus addressed him, "Thou hast taken the title and dignity of Lord and Khakan, and thereby hast given stability to the State. The title of Sutu Khakan, which carries with it the duty of defending the State, was formerly granted to the subordinate princes. I pray that thou wilt invest me with this title, and I will promise thee to protect thy rights." This petition was acceded to, and Altan received the title of Sutu Khakan. On his return home Daraissun adopted the title of Kudang Khan, by which he was universally known. He secured peace and prosperity to the State, and died in 1557, after a reign of ten years.‡

* Ssanang Setzen, 199. † See next chapter. ‡ Ssanang Setzen, 199 and 201.

SASSAKTU KHAN.

KUDANG KHAN left three sons, namely, Tumen Taidshi, Darai Bagha Darkhan, and Daitshing Taidshi. The first of these, who was born in 1539, succeeded him. The history of the main line of the Mongol Royal house is at this time much overshadowed by the collateral branches who ruled in the Baraghon Gar or left wing, and especially by the great Altan Khan, who had been latterly converted to the Lamaist faith. It would seem that either the Mongols had, after their expulsion from China, entirely relapsed into their ancient practices of Shamanism, or that they were adherents of the Red sect merely, and that their conversion refers to their acceptance of the reformed doctrines of the Yellow sect. In 1576 Tumen Taidshi was himself converted by Ilduni Sanggiduktshi Garma Lama. On this occasion he assembled the six Tumens, and gave them a code of laws. He appointed Amutai Khungtaidshi of the Chakhars, and Oisang Subukhai of the Khalkas, both of the Segon Tumens, and Khutuktai Setzen Khungtaidshi of the Ordus, Nom Dara Khulatshi Noyan of the Assod, and Tsuruge Khungtaidshi of the Tumeds, to carry out these laws. Thenceforwards he was called Sassaktu Khakan, by which name he became widely celebrated. He ruled his people with authority and skill, and compelled the three tribes, Jurgid, Eligud, and Dagighur, "who spoke another language," to pay tribute.* Two of these tribes are assuredly the Jurji, Juji or Niuchi, and the Daurians of Manchuria; the Eligud are perhaps the Yehe or Yege, another Tungusian tribe which figures largely in the history of the founding of the Manchu dynasty.† Sassaktu Khan died in 1592.

SETZEN KHAN.

SASSAKTU KHAN had eleven sons, of whom the eldest was called Buyan Taidshi. He was born in 1555. He mounted the throne in 1593, and was afterwards known as Setzen Khan. He ruled the people in accordance with justice and religion, and died in 1603.‡

* Ssanang Setzen, 201.

† See the author's paper on the origines of the Manchus in the Journal of the Asiatic Society

‡ Ssanang Setzen, 203.

LINGDAN KHUTUKTU KHAN.

SETZEN KHAN left three sons, namely, Mangshuk Taidshi, Kebker Taidshi, and Magho Kitad Taidshi. The eldest of these, named Mangshuk Taidshi, died in his father's lifetime, leaving two sons, Lingdan Baghatur Taidshi and Sangghardshi Odshan Taidshi. The former of these, who was born in 1592, succeeded his grandfather in 1604, under the title of Khutuktu Khan, a name he owed to his zeal in promoting the spread of Lamaism. During his reign the bKa-a Giur or Gandshur, one of the encyclopædic works on Buddhism often mentioned in Mr. Hodgson's papers, was translated into Mongol; a fresh revision of this translation by Jangja Khutuktu appeared one hundred years later.*

In 1617 he erected one of the great Buddhist statues called Ju Sakiamuni, and built many temples and monasteries, which were all completed in one summer. Meanwhile the various Mongol tribes had been gradually emancipating themselves from the control of the Senior family, whose authority, especially north of the desert, had become very nominal. Divided among the sons of Dayan Khan, as I have described, Mongolia was what Russia was in the thirteenth century, a disintegrated body of units, whose mutual jealousies were not diminished probably by their rulers being so near akin. It is hardly to be wondered at that Khutuktu, or Lingdan Khan as he is more generally called, should have desired and made some effort to reconquer the position filled by his ancestors as supreme Khan of Mongolia. His proceedings however were of an arrogant and brutal character, and their effect was to throw the various tribes over whom he claimed to rule into the arms of the rising Manchu dynasty. Ssanang Setzen, who was a prince of the Ordus, and was hardly a fair judge therefore of his proceedings, reproaches him for having scattered the six Tumens, and emphasises his homily by quoting the old Mongol proverb. "A raging Khan (Khakan) disturbs the State, and a raging elephant (Saghan) overthrows his keepers." In which the point consists mainly in the play upon the words Khakan and Saghan.†

We first hear of Lingdan's unruly conduct in 1415, when, we are told, he made some raids into Liau tung.‡ This was doubtless caused by his jealousy of the rising Manchu dynasty. The Mongol tribes on the frontiers of Manchuria, among whom the Khortshins were pre-eminent, had been a good deal mixed up in the revolutions of that country, and had marriage connections with its princes. This could not but be

* Schmidt's Ssanang Setzen, 411. † Ssanang Setzen, 203. Schmidt's note, id., 411.
‡ Timkowski, ii. 215.

distasteful to Lingdan, and we accordingly read that in 1424, when the Khortshins definitely allied themselves with the Manchus, Lingdan marched against them and ravaged their lands. They thereupon turned for assistance to the Manchus, with whose aid the Chakhars were beaten.* In 1626 the chiefs of the Naimans and Aokhans, who were vassals of the Chakhars, abandoned Lingdan and submitted to the Manchus.† The Barins and Dsarods at the same time fled to the Khortshins,‡ while the Usumutshins and Abaghas escaped beyond the desert to the Khalkas.§

In 1627, the Ordus, Tumeds, Khortshins, Abaghas, and several clans of the Khalkas formed a league, and fought a severe battle against Lingdan and the Chakhars. The latter numbered 40,000 men, and the battle was fought at a place called Ju Tseng, in the country of the Tumeds. The Chakhars were defeated. On their return home, the confederates encountered another body of 3,000 Chakhars, who were on their way to ask for rewards and presents from the Ming Emperor. They were dispersed.‖ In 1628, Lingdan defeated the tribe Kharatshin, and the Taidji Bain Bostu.¶ More and more of the tribes fell away from him and submitted to the Manchus, and he now attacked Ta thung and Siuan hua fu, and at the same time required an annual tribute from the Chinese court.** He seems to have been partially successful to have subdued the Tumeds,†† and to have compelled Ssanang Setzen Khung-taidsji, chief of the Ordus, to find shelter in the desert.‡‡ But his days were numbered, the Manchus marched against him, and compelled him to fly. He fled towards Tangut, but died on the way in the steppe of Shira talas.§§ Ssanang Setzen dates his death in 1634.‖‖

ERKE KHONGKHOR KHAN.

On the death of Lingdan Khutuktu Khan, his widow, named Shodai Taigho, who was of Royal Manchu descent, went with her son, Erke Khongkhor, into the country of the Ordus to a place named Toli. The Manchu Emperor seems to have received them kindly, he gave his daughter Erke Gurne Gundshu in marriage to the young khan, while the second wife of Lingdan joined his own harem, Erke Khongkhor and his brother Abaghai were treated as his own sons.¶¶ It was after his successes in Mongolia, and also very largely by the assistance of the Mongols who had joined his

* Schmidt "Die Volkstamme der Mongolen," Memoirs St. Petersburg Academy, ii. 424.
† Schmidt, op. cit., ii. 430, 431. ‡ Schmidt, op. cit., ii. 432 and 434.
§ Schmidt, op. cit., ii. 439 and 444. ‖ Schmidt, op. cit., ii. 428 and 444.
¶ Timskowski, ii. 215. ** Timskowski, ii. 215. †† Schmidt, op. cit., 454.
‡‡ Ssanang Setzen, 281. §§ Schmidt, op. cit., ii. 454. ‖‖ Ssanang Setzen, 303.
¶¶ Ssanang Setzen, 287.

banners, that the Manchu Emperor marched victoriously from one end of China to the other. I have now traced the history of the main line of the Imperial house of the Mongols from the times of its supremacy to a time when it became a mere vassal of the Manchu empire. Its further history is not known to me; nor would it be within my present province to detail it if it were. With the history of the Manchus, of which it forms a subordinate part, we have not at present to do. In the next chapter I have set out the history of the other tribes whose chiefs claim descent from Dayan Khan, and also described their boundaries and the topography of the districts they inhabit.

Note 1.—A census of the population of China during the Mongol rule was several times taken, and it is interesting to note its rapid increase. I abstract the following facts from Pauthier, who has taken them from Chinese sources. In 1235 the population of Yen king and Chun tien (the two quarters of Peking), together with that of 36 lu or administrative circles, was found to be 873,781 families and 4,754,975 mouths.

In 1252 there was another census, when the number of families had increased by 200,000.

In 1270 a fresh census disclosed a further increase of 300,000 families.

In 1290, after the subjugation of the Sung empire, there were found to be 11,840,000 doors or families, this number was afterwards raised by the addition of many families in the north and south of the empire to 13,196,206 families, comprising 58,834,711 souls. This did not include the fugitives, &c., who had taken refuge in the mountains and retired districts.

In 1330 the number of families who paid taxes in money or kind was found to be 13,400,899.

It is interesting to compare these figures with those of the recent estimates of the Chinese population. We must remember, as Pauthier remarks, that the above enumeration was taken after 74 years of bloody carnage, which must have decimated the people terribly. If we are to credit one Chinese author, Khubilai Khan, alone, in gaining and maintaining his throne slaughtered more than 18,470,000 people.*

Note 2.—In regard to the names of the Khans contained in the foregoing chapter, I have adopted their official titles as given by Ssanang Setzen, which are probably more reliable, and certainly, as native names, more appropriate than many of their Chinese titles and names as contained in the Chinese annals. I am aware that I have not been quite consistent in the other chapters. Khubilai, for example, being referred to by Ssanang Setzen as Khubilai Ssetzen Khakan, and sometimes merely as Setzen Khakan, but the earlier Khans are so widely known by the names

* Pauthier's Marco Polo, I. xcix.

I have adopted in the text that consistency must bend to common usage. It is most difficult to adopt an uniform practice in Eastern nomenclature. Colonel Yule reminds me that Hulagu, and not Khulagu, is the ordinary mode of spelling the founder of the dynasty of the Ilkhans, who occupies such a prominent place in chapter V, but Khulagu is the form used by Schmidt,* and if we are to say Khubilai and not Hupilai, as the Chinese say; we ought to say Khulagu instead of Hulagu, just as we say Khan and not Han, &c. I find that Pallas gives two lists of the Mongol Khans, which confirm the nomenclature of Ssanang Setzen by independent testimony, for his lists were collected among the European Kalmuks. The following abstract, he tells us, he copied from a Kalmuk work, giving a history of Buddhism. "From the time when Sakiamuni migrated from earth to heaven, to the birth of Jingis Khan, there were 3,250 years. . . . . Jingis' son, Ogotai, ruled for six years. His son was Guba Khan (*i.e.*, Kuyuk), who only reigned six months. Monko Khan, the grandson of Jingis by his son Otshon Toli, then ruled for nine years. His successor was Khubilai Setzen Khan. . . . . Khubilai mounted the throne in his 46th year, and died in his 82nd, when he had reigned thirty-six years. . . . . The son of Khubilai was Ulsohta Khan, who had the kingdom for thirteen years. He was succeeded by Buyantu Khan, who reigned nine years. Then Gegen Khan ruled for three years. Then Yessun Timur Khan for five years; Arasabuk Khan for forty days; Gushila Khan for a month; Sayatu Khan for fifteen years; Radua Shira Khan for a month; and Toghon Timur Khan for eight and twenty years, under whom the Mongol empire ended."† Another work from which Pallas quotes, entitled Gerelien Zotzo, also contains an account of Jingis and his descendants. It makes Jingis be succeeded by Ogotai, he by Khotton Khan, who is credited with the first conversion of the Mongols to the faith, and no doubt answers to the Godan of Ssanang Setzen. After reigning for nine months, he makes him be succeeded by his brother Kubos Khan (*i.e.*, by Kuyuk Khan); he by Monkho Khan (*i.e.*, Mangu); Monkho by his brother Khubilai, entitled Zazan Khan; he by Timur Khan, the eldest son of Chingen, Timur by Ulsoh, styled Orrota Khan; he by Chingen's younger son Dirma Kalla, whose son was Khaishan Khan; who was succeeded by Kulluk Khan, also styled Ogoota.‡ This document does not carry the list of names any further.

Note 3.—I failed to mention in the account of Radshapika§ that Ssanang Setzen makes him the son of Kuluk Khan and not of Yissun Timur. I have preferred to follow the Chinese annals, which on such a point are of paramount authority. I have also followed the Chinese authorities in making Jiyaghatu Khan the son of Kuluk Khan, and not

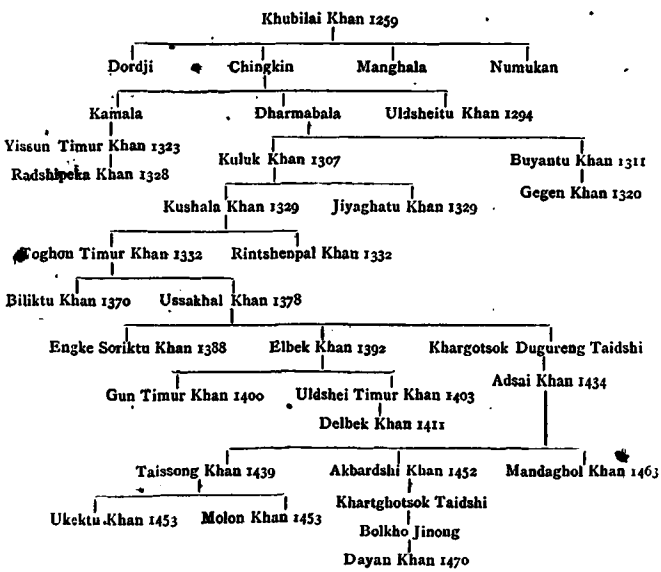
* Schmidt's note to Ssanang Setzen, 394. Note 10.

† Pallas Saml. hist. Nach ueber dir Mong Volk, 19, 20. ‡ Pallas, op. cit., 21, 22.

§ *Ante*, 306.

as Ssanang Setzen makes him the son of Buyantu. The Imperial registers during the Yuen dynasty were much too carefully kept to allow of there being a blunder on such a point in the Chinese account. In the account of Adsai Khan* I have made him the son of Elbek Khan: in this I was mistaken. Elbek Khan having had his brother Kharghotsok assassinated, appropriated his widow Khung Beidshi. He was himself murdered four months later. Ssanang Setzen says that Khung Beidshi was *enceinte* at the latter date, and had been so for seven months,† so that the child, who was no other than Adsai, was not the son of Elbek, but the son of his brother Kharghotsok, as I have made him in the following table.

Note 4.—The following is a genealogical table showing as nearly as we can the relationship of the various Khans mentioned in this chapter down to the reign of Dayan Khan, with the dates of their accession.



* *Vide ante*, 358 and 360. † Ssanang Setzen, 145.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CHAKHARS AND THE FORTY-NINE BANNERS.

THE CHAKHARS.

WHEN the Mongols were driven out of China by the Ming Emperors, they were forced apparently to abandon not only China proper, but also all the frontier districts that lie between the Great Wall and the desert of Shamo. No part of that country, now so characteristically Mongol, viz.: the country of the Forty-nine Banners, where the Chakhars, Sunides, Barins, &c., have their camping ground, was apparently left in their possession. They were relegated back once more to the rivers Kerulon, Orkhon, &c., and to the vast territory now occupied by the Khalkas, their court being held probably in the neighbourhood of the modern Urga. On the south and south-east they were roughly bounded by a frontier line, apparently occupied by a row of palisades, which traverses the southern part of the Shamo desert, and is named in the Jesuits' maps "the Carou or Limits." As the Ming policy became more distinctly a policy of non-intervention with the frontier tribes, and as the Ming authority grew weaker, the Mongols began to drift back into the fertile country south of the desert, and as I have already mentioned, they had already settled largely as far south as the Ordus country in the latter part of the fifteenth century. They settled apparently in distinct tribes, whose names were new, although their organisation was probably very ancient. We fail to find many of the tribal names that were used in the days of Jingis. Many of them were doubtless local names, and when a tribe moved from its habitat it acquired a fresh name from its new quarters. I have described the various revolutions which caused the disintegration of the Mongol community, and the revival of a central authority among them under Dayan Khan. It must be remembered that this authority was bounded by the limits of the Mongol country proper, and did not extend over the Kalmuks. When Dayan Khan's patrimony was divided among his sons, the central tribes fell to the eldest. They were now to be known as the Chakhar Tumen, and included, besides the Chakhars proper, certain others to which I shall refer presently, and which were

Scale 1 : 7,500,000

Heights in English feet.

1876.

more immediately dependent upon the Khakan or Over Khan. At present we will consider the Chakhars proper, who were the special patrimony of the later Khakans.

Chakhar, as Hyacinthe says, is not an ethnic name, but the name of a district which stretches along the north side of the Great Wall, from the Shandu Gol to the borders of the Tumeds.* This district was called Tsaghan or Chagan in the days of the Ming dynasty.† Of this name, Tsakhar or Chakhar seems to be the Mongol form. Klaproth says it means adjacent.‡ It was apparently some time after a settlement had been made in the Ordus country that the Khakan finally settled there. The first to do so having been Bodi Khan, the Buchi of Timkowski, who was the successor of Dayan Khan,§ and thenceforward his subjects were known as Chakhars. I have related their history in the former chapter down to their submission to China. It would seem that they afterwards rebelled, for we are told that in 1675 Burni (their chief), with his brothers, having revolted, they were all put to death.‖ They afterwards greatly assisted the Manchu Emperor in his campaign against Galdan.

The country of the Chakhars is bounded on the east by the tribe Keshikten, on the west by the Tumeds of Koku Khoto, on the south by the Imperial studs and the province of Shansi, and on the north by the Sunids and the Durban Keukeds. It is 1,000 lis in length.¶ Hyacinthe says it is properly divided into two parts, of which the western portion forms the pasture ground of the Manchu Imperial herds, while the eastern is occupied by the tribe itself.** With the exception of some high mountains on its western and eastern frontiers, the country of the Chakhars consists mainly of small valleys, separated by wolds. There is little or no wood, but plenty of capital meadow land and pasture.††

The Chakhars, like the rest of the Mongols who submitted to the Manchus, were divided into military sections called Kochuns or banners, consisting each of a certain number of Nurus or Companies. The number of companies in a banner is not the same, but every company ought to consist of 150 families.‡‡

These banners are divided into three main bodies. First, the Forty-nine Banners, including all the Mongols settled to the south-east of the desert, except the Chakhars. Secondly, the Eighty-six Banners of the Khalkas, which include three Uirat banners; and lastly, the Eight Banners of the Chakhars. These last are treated apart, probably on account of the importance of their ruling family. They, in fact, formed one of the eight banners into which the Manchu conquerors of China were divided, and are classed among the Manchu troops.§§ They are under the

* Borg's translation of Hyacinthe's Memoirs on Mongolia, 55. † Timkowski, ii. 257.
‡ Timkowski, ii. 215. § Op. cit., ii. 257. ‖ Timkowski, ii. 258.
¶ Timkowski, op. cit., ii. 257. ** Borg, op. cit., 98. †† Borg, op. cit., 55.
‡‡ Du Halde, iv. 125. §§ Timkowski, i. 211 and 252.

immediate jurisdiction of the Gusai Amban or Inspector-General, who lives at Kalgan.* Kalgan derives its name from Kalga, which means gate or pass in Mongol. It is an important frontier town, built in 1429, and restored in the middle of the sixteenth century. Its Chinese name is Chang kia keou.† The Gusai Amban superintends the subsidy paid to the Chakhars. An Ukherida or Divisional Commander gets 120 lan or ounces of silver annually; a Dzalan or Colonel, 115; a Sumun dzanghin or Commander of a Squadron, 100; a Kavan or Kundui, and a Juannida (*i.e.*, Lieutenant and Cornet), each 60 lan; lastly, a Boshko or First Sergeant, 24 lan.‡ Everybody is paid, even the youths, who receive one lan per month. At Kalgan there is a special school for the Chakhars, while the Chinese keep a garrison at Koku khoto (Kuei hua ching in Chinese), to overawe the once very turbulent head tribes of the Mongols. Timkowski says that it was only among the Chakhars that he saw the tents divided into Ulus, *i.e.*, several tents standing together, the other Mongols living dispersed on account of the scarcity of pasture, except some of the superior officers, who with their families and suite, occupied about fifteen or twenty tents. The Chakhars breed many oxen, which they either sell in China, or employ in carrying nankeen and Imperial tea from Kalgan to Urga, and even to Kiakhta. The Emperor has large cattle farms of sheep, horses, and oxen in the Chakhar country, whose pastures are excellent, and covered with the grass called vostrets by the Russians.§ Grosier describes the number of cattle kept in these royal farms as enormous, and he adds, that the herds of the princes amounted to 190,000 sheep, divided into 225 flocks, and to an equal number of oxen, divided into herds of 100 each; the number of stallions being not smaller. ‖

The mountain Nogon-niru (green mountain), separating the Chakhars and Sunids, is held in great veneration by the former. They never venture to pronounce its true name.¶ According to Hyacinthe, the Chakhars are governed by a Chantshun (Chantsun is derived from the Chinese words chan chun, and means divisional leader commander-in-chief), and two Moir-changins.** The Eight Banners of the Chakhars are distinguished as the plain yellow, red, white, and blue, and the bordered yellow, red, white, and blue banners. The following details about these banners I abstract from the account of Mongolia appended to Timskowski's travels.††

1. The encampment of the plain yellow banner is at Mount Musun teké ola, above 320 li north-east of Kalgan. Its territory is 110 li from east to west, and 280 from north to south. It is bounded on the east by the Chakhars of the bordered yellow banner, on the west by those of the red banner, on the south by the right wing of the studs of Thai phao,

* Timkowski, i. 261-277. † Timkowski, i. 288. ‡ Timkowski, i. 260.
§ Timkowski, i. 253. ‖ Timkowski, i. 265. ¶ Timkowski, i. 253.
** Borg, op. cit., 98 †† Timkowski, ii. 258-262.

and on the north by the mountains of Khara unaghan. The distance to Peking by way of Kalgan is 730 li.

The most considerable mountains are the Musun teké, Erghinak, Urkhu tologoi, Kholbodzin, Khingan, and Uliassutai, which is very high, Khara kitat, and Shara kitat.

The river Dziuk, or Taokha, rises in a plain, 60 li to the south-east of the encampment of this banner, flows to the south, receives the Ugu gol, farther on the Mongutsi, a small river coming from the west, and the Surcha, which comes from the north-east. It enters the Chinese frontier near the fort of Sin phing pu, passes near fort Chai kheou pu, and there takes the name of Yang ho. It was formerly called Yu yan chui.

2. The bordered yellow banner encamps at the rocks of Sumin khada, and above 340 li from Kalgan. Its territory is 160 li from east to west, and 190 from north to south. To the east it joins the Chakhars of the blue banner, to the west the yellow banner, to the north the Sunids, and to the south the studs of the bordered yellow banner. It is 750 li to Peking by way of Kalgan.

The principal mountains are Khanertu, Dodo, Boro Khun, Ulan Khun, Agalak, Kheibot temin (it was near this last that Li wen chung, general of the Ming, defeated the army of the Yuen), Gudju gunatai, Bukutu, or Bulur. There are no rivers, but several springs, one of which is salt. It is called in Mongol Dabastu bulak, 120 li to the north-east, towards the frontiers of the Sunids of the left wing.

3. The camp of the Chakhars of the red banner is to the west of the yellow, near Mount Gurban tologoi, 370 li north-west of Kalgan.

The territory of this banner is 55 li from east to west, and 280 from north to south. On the east it has the Chakhars of the yellow banner, on the west the bordered red banner, on the north the Durban keuked, and on the south the right wing of the studs of Thai pu.

4. The bordered red banner encamps at the spring Burin bulak, 420 li north-west of Kalgan. Its territory is bounded on the east by the Chakhars of the red banner, on the west by those of the bordered blue banner, on the south by the district of Ta thung in the province of Shan si, and on the north by the Durban Keuked.

The following banners of the Chakhars are encamped in the country to the north of the gate Tu chi kheou.

5. The camp of the white banner is at Burgatai, 290 li north-west of Tu chi kheou. The territory of this banner is 78 li from east to west, and 295 from north to south. On the east and north it joins the Chakhars of the bordered white banner, and to the west and south those of the bordered yellow banner. It is 820 li to Peking, passing by Tu chi kheou.

6. The bordered white banner is near to Buya akhai sumé, 245 leagues north of Tu chi kheou. Its territory is 56 li from east to west,

and 97 from north to south. On the east and south it joins the pasturages of the studs of Thai phao, on the west the white banner, on the north the blue banner. It is 770 li to the capital by Tu chi kheou.

7. The Chakhars of the blue banner dwell near lake Jakhassutai, 360 li north-east of Tu chi kheou. Their territory is 265 li from east to west, and 95 from north to south. On the east it adjoins the Kechikten, on the west the bordered white banner, on the south the Imperial studs, on the north the left wing of the Abagha. Passing by Tu chi kheou, it is 890 li to Peking.

8. The bordered blue banner is at mount Abakhan khara, 90 li to the north-east of the banner of Sha hu kheou. Its territory is 150 li from east to west, and 160 from north to south; to the east it is bounded by the Chakhars of the blue banner; on the west, by the Tumeds of Koku khoto; on the south, by the Great Wall which bounds the district of Ta thung; and on the north, by the Durban keuked. It is 1,000 li to Peking by way of Sha hu kheou.

The country occupied by these Chakhars is in general mountainous; it is watered by several small rivers and springs, has good pasturage, and is even susceptible of tillage.

There was formerly in the territory of this banner a salt lake, into which the river Vu shui emptied itself. This lake was 30 li in length from east to west, and 20 in breadth from north to south. At present neither lake nor river are to be seen.

In various places in the territory of the eight banners of the Chakhars there are still vestiges of ancient Chinese towns, such as Ven yang, Liang tcheou, and Thsan ho.*

THE FORTY-NINE BANNERS.

THE Forty-nine Banners comprise, as I have said, the various Mongol tribes north and east of the desert, who submitted to the Manchus in the first half of the seventeenth century. The banners are themselves organised as brigades or corps; of these, there are six in the inner division, or that of the Forty-nine Banners.

1. The corps Cherim, consisting of ten banners, and of the tribes Khortshin, Jelaid, Durbed, and Khorlos.

2. The corps Dsossutu, comprising five banners, and the tribes Kharatshin and Tumed.

* Timkowski, 259-262.

3. The corps Dso Uda (the hundred willow trees), comprising eleven banners, and the tribes Bagharin, Naiman, Aokhan, Ongnighod, Ara Khortshin, Dsarod, Keshikten, and the tribe of Eastern Khalkas, which has crossed the desert, and belongs to the inner division.

4. The corps Silinghol, consisting of ten banners, and the tribes Wesumutshin, Sunid, Abagha, Abaghanar, and Khotshid.

5. The corps Ulaghan Jab, consisting of six banners, and the tribes Durben Kenked, Urad, Mominggan, and the tribe of Western Khalkas, belonging to the inner division.

6. The corps Yeke Ju, comprising seven banners, and the tribes of the Ordus, and the Tumeds of Koku Khoto.*

This division into brigades is a purely Chinese administrative division, and is not coincident with the relations of the various tribes to one another. In describing these tribes in detail, I shall follow another plan. First, describe certain tribes which were closely bound up with the Chakhars, and formed a part of the larger division of Chakhars, called the Chakhar Tumen; then others which I hypothetically identify with the tribes of the Uriangkhan Tumen; then the three Baraghon Tumens, and conclude the chapter with the Khortshins and their allies.

As I have already stated, the Mongols in their later history were divided into six principal sections, called Tumens, and the whole nation is referred to sometimes by Ssanang Setzen under the collective title of "the Jirgughan Tumens," or the six Tumens; literally, the "six ten thousands." † These six Tumens formed two divisions, the right and left. Of the right Tumens, two still survive in considerable vigour, namely, those of the Chakhars and of the Khalkas. The third, namely, that of the Uriangkhans, no longer subsists. I have described how this Tumen was rebellious in the latter days of Dayan Khan, and how its clans were dispersed among the other five Tumens.‡ The Uriangkhans bore a very old name, and one as famous as it was old. Subutai, the great general of Jingis Khan, belonged to the tribe, and we are told by Raschid, that after the burial of Jingis, one thousand men of the tribe Uriangit were appointed guardians of his resting-place.§ As Schmidt says, the Uriangkhans are doubtless the tribe referred to by De Mailla under the name Ouolanhan. He tells us they lived north of the camping ground of the "little prince," to whom they had been formerly subject. He mentions this under the year 1522.‖ The various clans that formed the Uriangkhan Tumen were, as I have said, dispersed, and I have no means of knowing what names they bore. It is very probable that some of the following tribes, which afterwards became attached to the Chakhars, &c., may have belonged to it.

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* Schmidt's Mem. St. Peter. Acad., ii. 475, 476.

† *Vide* op. cit., 175 and 193, and Schmidt's note, 402.

‡ *Vide* ante, 375.

§ D'Ohsson, i. 288. Schmidt's Note to Ssanang Setzen, 408.

‖ De Mailla, x. 302.

THE KHOTSHIDS OR KHAGOTSHITS.

THE name of this tribe means old.* It formed a section of the Chakhar Tumen. According to Ssanang Setzen it was assigned as the portion of Ara Bolod, the youngest of the seven Bolods.† He probably died young and childless, for he is not named in a second list of Dayan Khan's sons, given on page 197,‡ and we presently find the tribe in other hands.

It is mentioned as in the hands of Kudang Khan, the son of Bodi Khan, by the author, translated by Schmidt.§ We next hear of it as being governed by Kudang's grandson Delekei, surnamed Erdeni Khungtaidshi. He had five sons, named Kitad Saghan Dugureng Tushiyetu, Baibung Tushiyetu, Tsereng Ilden Tushiyetu, Kitad Kundulen Erdeni Setzen Tsokor, and Mookhai Mergen. When Lingdan Khan tried to subdue them, the Khotshids fled to the north of the Gobi, among the Khalkas. In 1633, one of their Taidshis named Erintshin, with a portion of the tribe, abandoned the Khalkas and submitted to the Manchus, by whom they were well received and rewarded with presents. In 1634, when the Manchus had defeated the Chakhars, Tsereng Ilden Tushiyetu, in alliance with the chiefs of the Wesumutshin, sent a letter of submission to the Manchus, accompanied by presents. The next year Baibung Tushiyetu accompanied the Sunid princes when they submitted. In 1636, Bolod, the son of Kitad Kundulen Erdeni Setzen Tsokor, also submitted. Lastly, in 1651, Garma Seweng, the son of Kitad Saghan Dugureng Tushiyetu, went with his people and completed the voluntary subjection of the tribe to the Manchus.‖ Their country is bounded on the east and north by that of the Wesumutshins; on the west by that of the Abaghas; and on the south by that of the Keshiktens. It is 1,815 lis from Peking, and 685 lis north-east of Tu chi kheou. It is 375 lis from north to south, and 170 lis from east to west.

"The right wing is encamped near the well of Tugurik, about 690 lis north-east of Tu chi kheou; from east to west, it is 75 lis, and 375 from north to south. The left wing is 685 lis north-east of Tu chi kheou. It is 95 lis from east to west, and 320 from north to south. There are numerous lakes in this country."¶

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* Timkowski, ii. 251. † Op. cit., 205. ‡ *Vide* op. cit., 197.
§ Memoirs St. Petersburgh Academy, ii. 439.
‖ Schmidt, Memoirs St. Peter. Acad., ii. 441. ¶ Timkowski, ii. 251.

THE SUNIDS.

THE Sunids form a section of the Chakhar Tumen. They are evidently a very old tribe, and appear under this name in Ssanang Setzen's account of Jingis. Their chief Kiluken having been one of the great Khan's main supporters, and composed the funereal song that I have quoted in the third chapter.*

The Sunids, on the division of Dayan Khan's empire, fell like the Chakhars to his eldest son Torobolod, and afterwards to Bodi Khan, the son of Toro Bolod. Bodi Khan had three sons, the eldest of whom, Kudang, became Over Khan of the Mongols, while the second, Kukdshitu Mergen Taidshi, was placed over the Sunids. He had four sons, named Buyan Khungtaidshi, whose eldest son Tsorghon became the chief of the western section of the Sunids; Buima Mergen Ildutshi and Buyantai Setzen Buiri Soriktu, whose descendants are unknown; and Burkhai Tsokor, whose son Dabakhai Darkhan Khoskhotshi, became the chief of the Eastern Sunids.

To escape from the tyranny of Lingdan Khan, the Sunids fled beyond the desert and settled among the Khalkas. In 1634, Seosse, the son of Tsorghon, in concert with one of the Khalka chiefs, sent some of the products of his country as a present to the Manchu Emperor. In 1636, Tenggis, the son of Dabakhai, with some lesser chiefs, sent envoys to the Emperor. They were presented with the objects the Solongas had taken to the Manchu court as presents. In the winter of 1638, Tenggis and Seosse, with their people, left the Khalka country and settled in their present lands. Both were in 1640 raised to the rank of Wang, the former was made chief of the western, and the latter of the eastern wing of the Sunids. In 1646, Tenggis, with several other chiefs, at the instigation of the Khalkas, broke their allegiance and once more went beyond the desert. The Manchu Emperor sent troops in pursuit of them, with whom marched some faithful Mongols. They followed the fugitives to the river Kerulon, and then onwards to the mountain Utek and the river Tula. Their harems were captured. Some of the chiefs were killed. Tenggis and his brother Tangitai escaped. In 1648, they asked permission to submit once more, when they were not only forgiven but also reinstated in their old posts.†

Their country, like that of the Chakhars, is only a recent habitat of the Mongols. "Under the Han it formed the northern frontier of the principalities of Shang ku and Tai. Under the younger dynasty of Han it was inhabited by tribes of U huan and Sianpi; under the Tsin by the

* *Vide* ante, 105, 106. † Schmidt's Mem. St. Peter. Acad., ii. 442, 443.

Tho pa; under the Sui and the beginning of that of the Thang, the Thukiu became masters of it. The Khitan or Liao formed in it the district of Fu chau, which was confirmed by the Kin dynasty, who placed it under the jurisdiction of Si kinglu. Under the Mongols it depended on that of Hing ho lu, and it was only under the Ming that the Sunid Mongols settled in it." *

It is bounded on the east by the Abagha tribe, on the west by the Durban keuked, on the south by the Chakhars, and on the north by the great desert, and it is 960 lis distant from Peking.

"The right banner is encamped at Sumin Khada, 550 lis north of Kalgan. Its territory is 246 lis from east to west, and 280 from north to south. The left wing encamps at Orintu chabtai, more than 170 lis north of Kalgan; it is 160 lis from east to west, and 300 from north to south.

"The mountains in the country of the Sunids are the Sumin khada, the Kolbodzin, the Nokhun, the Tsagan botok, the Ukerjiruge ola, the Dzara, the Bayan teké, the Bain tologoi, and the Bairi ola.

"The river Urtu, in Chinese Chang Chui, issues from mount Khorko, runs south-east and crosses the frontier of the Sunids. The Nukeht, in Chinese Thu yuan chui, rises in the country of the Chakhars of the blue banner, crosses mount Bairi ola, and falls into lake Khur.

"The lakes are the Khur, Kulussutai, Shabartai, and Khara ossu." †

As I have said, the Sunids are divided into two banners. The banner of the Eastern Sunids is divided into four regiments (dzalan), each regiment into five squadrons (somun), and each somun consists of 200 families. The Western Sunids form a banner of two regiments, one of seven squadrons, the other of six. ‡

Timkowski remarks that the Chinese officers behave in a much more arbitrary manner in the country of the Sunids than they do in those of the Khalkas and Chakhars, and that they esteem them less. § The reason probably is that they are weaker. Their country is for the greater part barren and poor, a large portion of it consisting of "stony desert, either quite bare or covered with budurguna. In other parts, which are sandy, there grows a tall green plant called Suhi, which is very dangerous for cattle. . . . . This frightful track continues for seven stations or 150 versts. Till you reach the Chakhar country, you see nothing but a sea of land and flints." ‖ Timkowski mentions passing a well in a clayey valley, overgrown with high feather grass, and ornamented round the rim with an appropriate border of horses' skulls. Much of the water there is brackish, and the country is strewn with salt lakes. Timkowski crossed their country twice, and in his travels there is a detailed diary of his doings. He tells us that "among the Sunids there are a great number of taidzi or nobles, who by their poverty and their pride at the greatness

* Timkowski, ii. 253. † Timkowski, op. cit., ii. 253, 254. ‡ Timkowski, i. 225.
§ Op. cit., i. 211. ‖ Timkowski, i. 223.

of their ancestors, may be compared in some measure with descendants of some illustrious European families. Besides the lands assigned to them, the banners give a taidzi of the first class eighteen labourers; to one of the second class, twelve; of the third, eight; and of the fourth, four. The taidzi of the fifth class belong to an inferior order of nobility, and are ranked with the common Mongols. According to a regulation still in force in China, when the taidzi arrive at Peking, they must present to the Emperor live sheep, which they often hire in the market. When the Emperor condescends to accept them, he gives to each of these taidzi ten liang of silver out of the public treasury (the best sheep is sold for no more than five liang), two measures of rice, and four pieces of nankeen. If the offer is refused, the taidzi obtains only five liang in silver, and one measure of rice. This custom, established when China still feared the Mongols, is daily falling into disuse." *

THE WESUMUTSHINS.

THIS tribe comprises two banners, and is ruled by a prince of the first rank, another of the third, and two lesser chiefs. It was subject to the Chakhars, and to their chief Bodi Khan. He had three sons, the eldest Kudang Khan; † the second, Kukdshitu Mergen Taidshi, named in the last paragraph; and thirdly, Ongghon Dural, who became the chief of the Wesumutshins. He had five sons, namely, Tsoktu, styled Batur Noyan; Beye, styled Sain Bingtu Noyan; Nayantai, styled Ilden Noyan; Dsanggin, styled Darkhan Noyan; and Dordshi, styled Setzen Jinong. The four first died one after another.

To escape from the harsh hands of Lingdan Khan, Dordshi and Sereng, the son of Tsoktu, fled to the north of the desert, and took shelter with the Khalkas. When in 1634 Lingdan had been overthrown by the Manchu forces, Dordshi, in concert with the Setzen Khan Shului (one of the Khalka chiefs), and with the chiefs of the Sunids, Khaghotshids and Abaghas, sent a letter to the Emperor, in which they offered their submission, and sent some of the products of their country as presents. The next year the Manchu Emperor commanded them to send messengers to him with tribute. Six such messengers were sent, and in the following winter Dordshi and Sereng, with all their followers, migrated from the banks of the Kerulon, and finally submitted to the Manchus.‡ The country of the Wesumutshins extends for 360 li from east to west, and 425 from north to south. It is bounded on the east by the Solons, on the west by the Khaghotshids, on the south by the Barins, and on the north by the desert of Gobi. It is 1,163 li from their principal encampment to Peking.

* Timkowski, ii. 394. † *Vide ante*. ‡ Schmidt, Mem. St. Peters. Acad., ii. 439, 440.

"The right wing is at mount Bakesur Khatai, 923 li north-east of Ku pe kheou; and the left wing near Kuisun tologai, 1,160 li north-east of the same barrier of the Great Wall. The river Khulugur (in Chinese Thu ho) comes from the country of Keshikten, and bears for 300 li the name of Alatu; it afterwards takes that of Khulungur, runs to the north, and is lost in the sands. The Sharakholoi, 70 li north of the left wing, after a course of above 40 li, is also lost in the sands. Lake Gurban nor, 33 li south-west of the left wing, produces salt." *

THE AOKHANS.

AOKHAN in Mongol means firstborn.† This tribe forms one banner, and is governed by a prince of the second rank and four lesser princes. It was also subject to the Chakhars. Ssanang Setzen tells us that the tribes Aokhan and Naiman were assigned as the portion of Gere Bolod, the son of Dayan Khan,‡ but they must have passed away from him, for in the account of Mongolia translated by Schmidt, both tribes are mentioned as ruled by the family of Torobolod.

Torobolod had two sons, Bodi Khan and Namik, the latter had a son named Boima Tushiyetu, who had two sons, the elder, Daitshing Dureng, was the chief of the Aokhans, and the younger, Essen Waidsang of the Naimans. Daitshing Dureng had two sons named Sonom Dureng and Setzen Soriktu. In 1636, these princes, in conjunction with the chief of the Naimans, abandoned Lingdan Khan and submitted to the Manchus.§

"The Aokhans encamp at mount Gurban turga ola, 600 li north-west of Hi fung kheou. Their country is 160 li from east to west, and 280 from north to south. It is bounded on the east by the Naimans, on the west by the Karatshins, on the south by the Tumeds, and on the north by the Oniuds. It is 1,100 li from Peking to their principal encampment."‖

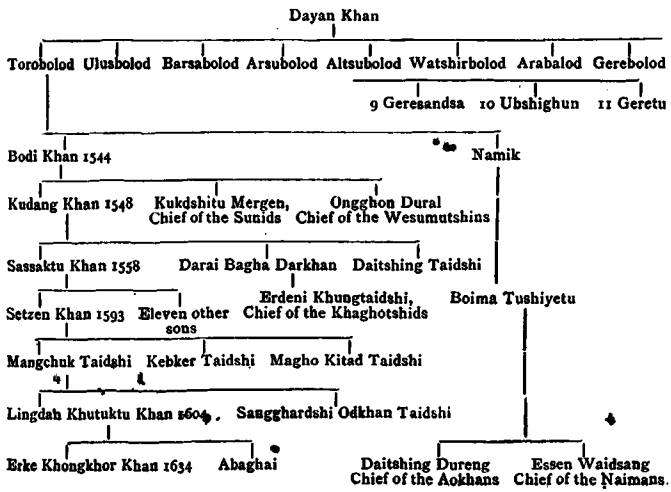
THE NAIMANS.

NAIMAN means seven in Mongol, and this tribe has nothing to do with the Naimans of the days of Jingis, who were Turks. It forms one banner, ruled by a prince of the second rank. As I said in the last paragraph, the Naimans became the portion of Essen Waidsang, the second son of Boima Tushiyetu, the grandson of Torobolod. He was

* Timkowski, ii. 249, 250. † Timkowski, ii. 249. ‡ Op. cit., 205.
§ Schmidt, Mem. St. Peters. Acad., 429, 430. ‖ Timkowski, ii. 249.

succeeded by his son Guntsuk, who took the title of Baghatur Taidshi. Like others in the same difficulty, he abandoned Lingdan Khan when the latter's conduct became unbearable, and submitted to the Manchus. This was in 1626.* "The Naiman banner encamps 700 li north-east of Hi fung kheou; its territory is 95 li from east to west, and 220 from north to south. It is bounded on the east by the left wing of the Khalkas, on the west by Aokhans, on the south by the Tumeds, and on the north by the Oniuds. The distance to Peking is 1,110 li. Among the rivers in this province are the Turgen (in Chinese Thu ho), which comes from mount Tabun tologai, and the Lokha." †

The preceding five tribes of the Khagotshids, Sunids, Wesumutshins, Aokhans, and Naimans, were with the Chakhars assigned as the heritage of Torobolod, the eldest of the seven Bolods, and were therefore probably an integral part of the Chakhar Tumen proper, while some of those that follow may perhaps have formed part of the Uriangkhan Tumen. To explain the relationship of their chiefs, I here add a table of the elder line of the descendants of Dayan Khan.



* Schmidt, Mem. St. Peters. Acad., ii. 431. † Timkowski, ii. 24.

THE DSAROD OR DZARAGUTS.

THE name of this tribe means sixty in Mongol.* It is divided into two banners, under two princes of the third rank, and two lesser chiefs. The fifth son of Dayan Khan of the Mongols was Altsubolod, whose son was named Kholshotshi Khassar. He had two sons, Ubashi and Subakhai. Ubashi became the chief of the Dsarod. He bore the title of Waidsang Noyan; he had two sons named Bayandar Ilden and Dural Noyan. Ilden had five sons, namely, Songtu, Kenggen, Songnun, Khubiltu, and Angkhan. The eldest of these was chieftain of the tribe, and was succeeded by his son Naitshi. Dural Noyan had two sons, namely, Sabun and Mani. In the days of the Manchu Wang-ti Taidsu, and in the year 1614, Naitshi, the chief of the Dsarod, gave his sister in marriage to the Manchu prince Mangoltai. In the spring of 1619, when the Manchus defeated the Ming troops at the mountain Tialing Dabagha, Sabun and his relative Bak went at the head of 10,000 men to the assistance of the Ming troops. They were however beaten and taken prisoners, and the following winter Naitshi, with some other chiefs, sent envoys to offer to submit to the Manchu Emperor, who sent one of his nobles to accept their terms, and sent back the captured Sabun and Bak, with their followers, to their homes. In 1623, Bak revisited the Emperor, and asked him to allow his son Otshirsing, who had been retained as a hostage, to return with him. This had little effect on some of the other princes, and we are told that Songnun and Angkhan plundered the Manchu envoys, as also the presents of clothes, cattle, and horses, which the Khortshins were sending to the court. Troops were sent against them, by whom Angkhan and several of his followers were killed, and the wife and children of Sangtu, son of Songnun, were taken prisoners, but they were released by order of the Emperor. Other chiefs were not cowed by their fate, but continued very turbulent, plundered the Manchu envoy Kushi and caused disturbances, especially on the river Loocha, a feeder of the Shira Muren. Fresh troops were despatched against them in 1626, and many of their chiefs to the number of fourteen were captured. They were set at liberty by order of the Manchu Emperor. When Lingdan Khakan, of the Chakhars, attacked his various neighbours, the Dsarods took refuge with the Khortshins. In 1627, many of them finally took service under the Manchus, and in the struggle with the Chakhars, it is mentioned that one of them named Khabakhai, killed the Chakhar Taidshi Gartu, and captured 700 of his followers, for which he was raised to the rank of Waidsang.†

* Timkowski, ii. 247. † Schmidt, Mem. St. Peters. Acad., 432-434.

The country of the Dsarod tribe is 125 li from east to west, and 460 from north to south. On the east it borders on that of the Khortshins, on the west on that of the Aru Khortshins, on the south on that of the Eastern Khalkas, and on the north on that of the Wesumutshins.* "The left wing is to the north of mount Chichiringkhua Tologoi, 1,100 li to the north-east of Hi fung kheou; the right wing to the south of mount Tur, 1,000 li from the same passage through the Great Wall. The Shira Muren flows through the territory of this tribe, and the little rivers called the north and south Kundulun rise in it. There are two lakes, the great and the little Jagasutai. The valley of Khailasutai and the beautiful forest of Atani khara modo (forest of pines in the plain), which is very thick, and extends above 20 li. A temple of Buddha, built in 1673, is 90 li to the north of the left wing."†

THE BARINS OR BAGHARINS.

THE Barins form two banners, under a prince of the second and another of the fourth rank. This tribe is one of the few in Mongolia which survives under the same name as it existed in the days of Jingis. One of the Nirun tribes, as I have stated in the first chapter, having borne this name. Like the Dsarods, the Barins were the portion of Altsubolod, and of his son, Kholshotshi Khassar. The latter, as I said in the previous paragraph, had two sons; Ubashi, who became the chief of the Dsarods; and Subakhai, with the title Darkhan noyan of the Barins. Subakhai was succeeded by his son Bagha Batur, who had three sons, Ebugetei Khun Baghatur, Khotoghor Angkha, and Sadar. They were vassals of the Chakhars. In 1619, Ebugetei, in concert with some of the Khalka chiefs, allied themselves with the Manchus. In the spring of 1626, they broke this alliance and joined the Ming. A large army was sent against them, in which expedition the Taidshi Nangnuk was killed. In the winter following, the Manchus commenced their campaign against the Dsarods, and in consequence divided their army into two sections. One section marched to the Dsarod frontier, and created terror there by the ravage it committed. Lingdan now commenced to plunder the lands of the Barins. Many of their princes in consequence fled to the Khortshins. In 1629, Sabtan, the son of Sadar; Sereng, the son of Ebugetei; and Mandshushiri, the son of Khotoghor, with their followers, left the Khortshins and submitted to the Manchus.‡

The limits of the two banners of the Barins are not determined. The encampment of the right wing is near mount Tobun Ola, 720 li north-east of Ku pe kheou. The left wing about the hill Atshatu tologai, further to

* Schmidt, op. cit., 432. † Timkowski, ii. 247. ‡ Schmidt, op. cit., 431.

the north-east. The territory of the whole tribe is 251 li from east to west, and 253 li from north to south. It is bounded on the east by the Aru Khortshins, on the west by the Keshiktens, on the south by the Oniuts, and on the north by the Wesumutshins.

The country of Barin is famous in Chinese history. "Mount Bardan was the birthplace of Puthu, one of the ancestors of the dynasty of Lian. He is buried in these parts. 200 li to the south-east of Khing chau, the Kara muren issues from the chain of the Koirkhan mountains, runs to the south-west, then to the south-east, joins the Burgultai ussu, and falls into the Shira muren.

"The ancient city of Ling huan ching or Changking, formerly the residence of the Emperors of the Lian dynasty, was probably on the right bank of the Chono ussu, opposite the little town of Boro khoto, now in ruins."*

THE KESHIKTENS.

THE Keshiktens form one banner, under the command of a Taidshi of the first rank. In Ssanang Setzen they are mentioned in conjunction with a tribe Kemtshigod,† which no longer exists as a separate Mongol section. This latter tribe is mentioned as early as 1453, when Dakhatai of the Kemtshigod is mentioned as one of the persons who escorted the boy Molon Taidshi, on his way to Molikhai Ong.‡ The Keshiktens are first mentioned by the same author, in his account of Dayan Khan's campaign against the Baraghon Tumens.§

On the division of the Mongols among Dayan Khan's sons, the Keshiktens fell to Wadshirbolod.‖ His grandson was called Sharalta, and took the title of Mergen Noyan. His son Dharma had three sons, named Sonom, Bebun, and Dulei. They were vassals of the Chakhars. In 1633, Sonom, with his subjects, submitted to the Manchus.¶

"They encamp about mount Ghirabas Khoda, 570 li north-east of Ku pe kheou. Their country is about 334 li from east to west, and 357 from north to south. It is bounded on the east by the Oniuds, on the west by the Chakhars of the blue banner, on the south by the Oniuds, and on the north by the Wesumutshins. Their country is 810 li distant from Peking. Its chief river is the Shira muren, one of those which form the Liau-chui; it rises in mount Borgo Korkûn. After running to the north-east, it joins several other small rivers, and flows by the north frontier of the country of the Barins. Further to the east it enters that country, passes through the south part of Aru Khortshin, and then to the north of the

* Timkowski, ii. 245, 246. † Op. cit., 191. ‡ Ssanang Setzen, 171. *Vide* ante, 366.
§ Ssanang Setzen, 191. Ante, 374. ‖ Ssanang Setzen, 205.
¶ Schmidt, Mem. St. Petera. Acad., iii 437.

Oniuds. Turning to the north-east it receives the Lokha; from the south-west flows through the south of Dsarod and the north of the Khalkas, turns to the south-east, flows through the south part of the right wing of the Kharatshins, joins further to the south the Liau-chin, enters China, and empties itself into the gulf Liau-tung. This country contains a great many lakes, and 190 li to the north there are warm springs, which give rise to the Khailasutai. There is also a large forest called Darkan modo, 30 li to the south-west of the encampment of the princes of this tribe." *

THE BARAGHON TUMENS.

I. THE ORDUS.

As I have said before, the Mongols were formerly divided into six sections called Tumens, and these were distributed into two divisions or wings, the Segon gar or the right wing, and the Baraghon gar or left wing. Schmidt makes the right wing correspond to the eastern section, and the left wing to the western, but in this he is clearly mistaken. As Koeppen says in his history of Lamaism, the terms right and left are to be understood not in regard to Mongolia, but to the sacred land of Thibet, and we know as a fact that the Baraghon gar was situated to the west of the Segon gar.

While the Segon gar was governed immediately by the Khan, the other wing was ruled by an officer appointed by him, called the Jinong, which answers to our title of Viceroy. The position was generally filled by a brother or second son of the Khakan, and was in some respects parallel to that of the Dauphin in French history. Schmidt derives the name from the Chinese title Tsinwang. The office is probably as old as the days of the Hiong Nu.† It is first mentioned by Ssanang Setzen in 1439, when we are told Taissong mounted the throne as Khan, and appointed his brother Akbardshi as Jinong.‡

On the death of Taissong Khan, his brother Akbardshi succeeded him, and Setzen describes the visit of a deputation from the Uirads, who went to him to ask him to appoint their chief, Essen, to the dignity of Jinong, which he accordingly did.§ When Essen usurped the throne, the title of Jinong seems to have fallen into abeyance.

Ssanang Setzen mentions Alak Ching sang of the Baraghon gar, and Timur Ching sang of the Segon gar, as having authority during his reign,

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* Timkowski, ii. 252. † Schmidt's Ssanang Setzen, 406.

‡ Ssanang Setzen, 155. Ante, 361, where I have by mistake written Ching sang instead of Jinong.

§ Ssanang Setzen, 161. Vide ante, 363.

and on page 365 I have written as if these were divisions analagous to the Baraghon and Segon Tumens, but the fact is, Ching sang was a title given to the chief ministers of State during the Mongol dominion in China, and we are expressly told that there were two Ching sangs, one minister of the right and the other of the left,* and it is no doubt their functions that were filled by Alak and Timur just named.

Soon after Mandaghol became Khan, which was in 1463, he changed the name of his grandnephew, the youthful Bayan Mongke to Bolkho Jinong. He doubtless had authority over the Baraghon Tumens, and we are expressly told he was murdered in 1470, by three conspirators of the tribe Jungshiyabo, which formed one of the Tumens of that section.

Dayan Khan, the son of Bayan Mongke, mounted the throne in 1470. Soon after his accession three chieftains of the Baraghon Tumen, namely, Baintsokhor Darkhan of the Ordus, Jirgughatui Mergen of the Jungshiyabo, and Togholan Agholkho of the Tumeds, went to him, and having declared their devotion to him and his wife, begged that he would raise one of his sons to the dignity of Jinong. This he agreed to do, and accordingly named his second son Ulusbolod to the post, and he was duly installed in the presence of the gods.† I have described how this appointment was displeasing to some of the chiefs, especially to Ibiri Taishi of the Jungshiyabo, and Mandulai Agholkho of the Ordus; how they incited a plot against the young prince's life, and had him assassinated, and also how Dayan punished the offenders.‡ Ulusbolod left no children, and to reward his third son Barsabolod for his bravery in his war of vengeance against the Baraghon Tumens, he appointed him on the conclusion of that war to the office of Jinong. He was entitled Sain Alak.§ On the division of Dayan Khan's empire among his sons, Barsabolod retained his position as overchief of the Baraghon Tumens, two of his brothers, namely Arsubolod and Ubassandsa, each having a Tumen, the former that of the Tumeds and the latter of the Jungshiyabo, but they seem to have been early displaced,‖ and the Baraghon Tumens remained finally in the hands of the descendants of Barsabolod. Barsabolod was appointed Jinong in 1512, and died in 1531.¶ The office, which had been previously administrative, was now made hereditary, and Barsabolod was succeeded as Jinong by his eldest son Gun Bilik Mergen, who is called Kisiang by De Mailla, x. 302, and Dzenung by Timkowski, ii. 214, besides his overlordship of the three Eastern Tumens. Gun Bilik was also immediate chief of the Ordus. Barsabolod's second son was the well-known Altan Khan, and he ruled over the twelve Tumeds, Labuk Taishi over the Ugushin of the Tumed Tumen, Bayas Khal over the Kharatshin of the Jungshiyabo, Bayandara over the Tsaghan Tartar of the Chakhars, while Bodidara, as I shall show presently, violently possessed himself of the control of the Jungshiyabo and Assod.

* *Vide* ante, 252. † Ssanang Setzen, 185. ‡ *Vide* ante, 373-375.
§ *Vide* infra. ‖ Ssanang Setzen, 207. ¶ Ssanang Setzen, 193.

As I have said, Barsabolod was the immediate ruler over the Ordus Tumen, and to its history we shall now limit ourselves, remembering always that its chief was overlord also of the other two Tumens.

The felt tent in which a Mongol lives is called a Yurt. A collection of several yurts is known as an Ordu or camp, the camp of the chief being distinguished as the Sir Ordu, that is to say, the golden camp.* Karakorum was known pre-eminently as Ordu balik or the city of the Ordu. It would seem that the Ordu of Jingis Khan, probably his stationary camp in the winter, became a centre of sacred interest to the Mongols. It is referred to frequently in the pages of Ssanang Setzen as the "eight white houses" of Jingis Khan, or of "the Lord." It was there that the several Khans who succeeded had their authority confirmed. With the burial place of the Khans, this spot divided a supreme interest to the Mongols. As in the case of the latter, so in that of the former, a body of Mongols had the special duty of its protection. We are told by Ssanang Setzen that the Ordus had this special duty,† and Schmidt conjectures, and I think most reasonably, that it was from this office that the tribe received its name.‡

The name first appears in the reign of Dayan Khan, when the chief of the Ordus was one of the deputation to ask him to name one of his sons as Jinong of the Baraghon Tumens,§ and it was doubtless during his reign that the Ordus, like the Chakhars and the Forty-nine Banners in general, left the country north of the desert and settled in their present quarters. Previously they had probably lived about "the Ordus," whence they took their name, the ancient home of Jingis Khan.

De Mailla, writing under the year 1528, says Kisiang and Yenta, the sons of Hochu, *i.e.*, Gun Bilik and Altan, the sons of Barsabolod, had made themselves formidable, and were almost independent of "the Little Prince," although they acknowledged his supremacy. Kisiang had chosen for his dwelling-place the country of Hotao (or of the Ordus), which is surrounded on three sides by the Hoangho, and had planted his camp in its midst.‖ This invasion was no doubt made in the reign of their father Barsabolod, who did not die till 1531, and we find it stated in the narrative translated by Schmidt, already often quoted, that it was Barsabolod who first took his abode in the land of Gholun toli, and became Jinong of the Ordus. Schmidt suggests that the name of this place should be written Gholun tori, which would in Mongol mean "the river bounded," a very appropriate designation of the country of the Ordus, which is bounded by the great elbow of the Yellow River.¶ Barsabolod is made, as I have said, to die in 1531 by Ssanang Setzen, but this date is probably too late, for we read in De Mailla's narrative that in 1530 his

* Von Hammer's Golden Horde, 32. † Ssanang Setzen, 191.
‡ Schmidt's Ssanang Setzen, 408. § Ssanang Setzen, 185. ‖ De Mailla, x. 328.
¶ Schmidt, op. cit., ii. 451. Note.

eldest son and successor Kisiang, *i.e.*, Gun Bilik, in alliance with Altan Khan made a raid upon China.

The two brothers passed the Hoangho and ravaged the country of Ning-hia; recrossing the river, they overran that of Suen hoa fu. In 1531 De Mailla relates how Altan Khakan ravaged the borders of Shen si and Shan si, committing great devastation. This must be the same expedition dated in 1532 by Ssanang Setzen, who relates that in that year Gun Bilik, the Jinong, in conjunction with Altan, marched with the three Baraghon Tumeds against China. They encountered the Chinese army in the defile called Dsendejé, and a fierce struggle ensued. The sons of the two Mongol leaders distinguished themselves and broke through the Chinese lines three times. After this struggle the Mongols returned home.* In 1540 the Jinong, with Altan and another leader named Kilo entered China at the head of twelve hordes, and killed many of the inhabitants. They were met and defeated, and driven away by the Chinese generals Petsio and Yun chang.† The following year they returned and were guided by a Chinese Buddhist, who had some grievance against the Mandarins on the borders, and made an extensive raid into Shan si. In 1542 the Jinong invaded China with one army, while his brother Altan invaded it with another. The former was much given to pleasure and debauchery, and ruined his health. His death is placed in this year by De Mailla.‡ By Ssanang Setzen, who is probably here mistaken, in 1550. The former author tells us that Hoangtaiki, one of his sons, undertook the transport of his body to the home country of the Ordus, and that his several sons divided his clans among them.§ The eldest of them named Noyandara, who was born in 1522, now became Jinong, with a special authority over the four Khoriyas; Baissanghor, the second, had the Keuked Shibaghotshins and the Urad Tanghuds of the Baraghon gar; Oidarma, the third, had the Dalad Khangkins and the Merged Bakhans of the Baraghon gar; Nom Tarni, the fourth, had the Bassod Uishins of the Baraghon gar; Buyangholai, the fifth, the Betekin Khalighotshins of the Baraghon gar; Bandsara, the sixth, the Rhotshid Geries of the Segon gar; Badma Sambhava, the seventh, had the four clans, Tsaghad, Minghad, Khortshin Khoin, and Ghutshin of the Segon gar; Amudara, the eighth, had the four clans of the Uighurtshins of the Baraghon gar; Uklekan, the ninth, the three clans of the Amakhais of the Baraghon gar.

Among the Mongols, as I have remarked, a chief is immediately succeeded in authority by his eldest living uncle or brother, the succession of his children being postponed. And it was so now; although Noyandara became Jinong, he was a merely titular ruler. The real authority passed to his uncle, the great Altan Khan, of whom I shall have more to say in the account of the Tumeds. Here it will suffice to say that he became

* Ssanang Setzen, 207. † De Mailla, x. 313. ‡ De Mailla, x. 314. § *Id.*

de facto ruler of the Baraghon Tumens, and commanded their joint forces in their various campaigns against China. His most able seconder was Khutuktai Setzen Khungtaidshi, the son of Nom Tarni and nephew of Noyandara. He fills a notable place in Ssanang Setzen's narrative, and was especially conspicuous in the reconversion of the Mongols to the Lamaist faith. He seems further to have been an active leader in the Ordus tribe, and to have put his uncle Noyandara somewhat in the shade. In 1562 he marched against the four Uirads, and defeated one of their tribes, the Torgagods (the modern Torguts), on the Ertshis (*i.e.*, the Irtysch). As a token of their subjugation he killed a black camel, and planted its skin at the royal hearth, while he took a number of the Torguts and Sinbis with him as prisoners.* In 1566 Khutuktai Setzen marched against Thibet, and pitched his camp at the confluence of the three rivers of the Silimji. Thence he sent messengers to the great Borsa Lama, to the Tsansi Lama, and the Darkhan Lama, also to Ussungdur Sanjin and Altan Sanjin with the message, "If you submit to us we will adopt your religion, but if you will not submit we will treat you as enemies." These threats put the Thibetans in great fear. In a few days the Lamas above named went to the Mongol camp. Setzen asked one of them if there was not among his kinsmen a certain Mergen Sanggasba with the name of Wadshra Tonmi. They replied they knew no such man. He said, "He is now entering the house, collect your people and bring him here and no harm shall happen to you." He then left them. The following morning as Wadshra Tonmi Sanggasba tended his herd there appeared suddenly a man riding on a panther from whose beard and eyebrows fire sparkled; he followed him to the entrance of his house where he disappeared. Wadshra Tonmi told this to several people, among others to his uncle the Darkhan Lama, who replied, "The Setzen Noyan we saw yesterday seems to be no ordinary man. It was this Prince who appeared to you thus transformed. As it is impossible you should hide yourself from him, so it is necessary that you should go with us to him." Upon this he took him to the Mongol camp when he at once recognised Setzen as the man he had seen riding on a panther in the morning. He thus addressed him, as if he had long known him, "Ah, Sanggasba, why have you trusted yourself here? Unless you can convert yourself into a white garudi you must without hope of escape fall into my power." Thus, says Ssanang Setzen, did Setzen Khungtaidshi subdue the Thibetians of the three rivers. He took with him on his return home the bLargin Lama, Astok Sain Bandi, and Astok Wadshra Tonmi Sanggasba. He gave the latter the title of On Guntshin and made him his first minister.†

In 1572 the two brothers of Setzen Khungtaidshi, named Buyandara Khulatshi Baghatur and Sain Dara Ching Baghatur, marched at the

* Ssanang Setzen, 211. † Ssanang Setzen, 213.

head of an army against Togmak, *i.e.*, the Eastern Kiptchak. On the Shira muran they encountered its ruler Aksar Khakan, and captured many prisoners and cattle. Among the former was Chioki, a wife of Aksar Khakan. As they returned home they were in turn attacked by Aksar, who had meanwhile assembled an army of 100,000 men. A fierce battle ensued at the mountain Nitsugun Khassulak. The Mongols at first broke the enemy's right wing. Khulatshi Baghatur, one of their two chiefs, attacked the centre; his horse was killed under him, and while dismounted he was hit in the knee by an arrow, so that he fell and was over-ridden by his own men. His brother came to his assistance and suffered the same fate. Most of the chief Mongols were dismounted and their army was entirely defeated.

The next year Setzen Khungtaidshi marched to revenge the deaths of his brothers. He encountered the army of Togmak at a place called Essen-Daibo. Setzen, we are told, put on his harness made of the hide of the elephant and overlaid with gold, bestrode his horse called Boro Khutsain Sari Aghola Sarbai, and marched at the head of his army against the enemy. Although their chiefs shot out fire from their beards and eyebrows (? if this means they used firearms) and sparks came from the hoofs of their horses, yet he severely defeated them, recovered the harness of his dead brother Ching Baghatur, and captured three sultans, sons of Aksar.

As he returned home he heard that Buyan Baghatur Khungtaidshi and his brothers, the sons of his suzereign the Jinong Noyandara, had gone on an expedition against the Uirads. Leaving his baggage at Bars kul (now called Barkul 44 N. lat. and 94 E. lon.), he hastened to join them. They attacked one body of the Uirats and scattered their tribes. For three months they pursued them.* The other body of the Uirats was governed by a crafty and politic ruler called Esselbei Kia. He lured Baghatur Khungtaidshi into his power and then killed him.†

Noyandara Jinong, the overchief of the three Baraghon Tumens and of the two successful princes Altan Khakan and Setzen Khungtaidshi, died in 1574. His eldest son Buyan Baghatur had been killed by Esselbei Kia, as I have related. Bushuktu, the eldest son of Buyan, thereupon succeeded his grandfather as Jinong. His power was probably merely nominal, the real authority being in the hands of his great dependents, Altan Khakan and Setzen Khungtaidshi. We now arrive at a memorable epoch in Mongol history, namely, at their conversion to Lamaism. We have few means of knowing how far this form of Buddhism had spread among them at an earlier day, especially in the golden times of Khubilai Khakan, who was such a firm supporter of the Lamas. I believe it was chiefly confined to the courtiers and to the aristocracy, the bulk of the people retaining the religion which they had

* *Vide sub voce* Uirat. † Sanang Setzen, 217. Infra chapters 10, 11.

followed in the days of Jingis Khan. It would appear that even this had afterwards disappeared. In the times we are approaching, Lamaism became the national religion of the Mongols and widespread among them. In 1576, Setzen Khungtaidshi paid his relative Altan a visit, during which he reminded him of his great successes against China and the Uirats, that he was now growing old, and that wise men declared that religion was necessary for the good of this life and also of the future. That the all powerful and merciful Khongshim Bodhisatwa had appeared in person in the country to the south, and then he went to ask him if it would not be well to make a journey thither, and to restore once more the religion which had been favoured by his great ancestor Khubilai Khan. The successful issue of this visit, and the curious story of the adoption of Lamaism as the religion of the Ordus and Tumeds, I have related further on.*

According to Ssanang Setzen, Setzen Khungtaidshi had contributed largely to the conclusion of peace with China in 1571, for which he had been promised the title of Lung Chu Chang Yun, a seal of chas or jade, and the right of using a yellow handwriting. As this promise was neglected, Setzen Khungtaidshi marched against China, plundered the town of Irgai, and thence marched to Temegetu.† In this expedition, which I do not find named by De Mailla, he plundered twenty-one Chinese towns and carried off an immense treasure.‡ Altan Khan died in 1583.§ His title of Chung was apparently conferred on Setzen Khungtaidshi, who De Mailla by mistake makes a son of Altan.‖ He no doubt also succeeded to the *real* authority among the Ordus. In 1584, Wadshradhara Dalai Lama commenced a tour among some of the Mongol tribes, among whom he was welcomed with great ceremony. The next year he arrived at the camp of Setzen Khungtaidshi, which was at a place called Yeke Shabar. "He rested for three months at the sources of the river Mangruk, leading the secluded life of a hermit, and then openly displayed himself in the form of the Bogda Khayanggiriwa. He bestowed upon Setzen Khungtaidshi his wife Torkhan Sula Setzen Khatun, and all the dispensers of religious alms his beneficent and infinitely precious consecration, as well as much wholesome instruction."¶ This probably means that the Ordus subject to Setzen Khungtaidshi were then definitely received into the Lama communion. The Dalai Lama now proceeded northwards, and received many princely gifts on his way. When he arrived at the camp of the Jinong Bushuktu Setzen, he pointed out to him a place where a temple should be built. "During his stay at Koke Bor, Bushuktu Jinong, Setzen Khungtaidshi, and Setzen Daitshing received the fourfold consecration of the sublimely perfect Kei Wadshra,

* *Vide sub vocem* Tumed.

† Probably to be identified with Ninghia. Ssanang Setzen. Schmidt's notes, 387 and 416.

‡ Ssanang Setzen, 243. § Ssanang Setzen, 247. De Mailla, x. 344.

‖ De Mailla, x. 344. ¶ Ssanang Setzen, 249.

and they swore in his presence a treaty, to be mutually peaceful towards one another." The Lama then passed on to the Tumeds.*

Setzen Khungtaidshi died in 1586. When the usual prayer offerings were taken to the Dalai Lama he was much troubled at the news, and said, "He has secured the glory of sanctification as he desired, but you, what good luck you have lost in committing the precious Sharal (Sarira or holy relic), this worthy object of worship to the earth." The Lama then pronounced his blessing and the prayers to secure for them the happiness they desired, and to secure also that they should see their master once more in his second birth.†

Setzen Khungtaidshi was succeeded in his honours by his son Oldshei Ildutshi Darkhan, who is styled Chileko by De Mailla. He was invested with his father's dignity of prince of Chun y.‡ His prowess in his father's campaign against Togmak had gained him the title of Baghatur Setzen Khungtaidshi. He died two years afterwards in 1589. Meanwhile we must not forget that the titular overlord of the Ordus all this time was Bushuktu Jinong. In 1592, the latter marched at the head of the Ordus Tumen against China, he plundered and captured much booty in the country of the river Shingshigu and then retired. He was pursued by the Wang Tsunbing, governor of Irgai, and a battle ensued, in which the Ordus under four redoubtable leaders forced a way through the enemy's rank. In this charge, a son of Oldshei Ildutshi, named Batu Taidshi, greatly distinguished himself. Although only thirteen years old, he captured a prisoner, and got the title of Darkhan Baghatur, which had been held by his father.§ De Mailla probably refers to this invasion when he tells us that in 1592, the Tartars having caused a disturbance on the Yellow River, Chinglo was sent there with the title of Inspector. Tonghiang was then governor of Ninghia. He counselled a rigorous campaign against the robbers, but his opinion was overruled by that of Popai, originally a Tartar, who had by his skill raised himself to high command in the Chinese service. He said that the 3,000 men in his command would amply suffice for the work. The viceroy refused to mount his soldiers, or to supply him with food, &c., and took advantage of some youthful indiscretion to imprison and bastinado his son. Some of the Chinese officers were highly indignant at this conduct. A revolt took place among the troops, during which the viceroy's palace was burnt, and the town of Ninghia was partially plundered. They put to death several obnoxious mandarins, and seized the forts on the Yellow River. The rebels invited the Tartars of Taoho (? an inversion of Hotao, *i.e.*, Ordus) to join them, and to advance with them towards Ling chau. They assented, and went under their chiefs Cholitu and Ta ching, &c., with 3,000 horsemen. They essayed to take the town of Ling chau, but failed, and had to raise the siege. Elsewhere the rebels were

* Ssanang Setzen, 249. † Ssanang Setzen, 253. ‡ De Mailla, x. 345.
§ Ssanang Setzen, 259.

generally victorious and beat the Imperial troops, and their successes attracted a much larger number of Taoho Tartars, of whom we are told 50,000 now joined them to share their glory and booty. The Imperial authorities now collected a force of nearly 300,000 men from Shen si, and the fortresses of Kan chau and Su chau, &c. They attacked Ninghia with great rigour and lost a great number of men in its siege. Popai, who was the rebel commander, then sent for aid to Cholitu, the Tartar chief, who thereupon set out with 30,000 men, and ordered Taching to advance with 10,000. The latter was too eager, was met on the way by a Chinese army and defeated. Meanwhile Cholitu continued his advance, but he did not feel himself strong enough to attack the Chinese army, which was very numerous. He captured several forts on the outskirts of their position, and even defeated one of their generals, but the latter was reinforced, and after a fight which lasted until night, finding it impossible to force his way into the town he retired, abandoning to the Chinese a portion of his horses and camels, and Ninghia soon after fell.* The Cholitu of De Mailla is probably the Bushuktu Jinong of Ssanang Setzen, who by-the-by does not mention the result of the campaign in 1592. Two years later, he tells us the Jinong again marched against China, by the way of the Alak mountains. They were attacked by Magha Tsunbing, of the town of Temeghetu, and after a partial success were defeated by the Chinese, who turned the Mongol position, captured their city of Khara Khotan, and reached Ulaghan Olong before them.†

The Mongols now appointed Batu Darkhan Baghatur, who had gained his title in the previous war and who had not taken part in this fight, their commander. He made a vigorous attack on the enemy, and won some successes and considerable renown, for which he was rewarded with a great title, namely, that of Baghatur Setzen Khungtaidshi, which his father and grandfather had previously held. In 1596, Bushuktu Jinong marched against Thibet and defeated the Shira Uighurs, and made their chief, Guru bSod-r Nam-r Gyal, submit.‡

In 1602 the Dalai Lama died, and was succeeded by another, whose incarnation is the only one which ever occurred out of Thibet. Schmidt says shrewdly that if this birth was generally arranged and depended on political considerations, that it proves how allpowerful the Mongols had become when a Dalai Lama was born among them.§

In 1607, Bushuktu Jinong erected a costly statue of Sakiamuni, of the size of a twelve-year-old boy, and made of gold, silver, and precious stones. It was very richly endowed with various offerings, and was completed in 1613, upon which he appealed to the great fosterer of souls, Maidari Khutuktu, at the full moon of the month of the great Riti Khubilghan, to provide a shower of flowers for the day of conse-

* De Mailla, x. 348-355. † Ssanang Setzen, 259. ‡ Ssanang Setzen, 263.
§ Schmid's Ssanang Setzen, 417.

cration. This in fact happened, and besides a rain of flowers there were many other lucky miracles.* This and many other of the supernatural surroundings of Lamaism are precisely what the modern European Spiritualists claim to produce, a rain of jonquils or violets being one of the very ordinary events at their seances.

"In honour of the festival and of the happy meeting, the Jinong ordered Wadshra Tonmi Gung Guyurshi (Gurus ri), Ching Wa Yeke Guyushi, and the son of Yongdoli Oisang, named Rashi Oisang Taidshi, to rise from their seats, and to greet Maidari Khutuktu with the title Yekede Assaraktshi Nomun Khakan. Arik Tsordshi received the title of Dalai Tsordshi; Gung Guyushi, of Gunting; Dai Wang Guyushi and Engke Guyushi, of Yogatshari Guyushi. At the same time the two latter were raised to the same rank as Tsordshi, with the privilege of sitting on an equal throne. The remaining members of the priesthood were granted titles according to their rank and deserts, and in conclusion Bushuktu took the blessed vow that all his future births should coincide with those of Nomun Khakan."†

The Dalai Lama now invested his patron with the title Altan Kurduni Ergigulukusbi Chakrawartin Setzen Jinong Khakan. Other titles were also conferred on his wives and relations.

Batu Darkhan Baghatur meanwhile apparently died, for we find that in 1615 his son Ssanang Taidshi was invested with the title of his grandfather, *i.e.*, Ssanang Setzen Khungtaidshi. This was the great historian of the Eastern Mongols, from whose narrative so much of my later account has been taken. A few years after he was appointed one of his chief officers by Bushuktu Jinong, by whose favour he rapidly rose in rank.

In 1621, Bushuktu Jinong sent sixty envoys to make a treaty of peace with China. These were murdered in the Chinese town Temeghetu. To revenge this wrong he mustered the tribes of the Baraghon Tumens, marched with 100,000 men against China, which was at this time distressed by internal rebels as well as by an attack of the Manchus in Liautung. "They drew near the city of Yangchun and invested it for three days, upon which the commanders of the town sent a letter into their camp, asking them to desist from their attack and promising to arrange the differences with the Sulang Toblang. Bushuktu Jinong thereupon drew off his forces." This seems to me like a confession that it was found impossible to take the town, and a rhetorical excuse for the failure. We are told that as the Mongols approached the town of Pokhan, they encountered a Chinese army 200,000 strong, under the orders of the Tsunbings, or commanders of the towns of Irghai and Temeghetu. Ssanang Setzen relates an anecdote which goes to show that the Mongols were retreating, when the Chinese seem to have been seized with panic,

* Ssanang Setzen, 265. † Ssanang Setzen, 265.

abandoned their camp and left much booty there, an easy prey to their enemies, who so well practised the Parthian tactics of avoiding encounters with large armies in the open field.*

In the following year, namely in 1622, a treaty was made between the Chinese and Bushuktu Jinong, by which the former received 3,000 Sidshirs of silver annually, by monthly instalments of 250 each, besides a lump sum of 6,000 Sidshirs for the murder of the envoys. The various princes, &c., who negotiated the treaty, received at the same time rich presents.

The following year the transcription of the great Lamaist body of divinity, the bKa-gjur (Gandshur) was completed under the supervision of Arik Dalai Tsordshi, and was consecrated amidst strewing of flowers. Bushuktu purposed having the companion work, the bs Tangjur (Dandshur), also transcribed, but he died before it could be accomplished. This was in 1624. His widow, after she had performed the appointed ceremonies for 100 days, erected a sacred pyramid on the spot where her husband had been converted, and close by where he had erected the Ju Erdeni or statue above-named, and spent 1,000 Sidshirs and many costly articles in its decoration; upon which the greater and lesser princes of the Ordus Tumen assembled together and proposed to send an embassy to "the Southern Snow-realm," to entertain the clergy, to distribute alms, and to receive blessing from the Bogda Erdeni and the allwise Dalai Lama, near the Ju Sakyamuni (*i.e.*, the statue of Buddha), and in other memorable places. This proposition was unanimously assented to.

Bushuktu Jinong left four sons, namely, Sereng Erdeni Khungtaidshi, Rintshen Eyetshi Daitshing, Toba Taidshi, and Tsoila Taidshi. Of these the third, namely, Toba Taidshi, begged to be allowed to repay the kindness of his noble father, and to be the bearer of the sacred alms above-named. His mother approved of this, and he accordingly set out the same year.†

Bushuktu was succeeded as Jinong by his eldest son Sereng, who was then 36 years old. This was in 1626, but he died six months afterwards. When Toba Taidshi arrived at "the four eternal lands" he prostrated himself in the presence of the Bogda Bantshin Erdeni and the allwise Dalai Lama, visited the Ju Erdeni and the other holy places, and dispensed rich alms everywhere. One day when in the Galdan Monastery he heard from the Bogda Bantshin Erdeni the history of the great reforming Lama Tsongkaba. This is set out at some length by Ssanang Setzen, but I shall reserve it for another volume where I shall relate the later history of Lamaism. Toba received consecration from the Bogda Bantshin Erdeni and received instruction from him in some of the deeper mysteries of the faith.‡

* Ssanang Setzen, 267 and 269. † Ssanang Setzen, 271. ‡ Ssanang Setzen, 275.

In 1625 he with the Lamas and laymen who had accompanied him went to the Dalai Lama, who was then nine years old, and received from him initiation under the protection of the all-obstacle-removing six-handed Mahakala. All present were astonished as they heard him speak with so much ease and adroitness about the attributes and principles of the faith, and agreed together that he was in truth a new manifestation of the Khongshim Bodhisatwa.* The Mongol pilgrims during their stay assisted at the inaguration of the tomb of the last Dalai Lama named Yondan rGyamtso, which took place at the monastery of Brasbong. On this occasion Toba Taidshi was honoured with the title of Taissong Khungtaidshi. His companions were similarly decorated; their various new styles are set out by Ssanang Setzen.†

When the time for his return home drew near he addressed the Dalai Lama through an interpreter, saying, "The allwise Bogda Wadshradhara Dalai Lama caused the sun of religion to rise in the gloomy land of the Mongols. He was our first benefactor. Afterwards the Dalai Lama Yondan rGyamtso was born in the family of one of our princely houses, and as the conservator of religion was also our benefactor. Would not the present Dalai Lama also have pity on us and condescend to visit the Mongol land?" The Bogda spoke not, but began to cry. Then spoke sDaba Nangsu to him and said, "Why criest thou, Bogda Lama. Art thou displeased at the praises we have uttered in regard to the two Bogdas thy ancestors, or hast thou a dislike to the long journey from thy fatherland, or dost thou fear that the Mongols might forcibly retain thee?" As he made no reply to these questions, those present said one to another, "This seems to be some prognostication. It is certainly not a mere accident."

As they were about to depart they were called together and received from the Allwise, besides various admonitions, also prayers for a happy meeting together again in their future metempsychosis or new birth.

In 1625 Toba Taissong set out on his return home. While on his pilgrimage he did not forget his father's intention, and he procured a copy of the bsTan aGjur written in silver characters, with which he arrived safely among his people. On his arrival his mother assembled the princes and nobles of the Ordus-Tumen, at which Maidari Khutuktu Nomun Khakan was asked to consecrate the sacred volume with a shower of flowers.

I have described how the Jinong Sereng Erdeni died after he had been on the throne for only six months. He was succeeded by his next brother Rintshen Eyetshi Daitshing, who commenced to reign in 1627, and was proclaimed as Khan by the prince historian Ssanang Setzen, who himself records the fact.‡ Whereupon both of them, one as Khakan, the other as Tushimel, received consecration from Maidari Khutuktu.

* Ssanang Setzen, 275 and 277. † Op. cit., 277. ‡ Ssanang Setzen, 281.

At this time there was considerable confusion among the people, says Ssanang Setzen. Schmidt says in his notes, on account of the Manchu conquests, but these came later, and the confusion complained of was doubtless that caused by Lingdan Khan, the chief of the Chakhars, in his endeavours to recover supreme authority in Mongolia. It would seem that Rintshen allied himself with the chiefs of the Kharatshins, Abaghas, and other tribes, and defeated the Chakhars at a place called Ju Tseng, in the land of the Tumeds.* It would seem that Ssanang Setzen, the prince historian, was not quite faithful to his people at this time. He tells us he headed a force and allied himself with three Chakhar chieftains, with whom he went towards the desert. This was in 1634. He returned the same year, sent word to the Jinong, and said it was their wish to have him once more for their leader. The Jinong assented, and on a lucky day Ssanang Setzen was restored to favour. This was at a place named Yeke Shibar. Thence Ssanang Setzen accompanied the Jinong to his people. On his return the latter performed his devotion before the statue of Buddha. "About the same time, through the intervention of the Saissang Sereng Bodomal of the Chakhars, the golden pyramid, and through that of Toba Taissong Khungtaidshi, the white house of 'the Lord,' with its appurtenances, were taken and set up in the land of the recently pacified princes." "The Lord" is the expression generally used by Ssanang Setzen when referring to his great ancestor Jingis Khan. The golden pyramid, as Schmidt says, doubtless means the golden vessel of pyramidal shape, in which his ashes were preserved, as those of the Thibetan princes and the high Lamas are, and are then placed in the temples and become objects of adoration.† The white house was doubtless his royal yurt, which was preserved and became a kind of palladium of the race, and was in the special charge of the Ordus. It would appear that during the civil strife in the tribe, these things were removed for safety, and were brought back when peace was once more restored among them. When Rintshen was again at peace with his family, we are told he remounted the throne and took the title of Chakrawartin Setzen Jinong. He granted that of Erke Noyan to Bhodhitai Tsokegur, while he dignified the prince historian Ssanang Setzen with that of Erke Setzen Khung. He also gave him the command of the advance guards, and of the centre in the great hunts; while the other princes who had been faithful to him were also advanced in rank.‡

We have now arrived at the period when the Ordus, like the rest of the Forty-nine Banners, became subject to the Manchus. We are told that when in 1634 the latter had pursued Edshei, the son of Lingdan Khan, as far as the land of Tolitu, on the west of the Khatungol (that is, to the Ordus country west of the Kara Muren), Rintshen forestalled

* Schmidt, Mem. St. Peters. Acad., ii. 452. † Schmidt's note to Ssanang Setzen, 420.
‡ Ssanang Setzen, 283.

them in his capture, gave shelter to Eldshei, let him swear allegiance to him, and then divided his subjects with him. On the arrival of the Manchu troops Rintshen took alarm, and sent them more than a thousand families of the Chakhars as a present. From this time, says the author translated by Schmidt, the Ordus were numbered among the tribes of the Inner division, *i.e.*, were treated as Manchu subjects.* In 1649 the Ordus were divided into six banners, and the dignity of their princes was declared to be hereditary. A seventh banner was added in 1731. Their tribute is sent to Peking by way of Cha hu kheou.†

The Ordus are now divided into seven banners, subject to a prince of the second rank, another of the third rank, four princes of the fourth rank, and two Taidshis of the first rank. Their chief camp is 285 li west of Koko Khotan. Their land on the east borders that of the Tumeds of Koko Khotan, on the west the Khalkas, on the north the Urads, and on the south the province of Shan si. On the east, north, and west it is bounded by the Yellow River. The distance from Peking is 1,100 li. The ambit of the country is more than 2,000 li.‡ They are divided into two wings. "The left wing has three banners, of which the first is to the south-east of the principal camp, 145 li west of Kutan Khocho; the second, or centre, to the south of the valley of Chara; the third to the north-east, near lake Balkhassun-nor. The right wing is also composed of three banners. The first is encamped at lake Baga nor; the second in the western part of the country, near lake Shara buritu; the third to the north-west, near lake Orghitu nor. The principal mountains of the country of the Ordus are the Khoior khara tolagai, Khara Khotho, in Chinese He-chan, Tuinok, Baitu, Bain ola, &c.

"The Hoang ho issues by the Great Wall, near the village of Pao fung hian, from the district of Ning hia fu, flows north-west, turns to the east and forms the boundaries of the Urads. When it reaches the ancient eastern frontier of Ching chau, it turns to the south, runs along the east side of the land of the Ordus, which it divides from that of the Tumeds, and then enters China. The Khugarkhé, the Ilki-tosutu, the Baga-tosutu, the Urlan burlak, and many other rivers also water the country of the Ordus.

"The ancient city of Su fang, built under the Han dynasty 128 years before the Christian era, was situated in the territory of the third banner of the right wing, near the banks of the Hoang hó, above 500 li from the point where it turns to the east. The ancient city of Lin-ho-ching was to the north-west of Su fang. The palace of Yu lin kung was in the centre of the city of Ching chau. It was built in the year 607 by the Emperor Nganti, of the dynasty of Sui."§

"Under the dynasty of the Thsin, the Ordus country bore the name of Sin thsin chung. Under that of the Han it belonged to the Turks

* Schmidt, Mem. St. Peters. Acad., ii. 452.
† Timkowski, ii. 267.
‡ Schmidt, Mem. St. Peters. Acad., ii. 450, 451.
§ Timkowski, ii. 267-269.

Hiung Nu. In the year 127 B.C. the Emperor Vu-ti established there the principality of Su fang, which he put under the jurisdiction of the city of Ping chau. In the sequel it fell into the hands of various conquerors. Towards the end of the ninth century Szu-kiung settled in this country, which was assigned him as a recompense for the services he had rendered the Emperor in the war against Huang chao. During the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries this country remained subject to the kings of Hia. When the Mongols or Yuan conquered the kingdom of Hia or Tangut in 1209, it became a province of their empire. At the commencement of the Ming dynasty garrisons were placed in it and agriculture was introduced." *

The Abbe Huc and his companion M. Gabet traversed the country of the Ordus on their journey to Thibet. He describes the land as very unattractive. "Wherever you turn," he says, "you find only a soil bare and without verdure, rocky ravines, marly hills and plains covered with a fine moving sand, blown by the impetuous winds in every direction. For pasture you will only find a few thorny bushes and poor ferns, dusty and fetid. At intervals only, this horrible soil produces some thin sharp grass, so firm in the earth that the animals can only get it up by digging the sand with their muzzles. The numerous swamps which had been so heavy a desolation to us on the borders of the Yellow River, became matter of regret in the country of the Ordus, so very rare here is water. Not a single rivulet is there, not a spring where the traveller can quench his thirst; at distances only are there ponds and cisterns filled with fetid muddy water." † "The steppes of the Ordus, though so destitute of good pasture, have not been quite abandoned by wild animals. You often find there grey squirrels, agile yellow goats (*i.e.*, Mongolian antelopes), and beautifully plumaged pheasants. Hares are in abundance, and are so far from shy that they did not even take the trouble to move at our approach; they merely rose on their hind legs, pricked up their ears, and looked at us as we passed with the utmost indifference." ‡ This is the usual aspect of the country, but here and there are secluded valleys which contrast by their fertility with the general barrenness around. §

The chief topographical feature of the Ordus country is the great salt lake of Dabsun-Nur, which M. Huc says supplies with salt not only the adjacent Tartars, but also several provinces of the Chinese empire. "For a day's journey," he says, "before you reach it, the soil changes by degrees in form and aspect; losing its yellow tint, it becomes insensibly white as though thinly covered with snow. The earth swelling in every direction forms innumerable hillocks, cone-shaped, and of a regularity so perfect that you might suppose them to have been constructed by the hand of man. Sometimes they are grouped in heaps, one on the other like pears piled on a plate; they are of all sizes, some but

* Timkowski, ii. 266. † Huc's Travels, i. 167. ‡ Huc's Travels, i. 168.
§ Huc, op. cit., i. 189 and 221.

just created, others old, exhausted, and falling to decay. Around these excrescences grow creeping thorns, long pointed, without flowers or leaves, which intertwining spirally surmount them with a sort of network cap. These thorns are never found elsewhere than about these hillocks. Upon those of more recent growth they are firm, vigorous, and full of shoots. Upon the elder elevations they are dried up, calcined by the nitre, brittle, and in shreds. . . . Springs, generally so rare in the Ordus country, are here of frequent occurrence, but the water is for the most part excessively salt. Here and there however, by the very side of a brackish pool, there is a spring of soft, sweet, delicious water. These are indicated by small flags fluttering on the ends of poles." Dabsun-Nur is not so much a lake as a reservoir of mineral salt, mixed with nitrous efflorescence. It is about 20 li in circumference. The caravans cross over it with impunity, but have to avoid places where water is seen bubbling, which mark deep pits. This fact led the Abbe Huc to conjecture that it is really a lake covered with a thick encrustation, which forms a roof over it. Its influence seems to pervade the whole Ordus district, which throughout has brackish water and soil, and a surface encrusted with saline matter.* "The herds of the Tartars of the Ordus," says our traveller, "are not very numerous, and are quite different from those which feed on the rich pastures of the Chakhars and of the Keshiktens. The cattle and horses appeared very miserable; the goats, sheep, and camels, however, looked very well, which is undoubtedly the consequence of their predilection for plants impregnated with saltpetre.

"The Mongols of the Ordus are very much affected by the wretchedness of the soil upon which they live. . . . . Most of them live in tents made of some rugs of felt or goat skins, framed on a wretched woodwork. Everything about these tents is so old and dirty, so tattered with time and storms that you would with difficulty suppose they could serve as abodes for human beings. Whenever," says Huc, "we pitched our tent near these poor habitations, we were sure to be visited by a crowd of wretches who prostrated themselves at our feet, rolled on the earth, and gave us the most magnificent titles in order to extract something from our charity."† I will conclude my account of the Ordus with a passage from the letter which the Emperor Khanghi sent to his son, when in 1696, in his campaign against the Eleuths (to which I shall refer in another chapter), he resided for some time in the Ordus country. He says, "Till now I never had at all an accurate idea respecting the Ordus. They are a very civilised nation, and have lost nothing of the old manners of the true Mongols. All their princes live in perfect union among themselves, and do not know the difference between *mine* and *thine*. No one ever heard of a thief among them, although they take not the slightest precaution for guarding their cattle and horses. If by chance

* Huc, i. 204-206. † Huc, i. 169.

one of these animals goes astray, it is taken care of by him who finds it till he has discovered its owner, to whom he restores it without the least payment. The Ordus are extremely skilful in breeding cattle. Most of their horses are tame and tractable. The Chakhars north of the Ordus enjoy the reputation of training them with more care and success; nevertheless I believe that the Ordus excel them in this point. Notwithstanding these advantages, they are not at all so rich as the other Mongols."* This shows that the sterility of their country has been like that of some other countries noted for hardy virtues, a cradle of honesty as well as poverty.

II. THE TUMEDS.

THE Tumeds form one of the sections of the Baraghon Tumen. They are often referred to by Ssanang Setzen as "the seven Tumeds," and afterwards as the twelve Tumeds. They are now divided into two tribes, one known as the Tumeds of Koko Khotan, encamped in the neighbourhood of that city, and the other on the borders of Manchuria. The Tumeds answer to the Mankoantien of De Mailla,† who tells us that they obeyed Yenta (*i.e.*, Altan Khan). He speaks of them in one place as the six, and in another as the eight encampments or clans of the Mankoantien.‡ This name is probably connected with Mankoanchin,§ whom he makes a son of Dayan Khan, and may be the same as Arsu bolod *Mergen*.‖

The seven Tumeds are first named in 1453, when their chief Dogholang Taidshi murdered the Mongol Khan Ukektu.¶ He was himself put to death some years after by Mandaghol Khan.** I have previously described how Ulus Bolod was appointed Jinong of the Baraghon Tumens,†† and how he was murdered by some of the princes who were jealous of his intrusion upon them. It is curious that the chief conspirators mentioned are the chiefs of the Ordus Tumen and of the Jungshiyabo Tumen, but the Tumeds and their chief are not named as taking part in the conspiracy and murder.‡‡

Ibiri Taishi of the Jungshiyabo seems to have been the head conspirator, and when the Baraghon Tumens were punished by Dayan Khan, we learn from De Mailla that his clans dispersed the Halatien, *i.e.*, the Kharatshins alone remaining in their old posts. I believe that on this occasion several of the clans belonging to the Jungshiyabo

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* Grosier, cited by Huc, op. cit., i. 166. † Op. cit., x. 302 and 308.
‡ *Id.*, 302 and 308. § *Id.*, 301. ‖ *Vide* infra.
¶ Ssanang Setzen, 171. Ante, 366. ** *Id.*, 175. †† *Vide* ante, 373.
‡‡ Ssanang Setzen, 185-187.

Tumen were added to the Tumeds, for one division of the Eastern Tumeds, as I shall show presently, is still governed by princes of the same race as those of the Kharatshins. It was this accession which I believe increased the number of clans among the Tumeds, so that from about this time Ssanang Setzen often refers to them, not as the Seven but as the Twelve Tumeds. On the division of the Mongols among the sons of Dayan Khan, the Tumeds fell to Arsu Bolod *Mergen* Khung-taidshi,* probably the Mankoantien of De Mailla. He seems to have died early and childless, for we hear no more of him, and his portion fell like the rest of the Baraghon Tumeds to Barsa Bolod.

While Barsa Bolod's eldest son Gun Bilik succeeded him as Jinong, and also as immediate overchief of the Ordus, his second son Altan Khan became the chief of the greater part of the Twelve Tumeds.† He was born in 1507, and was destined to fill a very notable place in the history of the Mongols. In company with the other Baraghon Tumens, the Tumeds seem to have migrated from the north of the desert about the time of Dayan Khan, and they settled with the Ordus in the land of Gholun tori. I have already described the desolate and forlorn condition of this country, and we are not surprised that when commanded by an enterprising chieftain they should have left it, and we are told in the treatise translated by Schmidt, Mem. St. Peters. Acad., ii. 453, that Altan Khakan left the land of Gholun tori and settled in a place called Fung chau, and built a town there which he called Baishing, and made it his capital.‡ This is the same town which the Chinese call Ban Sheng. De Mailla says he was master of the country of Kai yuen and Chang tu.§ It was when he had made peace with China after his long struggle with that power that he removed his residence to Koko Khotan. Most of Altan Khakan's life was spent in his wars with the Ming empire. He seems to have early acted independently of his suzereign the Jinong, for we read that in 1529 he made a raid upon the district of Taitong with a body of cavalry, and retired with a rich booty. The next year he returned, crossed the Yellow River, and in conjunction with the Jinong plundered the province of Ninghia and the district of Suen hoa fu. Never, says De Mailla, had the Tartars so much harassed China as under his leadership. He was constantly on the move. Early in 1531 he plundered the neighbourhood of Taitong, later in the year he ravaged the frontier of Shen si, and later still that of Shan si, killing many of the inhabitants.‖ The latter days of the Ming dynasty of China were not far off, and the empire was troubled with many rebels. During these troubles, says De Mailla, the Tartars did not cease to attack the frontier. In 1540 Altan Kilo (?) and Jinong formed a league and attacked China at the head of twelve hordes. They killed many people before they were driven away by the Chinese generals Petsio and

* Ssanang Setzen, 205. † Ssanang Setzen, 205. ‡ Schmidt, op. cit., ii. 453. Timkowski, 214.
§ Op. cit., x. 308. ‖ De Mailla, x. 308, 309.

Yun chang, who defeated them at Chui ul ling and Lien yun pao. Later in the year they were again in China, where they were conducted by a treacherous Buddhist priest. They entered by way of Tai tong, Tai yuen and Yen men, and forcing the defile of Ling-u-koan, they broke into Shan si, and plundered several districts there.*

In 1542 Altan again invaded China, while the Jinong did the same from another side. The latter now died, and Altan's authority became greatly extended. His age and prowess made him supreme commander of the army of the Baraghon Tumens. After the burial of his brother he returned with Tsingtaiki, Cheula† and Halalahan,‡ each at the head of 20,000 to 30,000 men, and once more ravaged Shan si. The Mandarins began to grow frightened, and offered a reward of 1,000 taels and the grade of Mandarin of the third rank to whoever would bring them the head of the Mongol chief. As an answer to this menace, Altan once more entered the empire with a large force, pillaged the district of Tai yuen, and encamping on the banks of the Fen chui, made incursions upon the districts of Lu ngan and Ping yang, in Shan si. The armies of the provinces of Shang tung and Ho nan were ordered to march against him, but before they combined, Altan crossed the mountains hitherto deemed impassable, fell suddenly upon them in succession, and most severely defeated them. He now ravaged Shan si at his leisure, made captive more than 200,000 men and women, besides treasure, and 2,000,000 head of cattle, horses, &c., and with this booty he returned home. In 1544 he entered the province of Pehchehli, and advanced almost to the gates of Peking, ravaging everywhere.§ The Chinese general Tsiao pong, and the viceroy Chu fang, were imprisoned, and their goods confiscated for not having opposed him better. He was now quiet for a short time, and apparently aspired to become a Chinese grandee, for in 1547 Hong wan ta, an assessor of the Imperial tribunals on the frontier, wrote to say that Altan wished to do homage and pay tribute. While the council was deliberating about this, he once more crossed the Hoang ho.‖ The following year he renewed his request. This was refused. Piqued at the refusal, he made another profitable raid upon Tai tong and Suen hoa fu. The following year he gained two victories over Chinese armies, but these were followed by a defeat, in which he lost many of his followers and the booty he had captured. It was long, says De Mailla, since the Chinese had had such a decided success over the Tartars. Its effect was however very transient, for in 1550 Altan again marched with the largest army he had yet assembled. He captured many towns, and once more moved in the direction of Peking. Near the capital he

* De Mailla, x. 314.

† Ching Baghatur and Khulatshi Baghatur, brothers of Setzen Khungtaidshi. Ssanang Setzen, 213 and 215.

‡ Probably the Kilo above-named. § De Mailla, x. 315. ‖ De Mailla, x. 316.

took some Chinese prisoners, who were afterwards released. They related that they found Altan seated on a felt. He sent a letter back with them addressed to the Emperor. He asked that he might be considered a tributary of the empire, and that each time his envoys went they should be permitted to have an escort of 3,000 men. While the Imperial council was deliberating on this letter, a vast fire was seen in the northern horizon. These were the flames of the towns, &c., the Mongols were then firing. They made a dreadful devastation in the district of Loang hiang hien, and reduced that of Pao ting fu to a desert.

Meanwhile the Emperor summoned troops from the various provinces, especially from Liau tung, but before they could arrive Altan Khan retired and took his booty with him. The otherwise eccentric demands of Altan are explained by De Mailla on the ground that the Mongols who had been isolated for a long time from the outside world, and had few means of disposing of their pastoral wealth, desired very much to have some fairs appointed on the Chinese borders where they could sell their horses. A demand for the institution of such fairs was being constantly renewed. The Emperor at length agreed. Certain fairs were fixed, with a poll tax for the horses.* Altan attended one of the fairs in person, and took as tribute two rare horses. The Chinese were apparently not quite pleased with the concession and fancied that Altan had some ulterior object. It was noticed that he sent large herds of cattle and sheep to the markets rather than horses, and that he made demands for other fairs in Liau tung, which makes it probable that he then controlled the whole force of the Mongols of the Inner division (*i.e.*, of the Forty-nine banners). The fairs were apparently failures. The terror caused by the recent Mongol ravages frightened away the Chinese dealers. This failure irritated Altan, who recommenced his assaults upon the district of Tai tong at the head of from 25,000 to 30,000 men. The viceroy on the frontier recommended that the fairs should be abolished, as they afforded means of easy access to the empire on the part of the Mongols. They were accordingly abolished in 1552, and the Chinese were forbidden to attend them. Altan renewed his demonstrations in 1553 and 1554.† Let us now turn once more to his doings nearer home.

On the death of the Khakan Bodi Alak, he was succeeded by his son Kudang. Altan acknowledged his dependence upon him, and asked that he himself might be invested with the title of Sutu Khakan.‡ Schmidt says he was also known as Gegen Khan.§ This was agreed to by the young Khakan. In 1552 the same author describes a campaign undertaken by Altan against the Durben Uirads. He encountered them on the mountain Kunggei Sabkhan, killed the chief of the Khoits, took his wife and two sons prisoners, and subdued the whole people. He also

* De Mailla, x. 319. † De Mailla, x. 320, 321. ‡ *Vide* ante, 377. Ssanang Setzen, 201.
§ Mem. St. Peters. Acad., ii. 453.

occupied Khoning, the ancient Karakorum, which had been seized by the Durben Uirads.*

In 1557 Altan again invaded China. He captured Ing chau as well as forty small places, but he was attacked and forced to retire by Yang chun, the Chinese border commander. Tao song chai, one of his wives, and his son Singai abandoned him and submitted to the Chinese.† Except an unimportant raid in 1558, Altan Khakan now ceased to molest China for some time. On the death of the Emperor Khi tsong in 1566 he thought the opportunity favourable, and entered China with Hoang taiki, whom De Mailla calls his son, but who was really his great nephew Khutuktai Setzen Khungtaidshi, and after capturing Che chau and plundering its neighbourhood, retired. In 1570, Pahannaki, the grandson of Altan, Haliko, and some others submitted to China. The Emperor invested the former with the Mandarin title, and made him handsome presents of silk. In 1570 Altan demanded the return of his grandson, which was granted on condition that he also returned some Chinese deserters. He was much pleased at this, and once more sent envoys, asking to be admitted as a tributary of the empire, so De Mailla says. The Mongol chronicler, on the other hand, tells us that after fighting the Chinese for nineteen years, he pressed them so hard that they granted him the title Sun wang,‡ and a golden seal, upon which he made peace with the Kin Emperor Long tshing (Mu tsong of De Mailla), and forbade the other Mongol princes to make war upon China. This was in 1571.§

In 1573 Altan Khakan marched against Khara Tibet, *i.e.*, Black Thibet. He subjected both divisions of the upper and lower Shira Uighurs, and took three of the chiefs of the latter prisoners; he also carried away Arik Lama, sGumi bShoga Bakshi, and many Thibetans. Through the influence of Arik Lama, Altan Khakan became much attached to the Lama religion, and began to use the celebrated Buddhist six-syllable prayer formula.‖

In 1572 Altan sent 250 picked horses as tribute to the Imperial court. His messengers were well treated, and took back with them two of their companions who had been prisoners for twenty years. In 1573 the Imperial authorities of China, then under the control of the Regent, caused several gold and silver seals to be engraved and sent to Altan and the other chiefs.¶

The following year Pintu, Altan's son, having applied to the Chinese authorities to allow him to hold a fair to the west of the Hoang ho, was refused; he accordingly migrated to the Koko noor lake, and commenced an attack on the western borders of Shen si, and practically forced the adoption of his demand upon the Chinese authorities. A large fair was

* Ssanang Setzen, 209. † De Mailla, x. 322.

‡ Chun i wang, an obedient and just king. Timkowski, ii. 215.

§ Ssanang Setzen, 211. De Mailla, x. 334. ‖ Ssanang Setzen, 211.

¶ De Mailla, x. 336.

authorised to be held at Kan chau and a small one at Chuang léang.* In 1576 a Mongol named Intingtaishi, having molested the Chinese frontier, was ordered by Altan to pay a fine of 1,000 sheep, 200 horses, and two camels. The same year Altan Khakan was visited by his great nephew Setzen Khungtaidshi of the Ordus, and was urged by him to make a journey to the south, and once more to restore the religion which had prevailed among them in the days of Khubilai Khakan and the Khutuktu P'agpa Lama. Altan assented, and after taking counsel with the chiefs of the Baraghon Tumens, sent an embassy to invite the Allwise Bogda Sodnam rGyamtso Khutuktu to go to him. This embassy was well received, and the Bogda sent the Khakan a letter in reply, with presents, promising to follow directly. He then built a temple at Tsab chiyal, a district of Koko noor. The following account of what happened as nearly as I can understand it I take from Ssanang Setzen.

In 1577 Altan Khakan and the three Baraghon Tumens set out to meet the Bogda. A large party went ahead with costly presents to announce their approach. When these arrived in his presence near the Ulaghan Muren, they asked him to show them some sign of his power, upon which he put his hand in the stream, and the water which previously ran one way turned and ran in the reverse way. This miracle converted the party at once.† As a second party also bearing gifts drew near, a spring suddenly spouted out in a dry and barren place. They were also converted.

While they were passing the night at Ulaghan Muren, Bogda Khayangiriwa (one of the eight terrible Buddhist gods) at the request of the Pancha Mahakala, who begged him to become the protector of the Faith, sent his messengers to capture and put under restraint the dragons and evil spirits in Mongolia. As the procession neared Gun Ergi (*i.e.*, the Irgene Kun of the Muhammedan writers),‡ and at night, all the dragons, evil spirits, and ongghods, which lived in Mongolia, and which had the heads of camels, oxen, sheep, cats, hawks, and wolves, and many other forms, were driven before the Bogda, and by means of powerful exorcisms were expelled and subjected against their wills.

At the head of the third detachment went Khutuktai Setzen Khungtaidshi of the Ordus, and Dayan Noyan of the Tumeds. With them they had 3,000 men, and they carried many costly presents of silk, gold and silver, camels and horses, with their saddles decorated with gold and jewels. As Khutuktu made obeisance, the Bogda disclosed himself to him in the form of the incarnation of the Khongshim Bodhissatwa with four hands. Another miracle is related by Ssanang Setzen, as having been witnessed by the bystanders, namely, that the horse on which the Bogda rode left in the impressions of its hoofs prints of the six sacred syllables. It was in 1578 the Allwise Bogda first showed himself in Mongolia. At

* De Mailla, x. 338. † Ssanang Setzen, 227. ‡ Schmidt's note to Ssanang Setzen, 414.

their first interview with him the Khakan and the Khungtaidshi stared at him with astonishment. On his inquiring why they did so, Altan first answered. "For a long time I had a disease in my foot known as Tolai. I was advised to thrust my foot into the open breast of a recently killed horse. I did this. The pain increased in an insufferable manner. I looked up involuntarily, when there appeared in the sky a white man who thus addressed me, 'Khakan, how can you commit such a great sin?' whereupon he disappeared. After that time I was constantly filled with fright, until the Tangutan Ashik Lama (elsewhere called Arik Lama) made me learn the six syllables, and recommended me to pray diligently. From Gumi Bakshi I learnt the use of the rosary, and with it I have daily repeated the six syllables 108 times. I recognise you as the man who appeared to me, and this is why I stared with wonder."

Then also spake Setzen Khakan. "As I formerly sat in the presence of my mother, playing at chess, she gave me a fat piece of horseflesh to eat. As I ate, my knife slipped from my hand, raised itself in the air, and in falling to the ground passed close to my knees. As I looked down to find my knife, I saw a young man in black clothes, who spoke to me with cross and threatening looks, saying, 'Why eatest thou horseflesh?' upon which he also became invisible. Since then I have not eaten horseflesh. I also looked with astonishment because I saw you were the man who had rebuked me."

The Allwise Bogda replied "that this was all true. That this was not the first time they had met. When Altan Khakhan had been previously born in the person of Khubilai Setzen Khakan, he himself had also lived in the person of Madi Dhwadshawa P'agpa Lama, the nephew of S'akya Pandita Ananda Dhwadshawa S'ri Bada. At that time when I, at the instigation of your wise wife Chambui Khatun, bestowed upon you the four consecrations of the exalted Kei Wadshra, and disseminated the faith by word and thought, and produced many proofs of my assiduity and zeal, you rewarded me with the Chinese title of Sang Sing Dai Wang Guyusri, a costly seal, and a yellow signature, put me at the head of the religious administration, and promoted me to places of confidence. Setzen Khungtaidshi was in the days of our exalted Buddha (*i.e.*, of Sakiamuni himself) the mightiest of sovereigns, namely, Sokchan Shingbo, king and ruler of the people of Magadha, the protector of Buddha, and the dispenser of gifts. His younger brother Setzen Daitshing was at the same period king and ruler of the people of Kosala, under the name Sartshal. This first interpreter, Wadshra Tonmi Gundshin, was at the period of one of my early appearances the interpreter and teacher of Irguk, under the name Lungdan Sharab. He was born again and fulfilled the same office between the Khakan Khubilai and myself, under the name of Khara Moritu of the Arsang. He is now acting in the same capacity after a third birth."

After this conversation Altan Khakan went to his couch. As a token

of the new era in which light was about to penetrate the darkness of that region, he put on a white dress, mounted a white horse, and once more went to the Bogda, accompanied by his wife and 10,000 men, to accompany him to the newly-built temple at Tsabchiyal. On this occasion the Khakan took his salutation-presents, consisting of the seven noble precious things, adorned with the eight objects of sacrifice, 500 Sidshirs, in weight; a golden bowl, thirty Sidshirs in weight, filled with precious stones; silken stuffs of untold worth and beauty, ten pieces of each kind; other silken stuffs of five different colours, 100 of each colour; ten white horses, with their saddles decorated with gold and precious stones; besides 5,000 head of cattle of various kinds. This presentation took place amidst great festivities, during which Setzen Khungtaidshi delivered the following speech, which was translated by the interpreter Wadshra Tonmi Gun Gundshin. "As harbingers of coming blessings, we have here the Lama as the true object of worship, and the Khakan, the chief almsgiver; to us like the sun and moon when they mount the blue sky together. At the command of the god Khormusda, did our great ancestor Sutu Bogda Jingis Khakan subdue the five banners of his own people and the four related nations. His two grandsons, the Khubilgan of the Bodhissatwa, Godan Chan, and the Chakra-turning Khubilai Setzen Khakan, placed the profound inquirer into the depths of all knowledge S'akya Pandita, and the belief-enlightener of the breathing-essence, the king of science, P'agpa Lama, at the head of the religious institutions, and following their example, appointed believing princes of the Mongols, Lamas of the Sakyas, and gratified the breathing-essence to the highest degree by the lawful administration of both governments (? temporal and spiritual). Since then and from the time of Uchaghatu Setzen Khakan until now, the condition of religion and the administration of justice among us have fallen very low. We shed the blood and eat the flesh of living beings. Now from this day, when Sakiamuni has in the revolution of time reappeared in the person of the Bogda Lama, and the Lord of the earth Khormusda in the person of the very mighty Khakan, shall the piled up waves of the tempestuous blood stream be transformed into a deep, peaceful sea of milk. If we trust in the Khakan and the Lama, and walk in the bright ways of our forefathers, so will it be well with us."

"Like the voice of the cuckoo in the first month of summer," says Ssanang Setzen, "so sounded these words in the ears of the vast assembly of more than 100,000 men, including Chinese, Thibetans, Mongols, and Uighurs, priests and lay-folk." The whole assembly heard them with great astonishment. Thereupon the following proposals were made by the Khakan and the Lama, and accepted unanimously by the religious, the priests, and commonalty.

It was the custom of the Mongols on the death of a man, and according to his wealth, to slaughter a number of camels and horses,

which were buried with him, and were called Khoilgha. From this time it was ordained that this custom should cease, and that the cattle appointed for the hecatomb should be given to the priests.

The yearly and monthly fasts and days of devotion, as also the fast called Naiman Geshigutu, were to be kept.

The priesthood was divided into four ranks. If a common person lay his hand on a Tsordshi, slandered or insulted him, this should be counted as if it were an offence against a Khungtaidshi. The Rab Jimba Gabdshu should be similarly counted as Taidshis; the Gelongs as Tabunangs, Gundshins, Taishis, and Saissangs; and the clerical Chibaghantsas, Ubaohis, and Ubassantsas as the Ognigods.

During the three monthly fast days, the slaughtering of cattle and the chase of wild animals was to cease altogether.

If anybody of the religious class violated his vows of chastity or married, he was to be thus punished. His face was to be blackened with soot, and he should make a three-fold circuit of the temple backwards, that is, be made a laughing stock to the worshippers. He should then lose his status and be driven away. If a Ubashhi or a Ubassantsa should injure the cause of religion, of which he ought to be the protector, or kill anything, he should suffer the punishment of expulsion in the above described manner, and besides become subject to pay taxes. The Ubashis were to be punished in a similar way if they got drunk. These and other things written of old, under the three Thibetan Chakrawartins, and under Khubilai Setzen Khakan, the Mongol, were collected together and propounded under the title, "The laws of the science of the ten meritorious works."

Upon this the Khakan gave the Allwise Bogda the title of Wadshradhara Dalai Lama, and raised him to the same post of honour which P'agpa Lama formerly held. The four classes of religious were relieved from paying taxes, from following the army, or attending the great hunts and other burdens, and the administration of justice, religious and civil, was duly established.

Thereupon the Dalai Lama conferred on Altan Khakan the title of the Thousand Golden Wheel-turning Chakrawartin Setzen Khakan; upon Setzen Khungtaidshi that of Guga Garbi Setzen Khungtaidshi, and similar new titles were conferred on the lesser chiefs. The Dalai Lama promised to erect the statue of Maidari (Maitreya) at Nilom Tala. Altan Khakan also promised to raise at Koko Khotan, the chief city of the Tumeds, a statue of Buddha, made of gold, silver, and precious stones. Bushuktu Jinong Taidshi promised to have a transcript of the 108 volumes of the bKa aGjur, made in gold and silver letters, and Sartol Setzen Daitshing to build a temple.* Altan Khan now returned home again, taking with him Dongkur Mandshusri Khutuktu, who may be looked upon as the evangelist of the Mongols.†

* Ssanang Setzen, 237. † Schmidt's note to Ssanang Setzen, 416.

The events I have described, and which were of such supreme importance in Mongol history in that they led to the conversion of the whole race to Lamaism, are described in Pallas' great work from Kalmuk authorities. His account is not always accurate, and it varies in some of the details from the other. According to him Altan Khakan suffered greatly from the gout. When he consulted the Shamans they recommended him to have a live man, not a horse as in Ssanang Setzen's story, slit open, and to bury his foot in the warm entrails. This horrible remedy was to be repeated on the evenings when there was a full moon, and as the moon was setting. When he was one day practising this remedy, he fell into a dream, and fancied he saw in the full moon the image of a Lama dressed in full panoply. This addressed him thus, "Khan, we will heal your pain without putting a man to death. Cease this barbarous practice." The Khan then ordered the corpse to be removed, washed his feet, and summoned two Lamas, who were then at his court, one of the Yellow sect and the other of the Red. He told them the vision, and asked them whose image it was he had seen. One of them, named Samtshan chok, answered that it was the image of Dalai Lama Yondon jamtsa.*

Altan then despatched Setzen Khungtaidshi and Sukshinbo Khan to Thibet, to fetch this Lama on a mule to him. They accordingly went and brought him.†

Altan Khan had latterly been on pretty good terms with the Chinese. In 1577 he renewed the negotiations for holding a fair for the sale of tea and horses, and asked for a gold seal for one of his dependents, doubtless Khutuktu Setzen Khungtaidshi is meant, but his overtures were declined.‡

In 1582 we are told he had a curious illness, in which his body seemed to die while his spirit remained sound. The Mongol chiefs grew discontented, and were heard to complain to one another, and say, "What is the use of this religion if it cannot save our noble Khan's life," and they threatened to drive the Lamas away, upon which Mandshusri Khutuktu called them together, and explained to them that nothing could avert death, and that everything worldly is as transient as the moon's shadow in the pool, or the reflections in a mirror; that even the divine Buddha was subject to it. He then went on to say that he could not avert death when the sickness was mortal, but if not mortal his skill was equal to curing the Khan. Ssanang Setzen goes on to say that he thereupon put some medicine in the Khakan's nostrils, repeating meanwhile three times the formula, "Khakan, for the sake of religion condescend to rise," upon which the old man gradually recovered. After his recovery he summoned his followers about him, and sharply rebuked them for their faithlessness. He inquired from them how many of his

* This is a mistake, that Lama was not then born. *Vide* Schmidt's note, Ssanang Setzen, 416.
† Pallas, Saml. Hist. Nach. ueb. die. Mong. Volkersch, ii. 425. ‡ De Mailla, x. 338.

ancestors had been permitted to reach his age. Asked if, while they continued the worshippers of the Onggods and Tsaliks (*i.e.*, the fetish gods of Shamanism), they had ever known a man to secure immortality. "Who among either my ancestors or yours was immortal?" he said. "Which of them even reached one hundred years? I am nearly eighty years old, and have reached the term of my life. Did not Sakiamuni himself give the example of Nirwana to show us how inevitable is death? Did not the Allwise Bogda teach us this? You know it to be true. If Setzen Khungtaidshi were here he would explain matters better than I do."* Some time after this, Altan Khan and Setzen Khungtaidshi assembled the chiefs of the twelve Tumeds, and they entered into a solemn agreement to support and extend the faith. Altan Khan only survived his illness for twelve months.† Pallas, in the work already cited, also mentions this second illness of the Khan. He however makes it out that the Khan actually died, and that when the people became discontented, the Lama Dongkor Manshusri by his prayers and exorcisms brought him to life again, and that he remained alive for seven days.‡ Altan Khan died in 1583 at the age of seventy-seven.§ The Imperial Chinese authorites sent Mandarins to offer presents, and to perform the prescribed ceremonial about his corpse. Thus passed away the greatest Mongol who had lived since the golden age of the empire, and his reign is a memorable epoch in the annals of the race, connected as it is with the spread of Lamaism in Mongolia, where it is probable that it now flourishes more than anywhere else.

Altan Khan was succeeded by his son Senge Dugureng Timur. This was in 1584. The same year, after taking counsel with the three Baraghon Tumens, he sent the funeral offerings due on the death of Altan Khakan to the Wadshradhara Dalai Lama, and also sent him a summons to go to him, which he at once obeyed. On his journey he passed the Chinese town of Khamsu, where he was feasted. During the feast, the ashes of the incense pastils that were being burnt before the Dalai Lama arranged themselves in the shape of the letters Ju, and then hardened. This miracle had a great effect on the people of Khamsu, and the faith was much spread there. From Khamsu the Dalai Lama proceeded to Irgai, where he was also very well received. There he manifested himself to the people as Buddha with one face and four hands, two of which were clasped over his heart, and the other two held, one an Udpala flower and the other a white crystal rosary. He sat cross-legged with all his emblems about him, dressed in stately attire and with jewelled ornaments on, while there streamed upon him a five coloured light (*i.e.*, a rainbow). This, says Ssanang Setzen, was seen by many and did much to convert them. In 1585, as I have described,‖

* Ssanang Setzen, 245. † Ssanang Setzen, 247. ‡ Pallas, op. cit., ii. 426.
§ Ssanang Setzen, 247. De Mailla, x. 344. ‖ *Vide ante*, 405.

the Dalai Lama reached the camp of Setzen Khungtaidshi. After staying with him for some time, and also visiting Bushuktu Jinong, he proceeded to the encampment of the twelve Tumeds. On arriving there he blamed them for having buried the body of Altan Khan. He had it exhumed and burnt. In the ashes were found a great number of Sharils and other precious relics.*

Ssanang Setzen now goes on to tell a story which crystalises for us a very curious phase of old Mongol manners. Altan Khakan had a son called Tubet Taidshi. The young man died, and his mother determined to kill 100 boys and 100 foals of camels, which were to be buried with him, and to accompany him as an escort to the other world. She had killed over forty boys, when a tumult arose among the people. As she was about to slay the son of one Shineki Orlok, Kia Taidshi opposed it, and said that she must kill him in lieu of the boy, but as it was impossible to kill *him*, the murders ceased. The Khatun was laid out after her death, but because of her crimes, Erlik did not leave her body, but found means to reanimate it and to raise it up.†

"To tame and expel him the Bogda Lama made use of the formidable power which the frightful Tsoktu Wadshra Yamantaka has in the circle of flames of the chastening avenger. He dug a triangular grave and put in it the upper garment of the Khatun. The Bogda Lama then declared the great truth to the spirit, seized with his four hands the Erlik, which was floating around and cast him into the grave. Upon this there appeared a lizard, which crept through the left arm of the cloak as far as the collar, and stuck its head out. When the Bogda Lama had spoken about the happiness of salvation, about the meaning of the recurring of birth, and about the inevitability of death, the lizard bent its head three times as if it bowed itself before him and then died. Then the Lama, by means of Samadhi Dayan, placed fire in the grave, and while he offered up gifts for the world, and the priests who had left the world, the dress together with the lizard were consumed by the fire. From the unbearable stench caused by this, some swooned, others who were stronger kept their consciousness, saw a white column ascend up out of the smoke that was rising, and on the top of it there floated away a Tegri-son, in the form of a Wadshrasatwa. All present who saw it were amazed, and were still more confirmed in their faith. Just as the rising sun follows upon the first streaks of dawn after a dark night and diffuses bright light, so did the light of religion break through the fogs of unbelief."‡

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* Ssanang Setzen, 249.

† Erlik is the Mongol name of the messenger of the judge of hell Erlik Khan or Nomun Khan, the Sanskrit Yama or Dharmaradsha. His duty is to conduct the souls of living beings before his master's judgment-seat for judgment. Ssanang Setzen, Schmidt's note, 417.

‡ Ssanang Setzen, 251.

Senge Dugereng was succeeded by his son Ghartu. He removed with one section of the Tumeds from the neighbourhood of the Chakhars, and went eastwards close to the Kharatshins, where he settled. This division of the Tumeds consists of two banners, one of them obeys princes of the royal family of Kharatshin. The latter probably, as I have said before, once formed part of the Junshiyabo Tumen. Its princes are however doubtless subordinate to those of the other wing, over which ruled Ombo Tsokor, probably a son of Ghartu. In 1628 Ombo Tsokor the chief of the western wing, and Shamba, the chief of the eastern wing, with their subjects, submitted to the Manchus.*

This branch of the Tumeds, which migrated from its old quarters, now comprises two banners, ruled by a prince of the third rank, another of the fourth, and a grandee of high rank. Their country is 1,000 li from Peking. It is 460 li in breadth from east to west, and 310 li from north to south. To the east it joins the frontier of Yang ching mu. On the west it is bounded by the Kharatshins, on the south by the province of Mukden, and on the north by the eastern section of the Khalkas belonging to the Inner division, and by the Aokhans.†

"The left wing is at mount Khaitakha, above 820 li north-east of Hi fung kheou; the right wing at mount Bayan Khua, above 590 li from the same barrier.

"Thirty li to the west of the left wing is mount Gurban Suburgan ola. On its summit are three pyramids, erected in the times of the Liau and the Kin, and in the vicinity are the ruins of the ancient city of Hing chung. On the same side is the lofty Mokhui boro ola, in Chinese, Thsing che chan, 48 li north-east of the left wing. The river Ussin rises above 290 li to the south-west in mount Obotu tsagan ola. It runs to the south, and entering the district of Kin pian, turns to the south-east and falls into the Siao ling ho." ‡

"When Ghartu, the grandson of Altan Khan, moved as I have described in the last paragraph with one section of the Tumeds to the neighbourhood of the Kharatshins, another section stayed in its old quarters in the neighbourhood of Koko Khotan. They were ruled by Bushuktu Khan, who was fourth in descent from Altan Khan. When the Chakhars commenced their violent proceedings against their neighbours Bushuktu allied himself with the Kharatshins, and defeated the Chakhars, who were 40,000 strong, at a place named Ju Tseng, situated within the borders of the Tumeds. On the death of Bushuktu, Lingdan Khan of the Chakhars revenged himself upon the Tumeds, and violently compelled them to submit to him. When in 1631 he had been defeated by the Manchus, and was forced to take shelter in Tangut, Manchu troops were also sent to Koko Khotan, upon which Ombo, the

* Schmidt, Mem. St. Peters. Acad., ii. 428 and 453. † Schmidt, op. cit., ii. 428.
‡ Timkowski, ii. 255, 256.

son of Bushuktu, as well as his guardian and proxy Guluge, and the subjects of Khanggub and Dolok, submitted to them. When news arrived in 1633 that Lingdan Khan had died in the steppe of Shira talas, a messenger was sent from Koko Khotan to Tangut, and besides him, by supreme orders, a subject of this tribe with a proper escort. This was probably sent to see if the news were true. In 1634, Mergen Ching Wang Torghon set off towards the land of Tolitu (*i.e.*, the Ordus country), to capture Edshei, the son of Lingdan Khan, and he left Koko Khotan in charge of the Beile Yodo. Meanwhile a false rumour was spread by one of the Tumeds, that a revolution had broken out in the town. Mookhai, the husband of Ombo's nurse, had in fact secretly made a pact with the commander of a neighbouring Chinese fort, by which Ombo was to be proclaimed as Lord of the West, while the Khalkas, who had been informed by a messenger of the Ming, were to march to his assistance. Jodo having sent out a messenger to inquire the truth about the matter, returned with the intelligence that the Khalkas were really in motion upon which he had Mookhai executed and Ombo imprisoned. After this, in compliance with the orders of the Khakan (*i.e.*, of the Manchu Emperor), the administration of the town and district of Koko Khotan was distributed among Guluge, Khanggub, and Dobok. In 1635 this arrangement was modified, and Guluge and Khanggub became chiefs of banners, while Dobok was declared to be the heir of Khanggub." *

"The Tumeds of Koko Khotan are divided into two banners. Their chief town of Koko Khotan, the Kuei hua ching of the Chinese, is 220 li north-east of the gate of Sha hu kheou. Their territory is 403 li from east to west, and 370 from north to south. It is bounded on the east by that of the Durban Keukeds, on the west by that of the Ordus, on the south by the wall which forms the boundary of Shan si, and on the north by the land of the Khalkas. It is 1,160 li distant from Peking.

"Thirty-five li to the north of Koko Khotan lies that part of the In chan mountains called in Mongol, Onghin ola. This chain begins on the north of the country of the Ordus, to the west of the Urads, and extends above 500 li to the north of Koko Khotan. It has several very lofty peaks, which have particular names. The Yellow River, coming from the country of the Urads, flows south-east and then south. It receives on the left the Turghen, washes the ruins of Khutan Khosho, receives also on the left the Ulan Muren, and then enters China. Its course in the country of the Tumeds is 160 li." †

There is a silent revolution now going on on the northern frontier of China which is effecting very marked changes in the ethnography of this area. During the last 150 years the population of China has increased at an enormous rate, and in consequence has overflowed the

* Schmidt, Mem. St. Peters. Acad., ii. 454, 455. † Timkowski, ii. 265.

borders of the old empire very much. What we see in a small way at Singapore, at St. Francisco, and in Australia, we may see on an enormous scale in Manchuria, and Mongolia south of the desert. The whole country is being thickly colonised by Chinese immigrants, and this influx is rapidly effacing the old landmarks of the country. Manchus and Mongols are not only being sophisticated and changed in costume, and in manners and habits, but also in language. Manchu is rapidly becoming extinct as a distinct language, and it would seem that among the Forty-nine Banners there is a prospect of a similar change. The husbandman of the south is rapidly possessing himself of the more fertile districts of that paradise of Nomades, so well described by Huc as the "land of grass," the prairie country of Southern Mongolia. Vast colonies of Chinamen now live in districts formerly held by the Mongol herdsmen, and nowhere probably is this more conspicuous than among the Tumeds of Koko Khotan. I extract some sentences about this district from Huc's travels, which have been so racily translated into English.

Koko Khotan (*i.e.*, Blue Town) is a bustling city chiefly inhabited by merchants. It is a great mart for camels, and most of the merchants are Chinamen. It contains five great Lamaseries and more than 2,000 Lamas, besides fifteen smaller ones, and the number of regular Lamas resident in the city may be fairly set down at 20,000.* Huc describes the town as an immense mass of houses and shops huddled confusedly together, without any order or arrangement whatever, the Lamaseries alone rising above them. The ramparts of the old town still exist in all their integrity, but the increase of the population has compelled the people by degrees to pass this barrier. Houses have risen outside the walls one after another until large suburbs have been formed, and now the extramural city is larger than the intramural.† There is a Chinese garrison there to keep in order the neighbouring tribes. This does not live in the old town, but in the so-called "New Town" or military town, which was built by the Manchu Emperor Khanghi, and is half an hour's walk from the old town, and is described by Huc as having a noble appearance, encircled with lofty embattled walls of brick. Its interior in contrast to the old or commercial town is very regularly built, and has a beautiful street running through it from east to west. The garrison consists of 10,000 men under a Kiang Kian. These soldiers are Manchus.

Huc tells us that the Mongols of Western Tumed have given up their pastoral life, and now cultivate their lands. They have lost the stamp of their original Mongol character, and become more or less Chinese; many of them do not even know a word of the Mongol language. "Some indeed do not scruple to express contempt for their brothers of the desert who refuse to subject their prairies to the ploughshare.

* Huc's Travels, i. 121. † *Id.*, i. 10

They say how ridiculous is it for men to be always vagabondising about, and to have merely wretched tents wherein to shelter their heads, when they might so easily build houses, and obtain wealth and comfort of all kinds from the land beneath their feet."* But the fact is that habits of the gipsy and Bohemian type are not always adopted from choice but from necessity. It is clear that if the Mongols are to continue living in their old quarters, they must be a pastoral people and little else. The Gobi desert and most of its girdle is quite unfitted for ploughing. The land of the Tumeds is not in fact properly a part of Mongolia at all, but a piece of the empire of China settled by Mongols. "It contains," according to Huc, "magnificent plains, well watered, fertile, and favourable to the production of all kinds of grain crops. Everything in the country bears the impress of affluence. Nowhere, go where you will, do you see the wretched tumble down houses that disfigure the highways and byeways of China. Nowhere do you see the miserable, half-starved, half-clothed creatures that pain the hearts of travellers in every other country. All the peasants are well fed, well lodged, and well clothed. All the villages and roads are beautified with groups and avenues of fine trees, whereas in the other Tartar regions cultivated by the Chinese no trees are to be seen. Trees are not even planted, for everybody knows they would be pulled up next day by some miserable pauper or other for fuel."†

A good deal of this prosperity is however very recent, and Gerbillon, who accompanied the Manchu Emperor into this part of the country in 1688, describes it in different colours. He describes Koko Khotan as situated in a large plain three or four leagues broad, which plain was then cultivated in many places, and here and there in it were hamlets, each consisting of seven or eight small houses of earth. He describes the town itself as being very small, most of the houses being but huts of earth, those in the suburbs being somewhat better. The Lama temples were however remarkable, finer and more ornamented than the greatest part of those he had seen in China.‡

III. THE KHARATSHINS.

I HAVE now described two of the three Baraghon Tumens, namely, those of the Ordus and the Tumeds. The third will not detain us so long. It was formerly known as the Jungshiyabo Tumen, corrupted by De Mailla into Ynchaopoa.§ The name is often linked with that of the Assod, and

* Huc, i. 97, 98. † Huc, i. 98. ‡ Du Halde, octavo ed., iv. 243.
§ Op. cit., x. 302.

they were apparently very nearly connected in some way. Aroktai, who filled a notable place in Mongol history in the fourteenth century, belonged to the Assod clan, and was doubtless its chief.* Alima Chingsang of the Assod, son of Aroktai, is mentioned as the subject of a dream of Essen Khan's about 1417.† Shortly after, Buke Sorson of the Jungshiyabo is mentioned as one of Essen Khan's victims, having been hanged on a tree by him.‡

We are told that the Chinese Emperor Ingtsong (Daiming Chingtai of Ssanang Setzen), whom Essen Khan had taken prisoner, married a daughter of Alima Chingsang of the Assod, named Molo, and changed her name to Tsaghan Shiossa. At that time, according to Ssanang Setzen, this tribe was sorely affected by cattle plague, famine, and all kinds of epidemics and diseases. It happened that one night, as Tsaghan Shiossa lay asleep on her bed, that as a maidservant of Alima Chingsang went out early in the morning to milk the cows, she saw a yellowish red beam of light stream out of Tsaghan Shiossa's yurt. She told this at once to her mistress Akha Dalai Agha, who first convinced herself, and then the whole neighbourhood, of what the meaning of the vision was. This man (*i.e.*, the Ming Emperor), she said, is of a noble nature and birth. It is not right to keep one any longer a prisoner who has proved by these signs that he is distinguished beyond ordinary men. We will take him back to his own land and to his people. Upon which it was determined to send him home again, and he changed the name of the district Jirghugan Utshiyad into Daitun Yeke Shara, and distributed gifts and rewards to the people.

Chingtai Khakan by his wife Molo had a son named Ju Dakhagha. From whom sprang the family Dalbai Tabunang which belongs to the Assod tribe.§ Issama Taishi of the Jungshiyabo is named as the Iago, who whispered slanders into the ears of Mandaghol Khakan, and brought about the destruction of his nephew, Bolkho Jinong.‖ He married Bolkho's widow, Shiker Taigho, and by her had two sons, named Babutai and Borukhai.¶ Issama Taishi formed a conspiracy against Dayan Khan, who sent an army against him. He was killed and his widow Shiker Taigho was carried off.**

Shortly after this we read that Jirgughatai of the Jungshiyabo tribe, in conjunction with two chiefs of the Ordus and Tumeds, went on a deputation to Dayan Khan, to ask him to appoint one of his sons, Jinong of the Baraghon Tumens. These chiefs seem to have been only of subordinate rank, and we find that when Ulusbolod was appointed as requested, that it was displeasing to some of the other chiefs, and, as I have described, Ibiri Taishi of the Jungshiyabo, and Mandulai Agholkho

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* *Vide* ante, 357 et seq. Ssanang Setzen, 145 and 147. † Ssanang Setzen, 153.
‡ *Id.*, 153. § Ssanang Setzen, 169 and 171. ‖ Ssanang Setzen, 177. *Vide* ante, 369.
¶ Ssanang Setzen, 179. ** *Id.*, 183. Ante, 372.

of the Ordus, conspired against and succeeded in having him assassinated.* Dayan Khan took a speedy revenge upon his son's murderers. In the battle which ensued, the Jungshiyabo are named as one of the three sections of the Baraghon Tumen.† Dayan was victorious, as I have said,‡ and we are told that Ibiri, deserted by everybody, fled in despair and escaped to the town of Khamil, belonging to the White Caps (? the Mussulman Turks), where he was put to death by an obscure person.§ Ibiri is no doubt the Ye pula of De Mailla, who tells us that after the murder of Horlun (*i.e.*, of Ulusbolod), he crossed the Yellow River, went to encamp in Sihai, and began to grow powerful. He tells us that he was chief of the Yn̆chaopoa (*i.e.*, of the Jungshiyabo), which then comprised ten hordes, but when he migrated to Sihai they dispersed, the Halatien (*i.e.*, the Kharatshins) alone remaining in their old country.‖ On the division of the Mongol tribes among the sons of Dayan Khan, we are told that Ubassandsa, otherwise called Ubshighun, became the over-chief of the Assod and Jungshiyabo. Ssanang Setzen tells us that when he was a boy, Bodidara, son of Barsa bolod, was accustomed to say, jestingly, when at play, "If Atshi and Shira kill one another, I shall obtain the government of the Assod and Jungshiyabo." Now it came to pass that Ching Taidshi, otherwise called Shira, the son of Ubassandsa, had a quarrel with his younger brother Atshi, and killed him. As Shira afterwards died without children, Bodidara was appointed chief of the Assod and Jungshiyabo, and his playful prophecy was thus fulfilled.¶

The name Jungshiyabo as that of the Tumen, now apparently gave place to that of Kharatshin. The Kharatshin Tumen is mentioned by Ssanang Setzen** in a way which shows that it clearly connotes at this later period the same thing as Jungshiyabo. At a previous period the Kharatshins form one section of the Jungshiyabo Tumen, as when Ssanang Setzen speaks of the seven clans of the Kharatshins of the Jungshiyabo.†† It may well be that the change of name arose as De Mailla suggests, namely, that on Ibiri Taishi's flight the Tumen was broken up, and the Kharatshin section alone remained behind. The Kharatshins perhaps derive their name from the district of Kharatshin Shatu, at the sources of the Kerulon, where they probably once lived. They are distinguished from all other Eastern Mongols by one peculiarity, in that they alone are now subject to princes who do not belong to the family of Jingis Khan. It would seem Bodidara's descendants must have died out, for we read in the work translated by Schmidt,‡‡ that their princes are descended from a contemporary of Jingis Khan's called Dsartsutai, whose son Jilme was very devoted to the great conqueror,

* *Vide* ante, 373. † Ssanang Setzen, 191. ‡ Ante, 374. § Ssanang Setzen, 193.
‖ De Mailla, x. 301, 302. ¶ Ssanang Setzen, 205. ** Op. cit., 251.
†† Op. cit., 205. ‡‡ Mem. St. Peters. Acad., ii. 427.

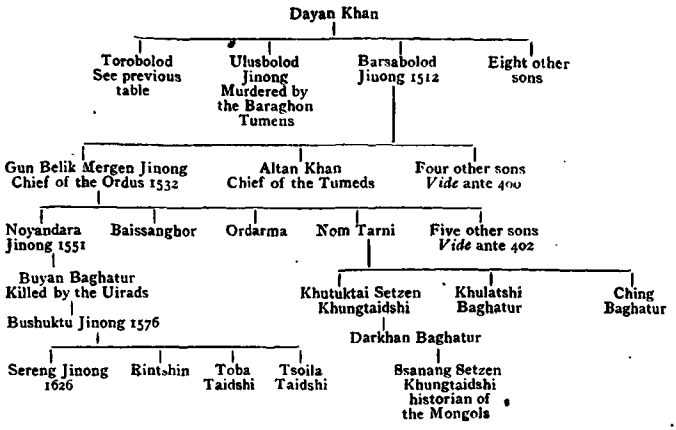
and did him much good service. Seven generations from him, his descendant with 6,000 families migrated to Khotong, and took up his residence near the river Etshin. He was succeeded by his son Gerebolod, who had two sons, namely, Gereltei Saissang and Torobatur. From the former were descended Guruidshab and Gerel, each of whom ruled over a banner, and from the latter, Sereng, who controlled a third banner. One section of the Kharatshins joined the Eastern Tumeds, of whom they composed one banner, and in 1628 with their chief Shamba, descended in the thirteenth generation from Jilme, submitted to the Manchus. The main body of the Kharatshins remained behind. They took part with other confederated tribes in the battle at Ju Tseng, where the Chakhars were severely defeated, and shortly after apparently submitted to the Manchus.*

The Kharatshins proper now form three banners, ruled by six princes and chiefs of high rank. Their country is situated outside the gate Bayaskholang Khadatu, *i.e.*, Hi fung kheou, and is 760 li distant from Peking. It is 500 li from east to west, and 450 from north to south. On the east they are bounded by the Tumeds and Aokhans, on the west by the Red banner of the Chakhars, on the south by the Great Wall, and on the north by the Ongnighods.†

"The right wing is on the left branch of the Sibé, 390 li north of Hi fung kheou, and extends to the south as far as the pasturage of the Imperial flocks. The left wing is at mount Bayan Jiruke, 350 li to the north of Hi fung kheou. The third banner is between the two others. The country of the Kharatshins is traversed by a river called in Chinese, Lao hé; in Mongol, Lokha. It issues from mount Mingan ola, runs north-east, receives several small rivers, waters the northern part of the territory of the Aokhans, and the south of that of the Oniuts or Ongnighods. It passes through the country of Naimans and the Eastern Khalkas, and after a course of above 500 li, falls into the Shara muren.

"Among the antiquities of the country of Kharatshin, the Chinese writers reckon the remains of the ancient cities of Taning or Ta ting, formerly inhabited by Chinese; of Thsing chau, in Mongol, Kara Khotan (or black city); of Hui chau, in Mongol, Tsaghan Khotan (white city); and of Li chau, the ruins of which cover a piece of ground three li in circuit. To the west are three suburghans or obelisks, for which reason this place is called by the inhabitants Gurban Suburghan Khotan."‡

* Schmidt, op. cit., ii. 428, 429. † Schmidt, op. cit., ii. 427. Timkowski, ii. 256.
‡ Timkowski, ii. 256, 257.



THE KHORTSHINS.

THE tribes we have been hitherto considering belonged to one or other of the Six Tumens, and, as I believe, represent very fairly the kernel of the Mongol nation in old times, that portion of the race distinguished as "Nirums, or Children of Light."* The Khalkas, to whom we shall turn in the next chapter, also formed a part of the same section; but in order that we may complete our view of the Forty-nine Banners, it is necessary we should now consider some tribes which were not included in the Six Tumens, and were classed apart as the Khortshin Tumen or Khortshin division. They include the Khortshins proper, the Aru Khortshins, Durbeds, Khorlos, Durben Keukeds, Maominggans, and Urads. These tribes are united together by one bond, namely, that they are all ruled over by princes who claim descent from Khassar, the brother of Jingis Khan.

He is called Juji Kassar by Raschid and Abulghazi, whence D'Ohsson and Erdmann have taken the name; by Ssanang Setzen he is called simply Khassar; by Hyacinthe, Khadsjar;† and by Pallas, Chabutu Chassar.‡

Erdmann says that Juji was his real name, and Khassar only a by-name,§ but this can hardly be, for the name Juji is not known to the Chinese or native historians. Khassar, he says, means lion. Schmidt tells us the by-name of Khabutu, which the Kalmuks gave him, is derived from Kharbutus, and means archer, and came from his skill in using the

* *Vide* ante, chap. I. † Erdmann's Temudjin. Note 23.
‡ Saml. Hist., Nach. ueb. die Mong. Volk, i. 24. § Temudschin der unerschutterliche, 567.

bow.* They reported of him that his shoulders and breast were so uncommonly broad and his waist so fine that when he lay asleep on his side a dog could creep under him. His strength was so great that when he seized a man he could break him in twain like breaking a wooden arrow.†

He was of a turbulent disposition. The first event recorded of him is characteristic. One day, says Ssanang Setzen, Temudjin and Khassar complained to their mother thus, "Bekter and Belgetei (*i.e.*, their half-brothers) a short time ago took the fish which we caught. This very day again, when Khassar shot a lark with a small arrow, they also took that. We will kill them both."

Their mother rebuked them and said, "Why do you speak like the five sons of a former princess of the Taidshuts? The body (of an animal?) is certainly smaller than its shadow, yet it is stronger than its tail (says the proverb), therefore live at peace with one another. Will you not need each other's help in the future?" They made no reply but went out, closing the door after them, and having found Bekter they put him to death. Their mother in a rage thus addressed them, "How could you do such a thing and kill one another? I had hoped and flattered myself that my sons, who were born and nurtured in hatred of our enemies, would have proved themselves renowned men. How shall this be if you go and kill one another like a wolf which hides its fangs it its own ribs, or like a bird of prey which strikes at its own shadow, or like a great fish which scourges itself with its own tail. It will assuredly come to pass that whichever of you is delicate will become a creeping serpent, while the grosser one will become a toad."‡

Ssanang Setzen has preserved one or two stories of him which I quote, because they aptly illustrate Mongol ways of thought. "About this time," he says (*i.e.*, in 1189), "Khassar Essen rebelled and allied himself with Dologhan Khongkhotan; Jingis appointed Subutai Behadur to command the army that was to pursue him, and thus addressed him, 'My faithful officer who, when at the head of an army, art like the chief jewel of a parure, the pink of honour, inflexible as stone, and you, my army, who environ me like a wall, and whose files are like a forest of reeds, hear my words: in times of peace be united as the fingers of a hand. In those of war, pounce down like a falcon on its quarry. In times of sport and amusement, rove about like flies; but in the day of battle, rush at the foe like a hawk at its victim.' Then answered Subutai Behadur: 'What we can do the future will tell what we shall do, the tutelary genius of our ruler may tell him.' Upon this he went after Khassar Essen, and when he had overtaken him, he sent him the following message. 'He who breaks with his relations will only

* Ssanang Setzen, Schmidt's note, p. 387. † Erdmann, op. cit., 568.

‡ Ssanang Setzen, 67.

have a small share in the spoil. If kinsmen fall out, they will be as strangers when dividing their booty. You may get together a party, but not tied to you by blood. You may secure followers, but not brothers.' These words had their effect, and Khassar was reconciled to his brother."

On another occasion Khassar and his half-brother Belgetei conspired against Jingis and had the following conversation. "This ruler is unjust and violent without measure. It was only by thy ability Khassar, and thy strength Belgetei, that the many tribes were subdued and his harshness softened. Whom but ourselves and our assistance has he to thank for being the ruler of the five-bannered (*i.e.*, the Mongols, the Mongols and Kalmuks united were called the nine-bannered)?" When this was reported to Jingis, he determined to correct their boastful language in a curious way. He disguised himself as an old man, and then went about from house to house to sell a long bow. The two brothers Khassar and Belgetei, when he came to them, jeered him and said, "Ah, old man, your bow would do well enough as a snap bow to kill moles with." He replied, "How can you young people be so scornful before you have tried it, the old man may teach you different." Upon this Belgetei took the bow with derision and raillery, but his strength was not even equal to stringing it. So the old man strung it and handed it to Khassar, but he was not strong enough to bend it. Then the old man once more changed himself into a hoary and decrepit man, who rode on a blind mule, took the bow and shot an arrow at a piece of rock, which he clove in pieces. Then he turned to the two young men. "Boasting stinks," says the proverb. "Truly the old man knows it not better than you." Then spoke the brothers to one another. "This was no ordinary man. It was an incarnation of the Khubilgan, our ruler," and thenceforward they were afraid, and were faithful to their lord.

About the year 1200 Khassar made a raid upon the Naimans. He met them at the mountains Hulassan, and gave them a severe defeat. After the disastrous battle of Khalantshin Alt, Jingis Khan and his brother became separated. The Keraits had captured the latter's harem. He was driven to great straits, but at length rejoined Jingis in his place of refuge at Baldjuna. Jingis now practised a ruse upon the Kerait chief Wang Khan. He sent him a note in the name of Juji, saying, "I don't know where my elder brother is, but I know that my wife and children are in your hands. Oh Khan, my father, for a long time I have slept alone, having nothing to shelter me but boughs, and only the earth for my pillow. I wish to rejoin my family, but don't know how you would receive me. If you would pardon my former offences I will come back to you with my heart full of submission." Wang Khan was deceived, sent a messenger with a horn containing a drop of his blood to be mixed with drink, and when quaffed, to be a pledge of honesty. Jingis had time to march rapidly and to attack his

rival unawares.* In the great fight against the Naimans, in which Tayang Khan was killed, Juji Khassar commanded the centre of the Mongol army.† He behaved so well on this occasion that Jingis gave him precedence over all his other relatives.‡ In the expedition against China in 1214, Khassar commanded the left wing of the army, and ravaged the maritime districts of Pehchehli, and the country west of the Liau river called Liau si.§ Khassar is not mentioned in the account of the campaign of Jingis in the west, and it is very probable that he was left in charge of the Mongols at home.

We next hear of him in the campaign against Tangut, during which Ssanang Setzen reports the following occurrence. He says that during the campaign, a slave informed Jingis that at a banquet Khassar had taken the hand of his wife Khulan. Upon which Jingis, to test his good feeling towards him, sent the slave to his brother with the message. "Send me the heron's feather which you possess." Khassar replied, "It is well, my lord. I will let you have the heron's feather," and thereupon gave him the desired feather. The treacherous slave however would not take it, pretending it was dirty. Soon after he returned with the order, "Kill me a hawk." Just then Khassar noted a hawk flying by, and asked the slave where he should hit him. The slave replied, "Between the black and the yellow stripes on its head." Khassar shot and shattered the hawk's head. Upon which the slave said, he "desired herons' feathers, such as princes wear, but these were not such, this was only a hawk," and he refused to take it, saying, it was fouled with blood. Ssanang Setzen then goes on to tell the story I have already abstracted, about Khassar's shooting the ill-omened magpie, in the Mona Khan mountains.‖ These several events aroused the jealousy and ill-humour of Jingis, who had his brother put under arrest. When the army reached Tangut, it encircled the town of Turmegei, with triple lines of circumvallation. During the siege an old witch named Khara Khang was accustomed to mount the walls of the town, and to pronounce horrible curses and exorcisms over the besiegers, by which disease was scattered among them, and numbers both of men and horses perished. Upon this Subutai, the great Mongol general, approached his master and said, "Is it your pleasure that the men and horses of the army should be swept away. If not, then release Khassar from confinement, and let him shoot down the old woman." Jingis consented, and lent him his own horse Jigurtu Khula. Khassar then approached the town and split the old woman's kneecap with an arrow, so that she tumbled down and was killed.¶ Khassar seems to have died before his brother, for he is not named among those who assisted at the inauguration of Ogotai, and his sons and not himself are named in the

* *Vide* ante, 61, 62. † D'Ohsson, i. 86. ‡ *Id.*, i. 90. § D'Ohsson, i. 140.
‖ *Vide* ante, 101. ¶ Ssanang Setzen, 101.

distribution of Jingis Khan's clans among his relatives. As I have said, his splendid services did not go unrewarded. He was raised to a rank co-ordinate with that of his own sons by Jingis, and much higher than the latter's brothers.* The very high position which he took may be gathered from the fact, that beside the tribes already mentioned as associated with the Khortshins, the Khoshotes of Thibet, and the tribes of Koko noor and Alashan are still ruled by his descendants. In tracing out the very crooked history of the various Mongol tribes, we are here met with a difficulty which has not, I believe, been hitherto noticed, and whose solution might throw some light on the entire question.

Although a Mongol chief inherits clans and not acres from his father, those clans are not broken and separated into isolated fragments, but have a camping ground close together. Among a race of Nomades such principalities as those of mediæval Germany, consisting of scattered fragments here and there, are hardly possible. When we meet therefore, as in the present case, with two sets of tribes, one on the borders of Manchuria, the other in Thibet, separated from one another by the whole breadth of Mongolia, yet both claiming one prince as their former chief, we may be sure that there has been a disruption or revolution somewhere which has rent the two asunder, and that once they camped close together. In regard to the Khoshotes, we know that they only invaded Thibet in the early part of the seventeenth century, as I shall show in a future chapter, and they probably came from the Koko noor and Alashan districts. In regard to the Khortshins and their associated tribes, we must remember that until the reign of Dayan Khan, the Chakhars and Baraghon Tumens probably lived north of the desert, in part of the present country of the Khalkas. As I have already shown,† Adai Khan was the chief of the Khortshins in the early part of the fifteenth century, and we know that he was the victim, not only of the Chinese but also of the Uirads.‡ Now, in the work translated by Schmidt,§ we read that in the time of the Ming Emperor Khonghi (*i.e.*, Gun Tsong, who reigned for ten months in 1425-1426), the Khortshins were attacked and dispersed by the Uirads, and that they then fled to the neighbourhood of the Naghun Muren (*i.e.*, the Nonni river), where they settled. There they are still found. Here, then, we have an explanation of the difficulty. Before that they doubtless lived in contact with the Khoshotes, and formed one principality. Where was this situated? Raschid tells us that the patrimony of Khassar was situated in the north-east of Mongolia, near the river Erguna (*i.e.*, the Argun), the lake Kulé or Guleh (*i.e.*, the Kulun), and the river Kailar (? the Kalka pira).‖ That is in the old country of the Taidjuts and their confederates, the early enemies of Jingis Khan. Among

* D'Ohsson, ii. 7. Note. † Ante, 356. ‡ Ante, 356-360.
§ Mem. St. Peters. Acad., ii. 422. ‖ D'Ohsson, ii. 7. Note. Erdmann, 569.

these confederates the Urads, and the Durbans are specially named. These are still tribes closely attached to the Khortshins and ruled by princes of the same family, and it may well be that the tribes which formed the portion of the iron-fisted Khassar were in fact the Taidjuts and the others.* The Khoshotes bear only a recent name. According to the traditions collected by Pallas, they acquired it during the reign of Toghon Taishi,† that is, during the reign of the Uirad chief who dispersed the Khortshins, and it may well be that before that they bore a name which would, if recorded, be a familar one to those who have read of the early struggles of Jingis Khan. Before that dispersal, all the tribes subject to the family of Khassar probably lived in contact with one another in the north-east of the desert : but we must on with our story. Khassar left forty sons.‡ Of these we only know the names of six, namely, Bigu, Tuku, Yesuneguh, or Bisunegeh Malikudar, and Kharaldshu and are mentioned by Erdmann, apparently from Raschid,§ while Enka Sumur Taidshi is named by Pallas.‖ The first and third of these were alone named in Jingis Khan's will,¶ by whom they were granted a hezarch, or 1,000 men, made up of various clans. Bigu, we are told, was small in size. Tuku was smaller, while Yesuneguh was a big man with a red face and a long beard. Khassar was succeeded by Bigu, he by his son Harkesun. Harkesun, or Harkisun, was succeeded in turn by his uncle Yesunegun, who is possibly the same as the Cuncur of D'Ohsson.** We are told that he greatly distinguished himself during the reigns of Mangu and Khubilai Khan, and won their favour.†† The former Emperor appointed him governor of Karakorum. He had the superintendence of the palace and the treasury.‡‡ In the war between Khubilai and Arikbuka, he took the side of Khubilai. On his death he was succeeded by his son Amgan, and he again by his son Sigtur,§§ the Singtur of D'Ohsson.‖‖ He was probably the Siangtaur, who in 1282, was sent in command of an army against Burmah.¶¶

In the great rebellion of Kaidu Khan, the chiefs of the tribes of Eastern Mongolia, who were descended from Jingis Khan's brothers, sided with him, and Singtur is especially named among them, the other two principal leaders being Nayan and Kadan.*** They formed a league which was to act in concert with the forces of Kaidu in Western Mongolia. Nayan was severely defeated, captured, and put to death.††† Meanwhile Kadan and Singtur continued the struggle. Khubilai sent an army against them commanded by his grandson Timur. A battle

* See more on this subject below in the chapter on the Khoshotes.

† Pallas, Saml. Hist. Nach., &c., i. 25. ‡ Erdmann's Temudjin, 568. D'Ohsson, ii. 7. Note.

§ Op. cit., 454 and 568. ‖ Saml. Hist. Nach. ueb die Mong. Volk, i. 25.

¶ Erdmann, 454. ** Op. cit., ii. 260. †† Erdmann, 568.

‡‡ D'Ohsson, ii. 260. §§ Erdmann, op. cit., 568, 569. ‖‖ Op. cit., ii. 456.

¶¶ *Vide* ante, 242. Yule's Marco Polo, ii. 74. *** D'Ohsson, ii. 456. Ante, 178.

††† D'Ohsson, ii. 458

which lasted all day, but was not very decisive, was fought between the rival forces. The two allies now seem to have separated. Singtur, who I believe is the Kinkianu of De Mailla,* retired, and the Imperial troops harried the country of Kadan, and compelled its tribes to submit.† Singtur also seems to have eventually fallen a victim to his treason, and was executed and his tribes distributed.‡

There is now a gap in my authorities. When we once more read of the tribes which belonged to Khassar, it is after the Mongol dynasty in China had been expelled, and when the greater part of the Mongols were under the yoke of the Uirads. There was apparently an exception in the case of the Khortshins and their associated tribes, who were then ruled over by Adai Taidshi, whom Ssanang Setzen makes a descendant of Utsuken, but in this he is surely mistaken, the Khortshins not having belonged to his uluss.§ I have already told the story of his life and how he became the chief Khan of the Mongols, and shall not repeat it.‖ He ended his days unfortunately, having been killed by the great Uirad chief Toghon Taishi. According to Ssanang Setzen this was in 1438.¶ It was at this time, I believe, that the various tribes belonging to this section were finally torn asunder, the Khortshins and others being driven towards the river Nonni, while the rest under the name of Khoshotes, became a part of the Durben Uirads, as I have already described.

When we next meet with the Khortshins, they are under the authority of a chief named Unebolod ong. Ssanang Setzen tells us he was the son of Baghatur Shigussutai of the Oroghods (? the Urads, one of the tribes closely associated with the Khortshins). We are also told by him that Unebolod was the descendant of Khassar.** That he was a very considerable personage we may gather from the fact of his having been a rival of the young Khan Dayan for the hand of Mandughai Setzen Khatun, the quaint story about which rivalry I have already told.†† He was doubtless the most important Mongol prince next to the head of the house. In the great civil strife between the Segon Tumens and the Baraghon Tumens in the reign of Dayan Khan, the Khortshins are mentioned as having sided with the former, and Ortoghokhai Noyan of the Khortshins is named as one of Dayan Khan's generals in the war.‡‡ I must now take up the broken thread of the history of the Khortshins from Schmidt's account. He says, "Fourteen generations from Khassar, Kui Mongke Daskhara was the chief of the Khortshins. He had two sons, Bodidara, surnamed Tsorghol Noyan, and Nomundara, styled Khaldshigo Noyan. Bodidara had nine sons. The eldest of these was called Chitshik, styled Baghatur Noyan. From him sprang the Tushiyetu Khan Ooba and the

* Op. cit., ix. 438. Note.
† D'Ohsson, ii. 461. De Mailla, ix. 438. Gaubil, 209.
‡ Erdmann, 569.
§ Ssanang Setzen, 147.
‖ *Vide* ante, 356 et seq.
¶ *Vide* op. cit., 153.
** Op. cit., 175 and 181.
†† *Vide* ante, 369.
‡‡ Ssanang Setzen, 191.

Jassaktu Kiyun Wang Bodatshi, each of whom was at the head of a banner. The second son was named Namsai. From him sprang the Darkhan Chin Wang Mandshushiri, the Bingtu Kiyun Wang Khongkhor, and the Beile Dongkhor, each of whom also was at the head of a banner. The third son Ubashi will appear again in the account of the Khorlos. The descendants of the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh sons are unknown. The eighth son Ainakha will appear again in the history of the Durbeds, and the ninth son Bagha Noyan in that of the Jelaids.

Nomundara had a son named Segertei, from whom sprang the later Tushiye Gung Lamashigi, who became the chief of a banner.

In 1593, Ongghotai, the son of Chitshik Taidshi of the Khortshins, together with Manggus and Minggan, the sons of Namsi, in concert with Bosai, the Taidshi of the tribe Dsege or Yege, the tribes Khada, Ula, Khoipa, Khualtsa, Dsokhari, and others,* banded themselves together against the founder of the Manchu empire Taidsu Wangti. They attacked without result the town Gedshige, and placed their camp on the mountain Gure. The Wangti marched against them, and as he drew near them he sent the following message to his many chieftains. "Notwithstanding the numbers of the enemy we shall defeat them if we succeed in overthrowing one or two of their Taidshis." In conformity with this instruction, the brave Eitu placed himself at the head of one hundred picked warriors, and having incited their courage led them against the enemy. As soon as the Dsege people saw this, they desisted from their attack on the town, and marched against this troop. In attempting to capture Minggan, his horse stumbled and fell, and he escaped on foot. The main body of the Wangti's force now advanced and pursued the enemy to a hill fort of the tribe Khada, completely scattered them, and captured much booty. In 1608 the Manchu troops marched against the tribe Ula, and captured its main fortress, and Ongghotai, in alliance with Buyantai, the chief of the Ula tribe, was defeated in an engagement by the Manchu troops, upon which Manggus, Minggan, and Ongghotai, one after the other, sent envoys for peace and to form an alliance. In 1624 Ooba, the son of Ongghotai, with all his subjects, submitted to the Manchus, being the first Mongols to do so. This brought upon them the vengeance of the Chakhars who invaded their borders. The Manchus came to their assistance and drove the invaders away. In 1627 Ooba joined with the Manchus in a campaign against the Chakhars, and in 1628 assisted them in their war with the Ming empire. He conquered Tsun choa jeu, and captured its capital. He rendered similar services in 1630 and in 1633, in the struggles with the Ming.

In 1633 the Tushiyetu Jinong Badari, with the Taidshis Unaskhan, Manshushiri, Bodatshi, Khongkhor, Lamashigi, and Dongkhor, and

* That is, the tribes forming the state known to the Chinese as the Niuchi of Pekoan.

the chiefs of the tribes Jelaid, Durbed, Khorlos, Kharatshin, Tumed, Aokhan, Naiman, Bagharin, Dsarod, Aru Khortshin, and Ongnighod formed a union for the purpose of swearing allegiance to the Manchu Emperor, who had then vanquished the Chakhars. They sent an invitation to the Wang of the Solongas.* It was couched in these terms. "The virtues and merits of the Manchu Wangti are recognised by all. It would be a proper and opportune thing to place him on the throne." Early in the summer of the same year they sent a joint note to the Wangti, in which they proffered him the title of over-chief, changed the names of the year (*i.e.*, the dynastic year name as is customary in China), and declared the year 1635 to be the first of Degedu Erdemtu.†

The Khortshins form six banners, under seven princes, of whom two are of the highest rank (*i.e.*, Khoshoi Chin Wang, one of them with the title of Tushiyetu Khan). The other are of the second, third, and lower ranks. Their country lies outside the gate Bayaskholang Khadatu (*i.e.*, Hi fung khcou), and is 1,280 li distant from Peking. It is 870 li from east to west, and 2,100 li from north to south. Their eastern neighbours are the Jelaids, their western the Dsarods. On the south they border on the great wall of Mukden, and on the north are bounded by the country of the Solons.‡ By some inadvertence the Khortshins are excluded from the topographical account of Mongolia appended to Timkowski's travels, to which I have frequently referred.

THE KHORLOS.

KHORLOHO, according to Klaproth, means frontier of evil.§ This tribe consists of two banners, which belong to the left wing of the Khortshins.‖ They are under a prince of the fifth rank and a Taidshi of the first rank.¶ This tribe is a very old one, and appears frequently in the history of Jingis, under its name Kerulas or Khorlos. It then formed one of the confederacy which was named collectively Kunkurat, with several other tribes that were apportioned to Khassar. It was found several times in alliance with the Tartars, and their neighbours in opposition to the great Mongol Khan. Ssanang Setzen tells us that in 1202 Jingis Khan marched against them to punish them. Their chief Naran Khakan went to meet him at the head of 20,000 men.** The two armies met at Keriya Kubker. A fierce fight followed, in which Naran Khakan was taken prisoner, and his people were subdued.††

* ? The Solons and other tribes of Manchuria, independent of the Manchus, or perhaps the Coreans.

† Schmidt, Mem. St. Peters. Acad., ii. 421-424. ‡ Schmidt, Mem. St. Peters. Acad., ii. 421.

§ Timkowski, ii. 243. ‖ Timkowski, ii. 243. ¶ Schmidt, Mem. St. Peters. Acad., ii. 426.

** Schmidt's note to Ssanang Setzen, 385. †† Ssanang Setzen, 87 and 89.

Taissong Khan of the Mongols was assassinated by Tsabdan of the Khorlos tribe in 1452, as I have mentioned.* He was himself assassinated by Khubtshir of the same tribe the year following.† Multai of the same tribe is mentioned about the same time as one of those who befriended the young Molon Taidshi.‡ When Dayan Khan sent an army against the rebel Issama Taishi of the Jungshiyabo, he put Toghodshi Shigushi of the Khorlos at its head.§

I have already said that the Khorlos, like the Khortshins, formed a portion of the heritage of Khassar. Ubashi, the third son of Bodidara, mentioned under the last heading, became the chief of the Khorlos. He was succeeded by his son Manggo. In 1624 Bumba, the son of Manggo, in concert with Ooba, the Taidshi of the Khortshins, sent envoys to the Manchu Wangti with offers of friendship.‖ Like the Khortshins they shortly after finally submitted to him.

"The Khorlos tribe occupies the country formerly inhabited by the tribe of Khitan. It is encamped 1,487 li to the north-east of Hi fung kheou, one of the gates in the Great Wall. Its land is 450 li from east to west, and 660 li from north to south. On the east it borders on the territory of Yung ki chau, on the west and north on that of the Khortshins, and on the south on that of Liau tung. It is 1,799 li from Peking. The front banner occupies the environs of the Gurban tsagan, 1,487 li north-east of Hi fung kheou, and the rear division the environs of mount Chin tsp ling, 1,570 li from Hi fung kheou. The principal river is the Ghirin, which coming from the north-west, from Yung ki chau, enters the territory of the Khorlos, runs north-east through that of the rear division, and falls into the Amur. Lake Dabusutai produces salt."¶

THE DURBEDS.

THIS name means four in Mongol. It is the same word as Durban, the t or d being a Mongol termination found in Kergud, Buriat, Torgut, &c. This tribe forms one banner under a prince of the fourth rank. It must be clearly distinguished from another tribe of the same name among the Kalmuks, to which we shall refer presently. Under the name Durban this tribe appears in the days of Jingis allied with the Tartars, &c., in antagonism to the great Mongol chief in his earlier wars. It was one of the Nirun tribes, and was by him assigned with others which had not proved very faithful to Jingis, to his brother Khassar.

* *Vide ante*, 362. † Ssanang Setzen, 171. ‡ *Id.*, 171. § *Id.*, 183.
‖ Schmidt, op. cit., ii. 427. ¶ Timkowski, ii. 243, 244.

The eighth son of Bodidara mentioned n the last paragraph was Ainakha, styled Setzen Noyan. He became the chief of the Durbeds. In 1624 his son Atutshi, in alliance with Ooba, the Taidshi of the Khortshins, made terms with the Manchus.*

"The chiefs of the Durbed tribe inhabit the heights of Dokdor, 1,646 li north-east of Hi fung kheou. Its territory is 170 li from east to west, and 240 li from north to south. From the camp of their chiefs to the frontier of the military government of the Amur is 140 li. This government bounds the Durbed country on the east, on the west it is bounded by that of the Jelaids, southwards by the Khorlos, and on the north by the Solons. The camp of its prince is 2,050 li from Peking. The river Nonni, which comes from the north, out of the government of the Amur, divides the Durbeds from the Jelaids." †

THE JELAIDS.

HERE again the termination d in the name of the tribe is an ordinary Mongol one, and it seems more than probable that this tribe represents the Jelairs of the time of Jingis. It forms one banner, governed by a prince of the third rank. Like the tribes previously named, the Jelaids formed a portion of the heritage of Khassar, and became, as in the case of the previous tribe the portion of his descendant Bodidara. On the division of his clans the Jelaids fell to his youngest son Amin. In 1624 Mungkhun, the son of Amin, in conjunction with Ooba, the chief of the Khortshins, and his other relatives, sent an embassy to the Manchus, and made peace with them.‡

"Their chief camp is on mount Tubesin tsagan, above 1,600 li to the north-west of Hi fung kheou. Their territory is 60 li from east to west, and 400 li from north to south. On the east they are bounded by the Durbeds, on the west and south by the Khorlos, and on the north by the Solons.

"Their country is watered by the river Nonni, which comes from the government of the Amur and enters the frontier of the Khorlos. The Chol, coming from the north-west from the chain of Khinggan, also passes through it. After a course of 500 li to the south, it divides into several arms, makes a bend to the south-east, and falls into the Nonni." §

* Schmidt, Mem. St. Peters. Acad., ii. 426.
† Timkowski, ii. 244.
‡ Schmidt, Mem. St. Peters. Acad., ii. 425.
§ Timkowski, ii. 245.

ARU KHORTSHINS.

THIS tribe forms one banner, and is governed by a prince of the third rank. The third son of Tomai Niakhatshi, the father of Daskhara, whom I mentioned in the history of the Khortshins, was called Burkhai, and settled, as I have said, with his clans on the Kulun lake. His second son Begon Noyan was named Kundulen Daitshing. He separated himself definitely from the main body of the Khortshins, and formed his people into a separate tribe, to which he gave the name of Aru Khortshins, which Klaproth translates Northern Khortshins, and Schmidt "The Khortshins who remained behind."* The Aru Khortshins, Durben Keukeds, Urads, Maominggans, Ongnighods, Abaghas, and Abaghanars, as well as the inner and outer sections of the Khalkas, all go by the name of Aru Mongols.† Whether this has something to do with Arulad, a race-name among the Mongols in the days of Jingis, I don't know. The eldest son of Kundulen Daitshing was named Dalai or otherwise Tsokor. He succeeded his father as chief of the Aru Khortshins. They were vassals of the Chakhars, but in consequence of the oppression of Lingdan Khan, they in 1629, with their leader Modsang, the son of Dalai, submitted to the Manchus.‡

"They are encamped 1,100 li north of Ku pe kheou, one of the gates of the Great Wall. Their country is 130 li from east to west, and 420 from north to south. They are bounded on the east by the Dsarods, on the west by the Barins, on the south by the left banner of the Khalkas, and on the north by the Wesumutshins. From their chief encampment it is 1,340 li to Peking. The Shara Muren or Shira Muren, which runs 200 li to the south of their principal encampment, comes from the province of Barin, and enters the territory of Dsarod."§

THE DURBEN KEUKEDS.

THE name of this tribe means four brothers. It forms one banner under a prince of the second rank. Begon Noyan, as I have said, had three sons. The third of these was Noyantai, who had four sons who divided their father's clans among them and lived in close alliance. Thence these clans were styled Durben Keuked; ‖ in Chinese, Szu tsu pu lo; and in Manchu, Duin Djusé (the four sons).¶ In 1629 they submitted to the Manchus.

* Timkowski, ii. 242. Schmidt, op. cit., ii. 435. † Schmidt, op. cit., ii. 436.
‡ Schmidt, op. cit., ii. 435, 436. § Timkowski, ii. 242. ‖ Schmidt, op. cit., ii. 447.
¶ Timkowski, ii. 254.

"Their tribe forms one banner, and encamps at mount Ulan erghi tologai, 550 li north-west of Kalgan. Their country is 235 li from east to west, and 240 from north to south. On the east and north they are bounded by the Sunids, on the west by the Tumeds of Koko Khotan, on the south by the Chakhars of the red banner." *

THE URADS.

KLAPROTH says this name means artisan in Mongol.† It is a very old tribe, and appears with the Taidjuts, &c., in the history of the early days of Jingis as fighting against him. They are generally found in alliance with the Manguts and Nuyakins, and the three were probably closely connected. They now form three banners, under two princes of the second rank and one of the sixth. These three banners perhaps correspond to the three tribes just named. The third son of Tomai Niakhatshi above-named was called Burkhai. He settled on the lake Kulun. His people were styled Urads. He had five sons, Laikha, Buyanggho, Arsagho, Burutu, and Barsai. The tribe was eventually divided into three sections, one of them ruled by Lakhai's grandson, named Ombo; the second by Sereng, grandson of Khanin Ching Taidshi, the second son of Barsai; and the third by Toba, son of Khanitu Bingtu Taidshi, the fifth son of Barsai. In 1632 they all submitted to the Manchûs, and took horses and camels as presents.‡

"The Urads occupy the extensive valley of Khadamal, which commences 360 li to the west of Koko Khotan. Their territory is 315 li from east to west, and 300 from north to south. On the east it is bounded by the Mao Minggans, on the west by the Ordus, on the south by the Yellow River, and on the north by the Khalkas. Their principal encampment is 1,500 li from Peking. Their mountains are Khundulin, Ghiran tologoi, Bartu, Egudé, and Egui-undur. This last is lofty and steep, and resembles a kiln for drying corn, from which circumstance it derives its name. Khadjar Khosho is the name of a chain of mountains which extends from the north-west of the encampment of the Urads to Koko Khotan, following the left bank of the Yellow River, which waters the southern districts of this tribe. The rivers Burgatu, Khaliatu, and Shara issue from this chain and fall into that river."§

The account of Mongolia, to which I am so largely indebted, was translated by the Russian Hyacinthe, and is appended to Timkowski's travels. Klaproth adds a note that Hyacinthe has omitted. The two highest mountains of the Urad country, are those called in Mongol, Chastai

* Timkowski, ii. 255. † Timkowski, ii. 263. ‡ Schmidt, op. cit., 449.
§ Timkowski, ii. 264.

ola, and in Chinese, Sina Shan, that is to say, mountains of snow. The one is 90 li north of the principal camp of the Urads, the other 205 li north-west, both on the north of the Kara muren, which comes from and falls into the Yellow River.* In many places in the Urad country the ruins of ancient cities are still to be seen. Among the celebrated temples in their country is the Fo yun zu, on the mountain of the same name, called in Mongol, Udjur Tsayan khada, 190 li north-west of the principal encampment.†

THE MAO MINGGANS.

THIS tribe forms one banner, under a Taidshi of the first class and a chieftain of high rank.

Minggan means a thousand. The meaning of Mao or Magho, as Ssanang Setzen writes the word,‡ is unknown to me. With the other tribes just named this formed a portion of the very large heritage of Khassar. "His thirteenth descendant was named Uldunei Buyantu. He had a son named Shira Kitad, with the surname Tushiyetu Khan. Shira had three sons, named Dordshi, Kumu Baghatur, and Sanghardshi Khongkor. They lived near the lake Kulun. Dordshi, with the title of Buyantu Khan, became the overchief of the Mao Minggans, and was succeeded in that position by his son Tsegen. In 1632 Kumu Baghatur, with about 1,000 families, submitted to the Manchus, taking presents of camels, &c. In 1633 several other chiefs of the tribe followed his example, were received with considerable rejoicings, and were handsomely entertained. In 1634 several of these chiefs broke their allegiance and went over to the Khalkas. Troops were sent after them, which overtook them near the river Ono, and killed more than a thousand of them. The troops continued their pursuit into the land of the Khamnikha (*i.e.*, the Tunguses), and made many of them prisoners.§

"The Mao Minggans are encamped at the source of the Chetubulak, above 800 li north-west of Kalgan. Their country is 100 li from east to west and 190 from north to south. It is bounded on the east by the Khalkas, on the west by the Urads, on the south by the Tumeds of Koko Khotan, and on the north by the desert. It is 1,240 li from Peking.

"The most remarkable mountains there are the Kharatologoi, Khargaitu, Kharateké, Khorko, and Gurban Khara. The chief rivers are the Khundulen, the Bulur lokhoi, and the Aibukha."‖

This completes the description of the tribes subject to the descendants of Khassar.

* Timkowski, ii. 264. Note. † *Id.*, ii. 264. ‡ Op. cit., 185.
§ Schmidt, Mem. St. Peters. Acad., ii. 448. ‖ Timkowski, ii. 262.

THE ONGNIGHODS.

THE Ongnighods form two banners, under a prince of the second class, another of the third class, and two chiefs of high rank. This tribe is apparently the only fragment of the very large empire once controlled by Utsuken, the brother of Jingis, and by his descendants, which still remains in his family. I have described in previous chapters the strong influence which this section of the Mongol dominions had upon the main course of Mongol history. It was probably in consequence of the revolutionary character of its successive rulers that the family was eventually deprived. However this may be, it is very certain that among the various Mongol tribes, this one alone is named as still obeying his family.

Temugen Utsuken was the youngest of the brothers of Jingis Khan, who was of the full blood, and was apparently that one who survived the longest, and in consequence of his patriarchal character acquired great influence during the reigns of his sons. There was another brother named Khadshikin or Kadshiun, who is named by Ssanang Setzen, between him and Khassar,* but his descendants have apparently died out.

Utsuken seems to have been of a brave and impetuous character. In the great campaign against the Naimans, when most of the officers of Jingis counselled delay until his horses should be in better condition, he urged on the contrary, that those of the enemy were equally thin, and he urged that they should not allow the enemy time to recruit.† On the partition of the empire, Utsuken's portion lay on the frontiers of Manchuria, in the old country of the Inkirasses, about Kalantshin Alt and the river Olkui,‡ and it is probable that he not only ruled over the Mongol tribes in that district, but also over the broken shreds of the Tartars, whom I have identified with the Daurians. He was a great favourite with his brother, who assigned him a special army of 5,000 warriors, namely, 2,000 Urnauts, 1,000 Basiuts, and 2,000 of mixed clans. Utsuken assisted at the inauguration of his nephew Ogotai, and held one of his hands as he was conducted to the throne.§ On the death of Ogotai, Utsuken, who, as the eldest of the family had some claims to the throne, made a feeble attempt to gain it, and approached the capital with his troops. When he found he would not be generally supported, he blandly said he had gone to offer his congratulations,‖ and with his forty-eight sons he assisted at the inauguration of Kuyuk.¶ He was afterwards tried, and although he was not punished, several of his officers were put to death.**

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* Ssanang Setzen, 63. † De Mailla, ix. 37.
‡ Erdmann's Temudjin, 254, and Note 26. D'Ohsson, ii. 7. Note. § D'Ohsson, ii. 10.
‖ D'Ohsson, ii. 195. ¶ *Id.*, 196. ** *Id.*, 203.

Utsuken was a great builder, and where he lived, palaces pleasure gardens, &c., were constructed. His chief wife was called Send Fudshin, and was of the tribe of the Olkhonods.* He was succeeded in his authority by his son Thugadshar Noyan. He became very powerful, commanded Khubilai's troops in his war with Arikbuka, received many favours from Khubilai, and lived to an old age.† He was succeeded by his son Agul, and he by his son Nayan. I have described, at some length already, the great rebellion which Nayan headed against Khubilai Khan in his later days, nor shall I repeat what I then said.‡ Marco Polo says he could bring 400,000 men into the field,§ which, as Colonel Yule says, was no doubt a great exaggeration. He also describes the district governed by him as a remote wilderness, more than thirty marches from the court,‖ and he tells us that he had four provinces under his control, namely: Chorcha, Cauly, Barscol, and Sikintinju, a very great dominion.¶ Colonel Yule has some judicious remarks on these names. He says Chorcha is the Manchu country, the Nyuché of the Chinese; by Kauli was probably meant a portion of or a district on the borders of Corea. Barskul or Leopard lake was doubtless some place in Manchuria, perhaps the great lake of Hinka, while Sikintinju is probably a corruption representing Shangking-Tungking, expressing the two capitals of the Khitans in this district.** According to the Chinese authorities, Nayan's territory was mainly watered by the rivers Liau, Toro, Kueliei, &c.,†† which answers tolerably to the same area.

Nayan, like many other Eastern princes, is said to have been a Christian.‡‡ As I have described, he was severely defeated by Khubilai, was captured and put to death.§§

His defeat apparently to a large extent prostrated the power of Nayan's family. It is not unlikely that several of the Daurian tribes still obeyed his family, even at the accession of the Manchu dynasty, but among the Mongols its authority seems to have decayed. The Khortshins and other tribes forming the confederacy ruled by Khassar apparently succeeded to the vacant power, and I believe that the Nahachu who opposed the Ming troops with such vigour in this area about 1386‖‖ was a descendant of Khassar's, and it is remarkable, as I have said, that the only tribe whose princes claim descent from Utsuken at this moment is that of the Ongnighods. In the narrative translated by Schmidt we read that one of Utsuken's descendants had two sons, the elder of whom named Bayantai Khongkhor Noyan became the chief of the Ongnighods, while the second son Badai Setzen Nayan and his clans took the name of Kara Chirik. The descendant of Bayantai in the second

* Erdmann's Temudjin, 254. † Erdmann, op. cit., 571. ‡ *Vide* ante, 178, &c.
§ Yule's Marco Polo, i. 299. ‖ *Id.*, i. 300. ¶ *Id.*, i. 307. ** Yule's Marco Polo, i. 308.
†† Gaubil, 209. *Vide* ante, 179. ‡‡ Yule's Marco Polo, i. 302. §§ *Vide* ante, 178, 179.
‖‖ *Vide* ante, 347.

generation was Tulan, who took the name of Dugereng Khan. He had seven sons, of whom Sun Dureng and Dung Daitshing were two. The descendant of Badai in the third generation was Nassai, who had two sons named Garma and Nomtai Daitshing. During the disturbances caused by Lingdan Khan, Sun Dureng, Dung Daitshing, and the Taidshi of the family Kara Chirik, named Garma, with all their subjects, submitted to the Manchus. This was in 1631, and they took part in the Manchu campaign against the Chakhars.*

"The country of the Ongnighods extends for 100 li from east to west, and 160 li from north to south. On the east it is bordered by that of the Aru Khortshins, on the west by that of Yeho, on the south by that of the Kharatshins and Aokhans, and on the north by that of the Barins and Kechiktens. It is 760 li from Peking.

"The right wing encamps at Indzir khogotshit, 520 li north-east of Khu pe kheou, and the left wing 680 li from the same place. The principal rivers of their country are the Lokha, which runs 100 li towards the south-east of the left wing, it comes from Aokhan, and running to the north-east joins the Khurdulun; and the Inghin 150 li to the north-west of the right wing, which rises in the mountains of Hia ma ling; after having run to the south-east it receives the Chang ho and falls farther to the east into the Lokha."†

THE ABAGHAS.

THE Abaghas form two banners, under a prince of the second class, a Taidshi of the first class, and two chiefs of high rank. Besides his brothers of the whole blood, Jingis Khan, as I have stated, had two half-brothers named Bekter and Belgetei. Bekter was killed, as I have already described.‡ Belgetei occurs several times in the account of Jingis as given both by Ssanang Setzen and De Mailla.

His descendant in the seventeenth generation was Bayaskho Burkud, who had two sons. The eldest of these named Tarni Kudung became the chief of the Abaghas, and his brother Nomi Demektu of the Abaghanars. Tarni Kudung had two sons, namely, Sussenge Waidsang, who had a son named Erdeni Tumen, with the title of Jassaktu Noyan, and Dsangghotai Sorjktu, who had a son Dordshi, surnamed Etshige Noyan. The Abaghas were vassals of the Chakhars. When Lingdan Khan began his violent proceedings they fled to the north of the desert to the banks of the river Kerulon, and sought protection from Shului, the Setzen Khan of the Khalkas.

* Schmidt, Mem. St.-Peters. Acad., ii. 436, 437.

† Timkowski, ii. 247, 248. Schmidt, op. cit., 436.

‡ *Vide* ante, 435.

In 1627 they formed a portion of the confederacy which defeated the Chakhars at Ju Tseng. In 1631 Kitad Tsokhor, one of their chiefs, submitted with 500 men, and in 1634, after the great defeat of the Chakhars, Tusker, the grandson of the Erdeni above-named, joined with the Setzen Khan Shului in writing a submissive letter to the Manchus and in sending products of his country as presents. In 1638 Etshige Noyan Dordshi, with many of his followers, separated from the Khalkas and placed himself under Manchu protection. On this occasion Dordshi changed his name to Amitai and took the title of Darkhan Noyan. In 1651 his submission was followed by that of Tusker. Both were raised to the rank of Kun wang. The former was made chief of the eastern, and the latter of the western wing of the Abaghas. At the same time pasture grounds, &c., were assigned them on the frontier. When in 1666 the Abaghanars also submitted to the Manchus the latter occupied these newly granted lands, and the Abaghas moved into fresh quarters, between the Khaghotshids and Sunids.*

"Their land is 200 li from east to west, and 300 li from north to south. It joins on the east the frontier of the Abaghanars, on the west that of the Sunids, on the south that of the Chakhars of the blue banner, and on the north the great desert. The right wing is encamped at the Spring Kobur, and the left wing about Bain olu. The distance to Peking is 1,000 li." †

THE ABAGHANARS.

ABAGHANAR means grandfather in Mongol.‡ This tribe forms two banners, under a prince of the third rank and another of the fourth rank.

In the last article I mentioned how the Abaghas and the Abaghanars were divided between two brothers, of whom the chief of the Abaghanars was called Nomi Demektu. This tribe was under the Setzen Khan Shului, and was settled on the banks of the Kerulon, and its original home was north of the desert. About 1641 several of its chiefs submitted to the Manchus, and in 1641 the Taidshi Arana Garma with a large following crossed the desert and settled on the frontier of the empire. This migration was not naturally very pleasing to the Khalkhas, but they were too weak to oppose the rising Manchu power. In 1665 and 1666, when the Khalkhas themselves had submitted, many other chiefs of the Abaghanars joined their countrymen south of the desert. As I have said, the tribe was settled in the country recently occupied by the Abaghas, for whom new seats were formed.§

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* Schmidt, Mem. St. Peters. Acad., ii. 444, 445. † Timkowski, ii. 251.
‡ Timkowski, ii. 250. Klaproth's Note. § Schmidt, Mem. St. Péters. Acad., ii. 445, 446.

"Their land is 180 li from east to west and 360 li from north to south. It is bounded on the east by the Khaghotshids, on the west by the Abaghas, on the south by the Chakhars of the blue banner, and on the north by the desert. The distance to Peking is 1,500 li. Their principal camp is 640 li north-east of the barrier of Chang-kia-kheou or Kalgan.

"Under the Yuen dynasty this and the adjacent countries made part of a Chinese province, but under the Ming it was occupied by the Mongols, as we have related, and was under the Setzen Khan of the Khalkhas. The right wing is about Changtu (in Chinese, Yung ngan chan), 640 li north-east of Kalgan, it is 60 li from east to west and 310 li from north to south. The left at Mount Urkhu tologai, 582 li north-east of Tu chy kheou; it extends 110 li from east to west and 318 li from north to south."*

Besides the tribes enumerated in this chapter there are two fragments of the Khalkhas who long ago settled to the south of the desert and form two of the Forty-nine Banners. These are the so-called Eastern and Western Khalkhas of the Inner division. Their history, &c., will come more properly in the next chapter, where I shall treat of the Khalkhas.

Note 1.—I hardly insisted with sufficient emphasis, in the account of the Chakhars in this chapter, upon the very separate organisation which distinguishes them. Originally the Manchus consisted of seven tribes or banners, as we learn from the narrative of Martini and others. When the Chakhars were conquered, they were given co-ordinate rank with the Manchus and formed into an eighth banner, and are now treated as Bannermen, and looked upon as the reserves of the Manchu army. As I have said, they are divided into eight banners. Huc describes these as the red, blue, yellow, and white, pink, light blue, light yellow, and French white. He says each of the Chakhar banners has its own tribunal, "named Nuru Chain, having jurisdiction over all matters that may occur in the banner. Besides this tribunal, there is in each of the eight banners a chief named U Gurdha. Of the eight U Gurdhas, one is selected to fill the post of Governor-General of the eight banners. They are all nominated by the Chinese Emperor. In order that they may be at all times ready to march at the first signal, the Chakhars are severely prohibited from cultivating the ground. They must live on their pay and the produce of their flocks. The entire soil of the eight banners is inalienable. It sometimes happens that an individual sells his portion to some Chinese, but the sale is always declared null and void if it comes in any shape before the tribunals."† In the Chakhar country are found the vast Imperial herds. There are 360 herds of horses alone, each

† Timkowski, ii. 251. * Huc, i. 46.

numbering 1,200 horses. A Chakhar Tartar decorated with a white button has charge of each herd. At intervals they are visited by the Inspectors, when the chief herdsman has to make up deficiencies out of his own pocket. They nevertheless manage to cheat their Imperial master. "Whenever a Chinese has a broken-winded horse or a lame ox, he takes it to the Imperial herdsman, who for a small consideration allows him to select what animal he pleases in exchange from among the Imperial herds. Being thus always provided with the actual number of animals they can benefit by their fraud in perfect security."*

In regard to the rebellion of the Chakhars which I mentioned,† I find that I overlooked a passage in De Mailla. He tells us in 1675 the rising Manchu empire was threatened on several sides at once. The princes of Kuang tung, Fu kien, and Tai-wan or Formosa, made a pact with the rebel Usankuei, and with the Mongols against the common enemy. The latter were led by a chief named Satchar, who doubtless deemed it a favourable opportunity for recovering his independence. Having persuaded several of the neighbouring princes to join him, he prepared to march into China at the head of 100,000 men. Being informed by spies of the tempest that was brewing in the north, the Manchu Emperor at once ordered the troops of Liau tung and a detachment from the garrison of Peking to march against the Mongols. They marched rapidly, before the latter could concentrate their forces. Satchar forced to fight at a disadvantage was defeated and captured with his brother and children.‡ This is no doubt the same event mentioned by Timkowski. He calls the chief Barin, and tells us he was the chief of the Chakhars.§

Note 2.—The Abbé Huc tells a quaint story about the Barins which I overlooked in the account of that tribe, which illustrates forcibly the kind of intercourse which is carried on between the Imperial court and the dependent Sovereigns. He says that "although the Mongol Sovereigns think it their duty to prostrate themselves once a year before the Son of Heaven, Lord of the Earth, they nevertheless do not concede to the great Khan the right of dethroning the reigning families in the Tartar principalities. He may, they say, cashier a King for grave misconduct, but he is bound to fill up the vacant place with one of the superseded prince's sons. The sovereignty belongs, they contend, to such and such a family by a right which is inalienable, and of which it were a crime to dispossess the owner." He then goes on to say that "a few years ago the King of the Barins was accused at Peking of having conspired a rebellion against the Emperor. He was tried by the Supreme Tribunal without being heard, and was condemned to be 'shortened at both ends,' the meaning of the decree being, that his head and feet should be cut off. The King made enormous presents to the officials who were to

* Op. cit., i. 46. † Ante, 385. ‡ De Mailla, xi. 72, 73. § Op. cit., ii. 258.

superintend the execution of the Imperial edict, and they contented themselves with cutting off his braid of hair and the soles of his boots. They reported at Peking that the order had been executed, and no more was said about the matter. The King, however, descended from his throne, and was succeeded by his son." *

Note 3.—I am conscious that some of the expressions in the preceding account of the conversion of the Mongols to Lamaism in the time of Altan Khan are very jejune; and in some cases not very intelligible, but I preferred to follow the text of Ssanang Setzen as nearly as I could understand it, to making a paraphrase upon a subject profoundly difficult and obscure. I hope in another volume to give a short conspectus of the system of Lama Buddhism as it is followed in Mongolia.

Note 4.—In this and preceding chapters I have constantly used the Chinese term li for a measure of distance without explaining its meaning. The li is a very variable distance, like the Spanish league, which, as those know to their cost who have been in out-of-the-way corners of that country, expands where there are no official posts to mark the distance. De Mailla says that the li in most ordinary use, and which may therefore be taken as a mean standard of its length, is one-tenth of a French league, so that 200 li form a geographical mile or degree.† Huc's editor says the Chinese li is about equivalent to the quarter of an English mile.‡ Timkowski says, according to information given by persons acquainted with the subject, the Chinese li contains 285 Russian fathoms, and consequently 35 fathoms more than half a verst.§ Hyacinthe says the Chinese li is equivalent to 1,800 Chinese Engineer feet, 1,897½ English feet, and 271¼ Russian sashens or fathoms. Ten li are equal to 5 versts 210 sashens.‖ From these varying authorities, De Mailla's mean calculation may perhaps be accepted as the safest.

* Huc's Travels, i. 170.
† De Mailla, op. cit., i. 74.
‡ Travels, i. 16.
§ Travels, i. 65.
‖ Borg's Hyacinthe, i. 1. Note.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE KHALKHAS.

IN the previous chapter I have described the various tribes which are classed by the Chinese as of the Inner division, and which are comprised in the divisions of the Chakhars and the Forty-nine Banners. They occupy the south and east of the desert, and have been subject to China since the first half of the seventeenth century. I now proceed to describe those tribes which are classed by the Chinese as of the Outer division, and which are comprised in the generic name Khalkha. They live for the most part to the north of the desert, and remained independent of the Chinese to a considerably later date. They are now divided into eighty-six banners, exclusive of the two Khalka banners I mentioned in the last chapter as now attached to the Inner division, and comprise four general brigades or divisions. First, the brigade of Khan Aghola, consisting of the twenty banners subject to the Tushiyetu Khan; secondly, the Brigade Kerulun Bars, consisting of the twenty-three banners subject to the Setzen Khan; thirdly, the brigade Waidurya Naghor, comprising the nineteen banners subject to the Jassaktu Khan; and lastly, the brigade Tshishirlik or Tsetserlik, comprising the twenty-four banners subject to the Saïn Noyan.* The name Khalkha is generally derived from the river Kalka, a tributary of the Buyur lake in north-eastern Mongolia. It is a new name like that of Chakhar, and does not apparently appear before the days of Dayan Khan, when the Khalkhas are mentioned as forming one of the six Tumens or grand divisions into which the Mongols were then divided.† For the greater part of the reign of Dayan Khan, the Mongols seem to have been cooped up in the districts north of the desert, watered by the Kerulon and other rivers, which had been their homeland before the adventurous career of Jingis Khan carried them hither and thither, through the breadth of Asia. To this confined district they had been driven by the early Ming Emperors after their expulsion from China. In the latter part of Dayan Khan's reign (or perhaps it was after his death), the decrepitude of the Ming Emperor, or some other tempting reason led to the expansion of the Mongol quarters. They once more,

* Schmidt, Mem. St. Peters. Acad., ii. 476. † Ssanang Setzen, 191, &c.

as I have described in the last chapter, overflowed the southern borders of the desert and occupied the frontier districts of China, and there formed several principalities under his various sons, all more or less subordinate to that of the Chakhars. The tribes who remained behind were apparently those encamped about lake Buyur and Kulun and their feeders, and especially about the river Kalka. On the division of Dayan Khan's patrimony they fell to Geressandsa, Jelair Khuntaidshi, his youngest son,* the hearth or home-child, who like Tului, the youngest son of Jingis, was richly endowed with clans. Geressandsa left seven sons, named 1, Ashikhai Darkhan Khuntaidshi; 2, Noyantai Khatan Batur; 3, Waidsang Noyan Unugho; 4, Daldang Kundulen; 5, Amin Dural; 6, (?); 7, Odkhan Noyan. Among these sons the Khalkhas were apportioned, so that they were divided into seven sections.†

These sections were ranged according to the usual Mongol practice into a right wing and a left wing. The sixth son of Geressandsa apparently died without issue, for he is not named in the account abstracted by Schmidt, where we read that the western wing comprised the clans subject to his first, second, fourth, and seventh sons, while the eastern wing comprised those subject to his third and fifth sons.‡ The eastern wing took up its quarters on the mountain Khan Ula, while the western wing had its court on the Biduria Noor, a lake of north-western Mongolia, and on the sources of the river Dsak,§ bordering upon the Kalmuks on the east. These two sections eventually became divided into four, each of which had an independent position, and I shall treat each separately.

THE WESTERN KHALKHAS OF JASSAKTU KHAN.

As I have said, this branch of the Khalkas are encamped on the Biduria Noor, the rivers Dsak, Jabkan, &c. Now in the accounts of the early Russian intercourse with Siberia, we find the Russians sending embassies and exchanging envoys with a Mongol chief, whose camp was on the Ubsa Noor lake, and who is styled Altan or Altyn Khan. Details in regard to these embassies are contained in the first volume of Fischer's Sibirische Geschicte. I have no doubt myself that the Altan Khan of these accounts was one of the chiefs of the western division of the Khalkhas. Altan Khan is merely Golden Khan, and Fischer tells us that this was not his real name, but was a title given to him by the Kirghises, who lay between his country and the Russian frontier, and were more or less

* Schmidt, op. cit., ii. 455.
† Schmidt, op. cit., ii. 456 and 466.
‡ Schmidt, op. cit., ii. 456 and 460.
§ Klaproth's Asia, Polyglotta, 269.

dependant on him, and that the Russians translating this surname called him Solotoi Tzar, *i.e.*, Golden King.*

It was doubtless the same Kirghises who gave the neighbouring Teleskoi lake its title of Altan Noor or Golden sea.† This identification I believe to be new, and it greatly simplifies an obscure corner of Mongol history. As I have said, the western wing of the Khalkhas consisted of four sections, ruled by Ashikhai Darkhan Khungtaidshi, Noyantai Khatan Batur, Daldan Kundulen, and Odkhan Noyan, the eldest, second, fourth, and seventh sons of Geressandsa, one of the seven Bolods. Among these Ashikhai doubtless occupied the nominal superiority given to the eldest son. He had two sons, named Buyandara and Tumendara Daitshing. Each of them became the founder of an important branch of the Western Khalkhas. Buyandara succeeded to the chief authority among them and became the ancestor of the Jassaktu Khans, while Tumendara, as I believe, moved with his people to the secluded country about lake Ubsa and the river Kemtshik, and there founded the power of the Altan Khans. We are told he had a son named Shului Ubashi *Khungtaidshi*. I identify him with the Kunkantshei of the Russian narratives mentioned below. Shului's eldest son was Ombo Erdeni.‡ He can be no other than the Irden Kontaischa who is mentioned as the Altan Khan by Fischer about 1652.§ As Ombo Erdeni was the father of Lobdzang Taishi,‖ so was the Altan Khan Irden the father of Lousan, who succeeded as Altan Khan in 1657. This chain of evidence is conclusive that the above identification is correct.

Buyandara had a son named Laikhor. At first he was merely one of the various princes among whom these Khalkhas were divided, with probably a nominal supremacy among the others as head of the family, but like Altan Khan of the Tumeds, he seems to have carved out a much more important position for himself. At first the title of Khan was not in use among the Khalkhas, who deemed themselves dependants of the Chakhars, but we are told that the subjects of Laikhor raised him to the rank of Khan.¶ At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Kalmuks were divided into several petty principalities, and were sharply attacked by their neighbours the Mongols, who were reasserting their old supremacy. They were very unfortunate in several encounters with them, and were obliged to recognise their supremacy. The Mongol Khan who defeated them at this time, we are told by Pallas, was Laikhor Khan, to whom for a while the Kalmuks became tributary.**

Let us now turn to the account of the Altan Khans given by Fischer. He tells us that about 1609, the tribes on the Yenisei, the Tartars about Abakanskoi, the Mati (*i.e.*, the Motors), the Tubinzi,

* Fischer's Siberia, 369. Note 24.
† Klaproth's Asia, Polyglotta, 146.
‡ Schmidt, Mem. St. Peters. Acad., ii. 438.
§ Op. cit., 704.
‖ Schmidt, op. cit., 469.
¶ Schmidt, op. cit., ii. 467.
** Pallas, Saml. Hist. Nach. ueb. die. Mong. Volk., i. 36.

and Jesari were his tributaries.* These tribes seem to have been seduced from their allegiance to him and became subject to the Russians. In 1616 an embassy was sent, in the name of the Czar Michal Feodorovitch, to the Altan Khan. For this duty Wasilei Tumenez, a Cossack Ataman from Tara, and Ivan Petrof, a Desatnik or commander of ten men from Tumen, were named. They took with them for presents various articles of male and female attire, cloths of various kinds and colours, cloth flaps for caps, silken curtains decorated with gold and tinsel, tin bowls and plates and rods, kettles, knives, large and small mirrors, metal buttons, great coral beads (mulchaki), writing paper, raisins, honey, butter, groats, &c.† This enumeration is interesting as a sample of the objects bartered by the Russians with their neighbours in Siberia at this time, and also as showing the kind of thing that was then deemed a welcome present among the Mongols. Tomsk was then the Russian frontier city. The Voivode of Tomsk despatched a Cossack to the Kirghises, with orders to them to send on a message to the Altan Khan apprising him of the envoys' journey, and asking him to send some of his people to meet them. The account of the journey of the embassy was taken by Fischer from the archives at Tomsk. From it we learn that on arriving among the Kirghises the envoys were met by Taibin Mursa, a messenger of the Altan Khan's, with thirty men, who conducted them to the camp of the Golden King Kunkantshei.‡ They took the Kirghiz chief Kora with them as interpreter. As they passed through the Sayanian mountains they were taken to the chief prince there, named Karasakal (*i.e.*, black beard), who inquired from them who they were and from what king they came. When they told him he presented them with victuals and relays of horses. Thence they went to the land of the Maci, whose chief received them well and escorted them to the camp of the Golden King. The latter sent the prince Kaltai tetsha with several nobles to meet them. They were supplied, according to Mongol fashion, with meat and drink, and a tent was put up for them near the royal tent. On the following day they were granted an audience. This audience was held in the tent of the Kutuchta (*i.e.*, the Lama patriarch), in the presence of the grandees of the court, and of the aforesaid Koshutshin and Taibin Mursa.§ The object of the mission was to persuade the Mongol chief to become a Russian tributary. The envoys proceeded to read the titles of the Russian Czar, upon which the Golden Khan raised his cap a little, and was imitated by the prince Koshutshin and the rest of the princes. They however lifted their caps off entirely.‖ The Golden King then rose and said he was ready to serve and be

* Fischer's Siberia, 318. † Fischer, op. cit., 367.

‡ This name seems to me to be a corruption of the Mongol title Khungtaidshi.

§ Fischer, op. cit., 370, 371.

‖ So says the Cossack narrative, but in his note Fischer questions the ceremony as not consonant to Mongol habits.

faithful to the Russian Czar with all his people. The envoys pressed for more concession, and urged that he and his people should acknowledge themselves as dependants of the Czar. This the Golden King and the prince Koshutshin undertook to do, and thereupon, according to their custom, took the oath of fidelity, while they held a sacred idol of Buddha in their hands and raised it aloft. The Golden King explained to the envoys the nature of the Kutukta, who lived at his court. He told them that "he was looked upon by his people as a saint, that he had been sent to them from the country of the Lamas (*i.e.*, from Thibet), and that he could read even from his birth. He had died when he was three years old, and after lying in the ground dead for five years he had come to life again. He could read either backwards or forwards, and recognised all the persons whom he had known in his previous state."* This is a good picture of the stories which are current among the Mongols in regard to their Lamas. The envoys reported that during the audience the Golden King was dressed in golden satin, the prince Koshutshin in golden damask, while all the grandees were dressed in their State robes. The envoys having distributed the presents which they took were again feasted, and orders were given that when they left the country an escort should accompany them to see them safely to the borders of the kingdom, and to provide them with necessaries on the way.† While at the court the envoys heard particulars in regard to the empire of China and kingdom of Topa (? Thibet), and also of a king of the Khalkhas named Kondelet Shuker,‡ whom I cannot identify, but he probably belonged to the eastern division. They reported that it was a month's journey on horseback from the land of the Kirghises to the court of the Altan Khan, and they travelled for ten days over rocky mountains, among which they met with high stone buildings which were unoccupied. These were doubtless the small Lama temples called Suburgans, and known to the Russians as Kamene Metsheti or stone temples. The envoys stayed eight days at the Mongol court, and on their return passed by three mountains covered with snow. They reported that where the Golden King lived there was neither snow nor winter. They seem to have travelled from Tomsk eastward to the Yenisei, crossing, as the narrative says, the rivers Yaya, Kiya, Urup, and Iyuz. They then followed the Yenisei valley by the rivers Askis, Abakan, Kantegir, and Kemtshik, and found the Golden King encamped on lake Ubsa.§ On their return they were accompanied by two envoys from the Altan Khan to the Czar, called Kayan Mergen and Kitshin Bakshi, who went on to Moscow to convey to the Emperor the submission of their master. In 1619 another embassy from the Altan Khan arrived at Moscow and returned well pleased with the result of their journey. Meanwhile the Jassaktu Khan, his suzereign, was extending his authority nearer home. He had, early in the century, as I

* Fischer, op. cit., i. 372, 373. † Fischer, op. cit., 374. ‡ Fischer, op. cit., 375-377.
§ Fischer, op. cit., 379.

have previously mentioned, defeated the Sungarian Kalmuks.* Before 1619 Kharakulla, the founder of the Sungarian empire, had been forced to fly and to escape to Siberia,† and he would seem to have been master of the greater part of the modern province of Kobdo, and of the country north of the Sayanian mountains. It was hardly likely that under these circumstances the Altan Khan would be a very subservient protegé of the Russians, and we accordingly find that in 1619 a misunderstanding arose between them. The Kirghises went to him and offered to acknowledge him as their suzereign if he would protect them against the Russians. He undertook to do this, and also took the tribute from them which they formerly paid to the Russians. The latter did not choose to make reprisals, and the chief result of the quarrel was that the negotiations between the two powers was interrupted for many years.‡ The date of Laikhor Khan's death is unknown to me. He was succeeded by his son Subati, who first took the title of Jassaktu Khan.§ The authority of the Altan Khan extended some distance into Siberia, and the Tubini, who lived between Krasnoyarsk and the Sayanian mountains, were among his subjects. In 1629 we find his people claiming authority over a small tribe on the river Kan (a tributary of the Yenisei) called Kotowi, and plundering them of their wealth.‖ In 1632 intercourse was once more renewed between him and the Russians. He sent envoys to Tomsk to say that he and his subjects were willing to acknowledge the supremacy of the Russians, to pay tribute, and to engage to fight the enemies of the Emperor, and asked that an embassy might be sent in return to whom he might in person perform the ceremonies of acknowledgment.¶ The motive of this offer was probably fear of the rising power of the Manchus. In 1634 an embassy was accordingly sent off from Tomsk, consisting of the nobleman Yakof Tugatshuskoi, and an official of the Chancellary at Tomsk named Drushina. The Khan kept his word except as to doing homage in person. This was undertaken for him by his cousin Dural tabun and two of his brothers-in-law named Biyun tabun and Taitshin tabun. On this occasion the Khan offered some presents, but they were considered so poor that they were rejected, and the Khan, his mother the widow Chetshen, and Dural tabun were soundly abused by the much-expecting officer of the Chancellary.**

In 1635 the Russians requested him to use his influence with the Khirghises to revert once more to their allegiance to the Russians. This he undertook, and sent a Lama named Dain Mergen Lansa to them, but they were obdurate.†† He also sent envoys who were to proceed to Moscow with tribute. This consisted of 200 sable skins on his own account and 100 on account of the Lama. They asked for presents in return. For the Khan, gold, silver, great beads, coral, precious stones of various colours,

* Fischer, op. cit., 314. † Pallas, Hist. Nach., &c., 37. Fischer, op. cit., 443.
‡ Fischer, op. cit., i. 382. § Schmidt, Mem. St. Peters. Acad., ii. 467.
‖ Fischer, 409, 410. ¶ Fischer, 663. ** Fischer, 665. †† Fischer, 652-654.

a good suit of armour, a sword, a firearm with six barrels, gold brocade, fine cloth, a Turkish or Persian horse (argamak), a bell, a drum, musical instruments for the service of the temple, a telescope, and a striking clock, *together with a monk who had been to Jerusalem that he might teach them how the Christians prayed*,* an interpreter who understood the Russian and Mongolian speech and writing, a doctor with medicines, a silversmith, a gunsmith, and a tanner. On behalf of the Lama, great beads, gold, silver, five pieces of cloth of various colours, two different kinds of tents, gold brocade, damask ornamented with silver, red coral, &c.;† a very modest list of requirements!!! Nevertheless the Czar was good enough not only to send the greater part of what had been asked, but also to richly reward the envoys. He also sent letters to their master bidding him do homage in person, bidding him also send tribute regularly, to send back any Russian messengers who might go to his court without delay, and properly escorted. As the Khan and Lama had complained of the rude conduct of the Drushina, he was ordered to be beaten in their presence, and to be then remitted to prison. The Khan's envoys were accompanied on their return home by some Russian officials, headed by one Stephen Gretshanin, who went to receive his homage. One of these was deputed to visit the Lama, who did not generally live with the Khan, but with his brother Dain Noyan. They found the Khan encamped on a river called the Kusim takai. They were received by his brothers Dain Noyan and Mergen Noyan and other chiefs, and conducted to the tent which had been prepared for them. A few days after they were granted an audience. The Khan was seated in his tent. He asked after the Czar's health by the mouth of one of his tabuns. The chief envoy insisted that this question must be put by the Khan in person, standing. When this had been done and the envoy had replied, he handed the Czar's letter to him and afterwards the presents. These the Khan received standing, thanked him for them, and then had the letter interpreted. Among other things, it contained complaints about the unruliness of the Khirghises, and desired the Khan to punish them. The Khan promised to consult the Lama Dain Mergen Lansa, his mother Chetshen Katun, and his brothers on the subject. When it came do doing homage, he objected to the word Kholopstwo (servitude) in the envoys' instructions, nor would he do homage in person. He said that servitude was held degrading among the Mongols, nor was it their custom for a chief to do homage in person. There the matter remained, and the envoys returned to their tent. A week after Dural tabun communicated to them that his master would not degrade himself as they desired. He had promised to pay tribute and to be the faithful ally of Russia, but a servant he would never be, nor would he do homage in person, but if they pleased the Lama would perform this in

* Surely a most curious request for a Lamaist in the Sayanian mountains to make.

† Fischer, 667.

the Khan's presence, and it would be as valid as if he had done it himself. Six or seven weeks having elapsed, Gretshanin at length took leave of the Khan. As the latter was still obdurate, he at last consented to change the term kholop (servant) to poddanny (subject); he also agreed to accept the oath of allegiance from the Lama and the minister Dural tabun instead of from the Khan in person, with the condition that he however should subscribe it and should be present at the ceremony. The Khan then swore that he would be a faithful subject of the Czar Michæl Feodorovich, and of the princes Alexis and Ivan Michælovitch. This was further confirmed by a draught of spirits in which gold was mingled. The Khan also promised to punish the refractory Kirghises.*

The Queen-mother Chetchen now invited them to a feast in her tent, and on her suggesting whether they were going to make her any presents, the envoy gave her eight arshins of English cloth, two pieces of red leather, two tin cups, eight silver rings, a set of cotton bed hangings, and a black fox skin. Hardly had they reached their seat when they were followed by the Lama who said the Khan also desired presents, and that they ought to prove themselves generous and not to forget the Khan's wives. Although he did not name himself, the envoys saw what he meant, and gave him a gown and mantle, both of English cloth. He was also given a pearl embroidered cape which he seemed to covet very much. The Khan's treasurer was presented with two long gowns with gold bands, two short gowns of English cloth, two skins of Morocco leather, three pieces of red leather, and eight arshins of English cloth. Each of the Khan's three wives received four arshins of English cloth and some silver rings. The Khan's brothers, Dain Noyan, Taitshi Noyan, and Yelden Noyan (the latter two lived on the river Kemtchik), also sent messengers to ask for presents, and to ask further if they sent an embassy to the Czar, whether they would be as graciously rewarded as their brother had been.† They were also rewarded with gifts. Gretshanin now thought that the demands upon him were exhausted, but he had not measured the depths of Mongol cupidity. The Khan begged that they would give him their arms, both flint guns and swords, as he needed them against the Kalmuks. These were accordingly surrendered, but they received some horses in exchange.

At this time there happened to be at the Khan's court envoys from the Jassaktu Khan, from the Khalkha Khan Katan Baghatur, and from Burchan Kutuchta, the son of Altan Khan. They also were rewarded each with a piece of English cloth.‡ This narrative is not less amusing, as showing the wonderful acquisitiveness of the Mongols, than for the proof it gives of the economical way in which the border princes of Russia were at this time rewarded. On their return home the envoys were accompanied by Dural tabun, who when they passed through the country of the Kirghises assembled some of the latter and urged them

* Fischer, 672. † Fischer, 673. ‡ Fischer, 675.

to be faithful to the Russians. This had little effect, and indeed when Dural tabun arrived at Tomsk a treacherous Kirghiz shot him with an arrow and nearly killed him. When he recovered he went on to Moscow. There he presented letters from his master and his brother. The chief burden of these letters was begging for largess and presents, and that they might not be misunderstood the articles needed were specified. One brother asked for 1,000 ducats, 1,000 great beads, a cloth tent to hold 1,000 persons, 108 great red coral beads, a black fox skin, a good suit of armour, and a sword. Another asked for 300 great coral beads, 2,000 great beads, 300 pieces of amber, a sword, 10 pieces of cloth of different colours. Another asked for 108 precious stones of many colours, 5 pieces of cloth, 10 gilt cups, a saddle and bridle decorated with silver, 3 good swords, 2 pieces of gold and silver brocade, 100 black fox skins, and 100 ordinary foxes. It is surely a curious picture of the kind of diplomacy in vogue in Central Asia that such letters should be sent. The envoys were well received and rewarded. On their return home they were accompanied by two Russian officials, namely, Wasilei Starkof and Stephen Newierof, one as an envoy to the Khan and the other to his family. They set out from Tomsk in 1638. In some weeks they reached the Khan's camp. The ninth of November was fixed upon for the audience, this being a lucky day. At first there was a long pause, neither party beginning to speak. On previous occasions the Khan had broken the ice by asking after the Czar's health, but the Mongols now insisted that the envoys should first inquire about the Khan's health, and urged that this was due to him as the descendant of the great Jingis Khan. The Mongols proceeded to threats and even to violence. The envoys went back to their tent, and the Mongols removed the provisions which they had supplied.

During the night they heard a great noise in the Khan's camp, and in the morning learnt that he had raised it and gone to his winter quarters on the Kemtshik. They were put to great straits for food, Dural tabun refusing to supply it without his master's consent. After five days of suffering this was at length supplied. Messengers came from the Khan and his mother, asking for the Czar's presents. These the envoys refused to surrender except at an audience. They also appealed to the Lama, but he did not wish to compromise himself by opposing the Khan, the Mongols were too recent converts to be very obedient. Shortly after, Stephen Newierof set off to the camp of the Khan's brother, Yelden Noyan, to deliver the presents which were meant for him.* Hardly had he set out when the Lama, Dural tabun, and some others went to Starkof's tent and forcibly carried off the presents meant for the Khan, while they left him the Czar's letter to deliver in person. Two days later Starkof received a message from the Lama bidding him send some presents out of his own property to the Queen-mother, as

* Fischer, 681-686.

it was according to their customs that envoys to the court should so do. This he did. The following day other presents were demanded for the Khan and his wives. He took them to his tent, but he was not admitted, and they were distributed among the dependants of the court. Nor did the Lama forget himself among these extortions, and cajoled the envoys into making him presents under pretence that he would use his influence with his master to do the Czar's bidding.*

It would seem that the Lama was as good as his word, for a second audience was arranged, to which Starkof was with some difficulty persuaded to go. It was held in the tent of the Lama. At this the Khan commenced by asking after the Czar's health, but he did so sitting and with his cap on. This led to sharp remonstrance, but as Starkof feared the audience might end as before, he at length submitted and handed in the Czar's letter. The Khan in his letter had asked the Czar to send him a body of troops, so that he might subject some of the neighbouring tribes to him, and had also asked him to send envoys to open up a communication with China. Starkof now inquired who the neighbours were whom the Khan wished to subdue. He also complained that the Khan had not punished the Kirghises, and he bade him send some of his own people to the Chinese frontier to explore. To this last remark it was replied that his people knew the way well, and that their caravans went there to trade and exchanged cattle for silver, damask, and cotton.† In his narrative Starkof complains of having been meanly entertained, and of having had to buy his food by presents and bribery. Having finished his commission at the Khan's court he went on to visit his brothers Taidshin and Dain Noyan, for whom he also had letters from the Czar. The former lived two days' journey down the Kemtshik, on a small river called the Akta, and was there engaged in solitary devotions, but on hearing of his arrival he left them to receive the Czar's presents. Starkof then went on to the other brother, who was at the Khan's favourite residence. Travelling up the Kemtshik, he turned to the left to the river Barla (doubtless a small feeder of the Kemtshik). Having mounted this to its source, he crossed a mountain and came to a lake named Urutshu (probably a mountain lake).‡ Then crossing another range he arrived at lake Alatori (*i.e.*, chequered sea, a name applied to lakes with islands). This Fischer and Ritter identify with the lake Ubsa.§ Starkof describes it as a large lake, fed by many streams and surrounded by beautifully wooded banks, backed up by high mountains. One of the streams that fell into this lake was situated near the Khan's favourite quarters called Altan Kadusun, *i.e.*, the Golden Meadow. The Russians called it Saimistshe (*i.e.*, a place surrounded with woods, abutting on a river or sea on one side, and on mountains on the other).‖ It is very probable as Fischer

* Fischer, op. cit., 686, 687. † Fischer, 689. ‡ Ritter's Asia, 1072.
§ Fischer, 691. Note. Ritter, 1072. ‖ Fischer, op. cit., 693. Note 670.

suggests that it was this residence from which the Altan Khan got his name. At their audience with Dain Noyan the same difficulties as before arose as to the proper ceremonial, and that chief expressed himself offensively about the Czar's presents. Starkof had been rejoined by his companion Newierof, who had completed his mission to Yelden Noyan, and had afterwards been to see another brother of the Khan named Kadusun.

Starkof describes how they were supplied with tea, which he says was an unknown drink. "They call it tchai," he says, "I know not whether the leaves of which it is made come from a tree or from some herb. They put them in water and then add milk to it." Surely a very naïve statement to our ears. They were plundered of nearly everything they had and once more returned to the Khan's court, where they were again plundered.* Starkof now had his final audience. The Czar's letter was read out and interpreted, and the Khan expressed himself dissatisfied in that several of the things his envoys had asked for as presents, such as a doctor, a monk from Jerusalem, &c., had not been sent him. He suggested that a depôt should be formed where Russian and Mongolian merchants might meet and exchange commodities, and suggested Tomsk for the purpose, and lastly he bade them forget any indignities they may have undergone at his court and not to report them. At the audience they were entertained by the Khan in the Mongol fashion, that is, says Starkof, scantily and parsimoniously. The vessels from which they drank, like those used by the Khan himself, were made of wood. As a special favour they were given tea three times, whereas previously they drank merely the broth from the meat which they ate. Before their departure the Khan sent the tribute which they were to take on his behalf to the Czar. This consisted of a piece of black satin, embroidered with gold and silver; a piece of green damask, worked with gold; three pieces of red, yellow, and blue damask, each eight arshins long (these were doubtless Chinese articles); 200 sable skins, two beavers', two Irbitzs' (? a kind of otter), and 200 bakhtshas of tea, which was worth among the Mongols 100 sable skins more. Starkof declared this latter article to be unknown and valueless in Russia and desired the sable skins instead, but it was not changed. When the envoys set out on their return in 1639, the Altan Khan went to pay a visit to his elder brother Kalantshin Noyan, who lived twenty days' journey to the east. On their return home they were attacked and plundered by a body of Mongols, who seemed to care little for the Khan's representatives who accompanied them. It was some time before the Russians again had diplomatic intercourse with the Mongols. The tribute which the latter sent was doubtless a mere blind under which to extort presents from the grateful Russian court. The greed and stinginess which is so often complained of in the envoys' reports were old Mongol failings, as we know from the accounts

* Fischer, 694, 695.

of the early travellers to Karakorum, but it is questionable whether they be not failings natural to a race which leads a life of hardships and poverty, and among whom realised wealth is very scarce.

Let us now turn once more to the elder line of the family, namely, the Jassaktu Khans. I don't know when Laikhor Khan died, but he was succeeded by his son Subati, who first took the title of Jassaktu Khan. He was the first of this section of the Khalkhas to enter into friendly relations with China. In 1637, however, he marched against Koko Khotan to attack it. The Manchu Emperor sent an army against him which defeated him. To make peace with his suzereign he sent him a present of horses, a one-humped camel, and a sheep without a tail, upon which the Emperor sent him the following message, "As on the one hand I punish the guilty severely and on the other I rule gently over the innocent and protect them, therefore has the Tegri (*i.e.*, the God of Heaven?) been generous to me, and has given the Chakhars and other Mongols into my hand. If you are not disposed to be quiet, mind you guard your frontier carefully. As you have presumed to act unfriendly towards me and to plunder my borders, you probably fancy that the north is so far removed from the south that I shall not be able to reach you. Let me warn you for the future not to attack Koko Khotan." In 1639 the Emperor sent him a similar warning.*

These complaints of the Manchu court were no doubt well grounded, and it was probably on some expedition of plunder that Altan Khan, the Jassaktu's dependant, set out, when we are told that immediately after the departure of the Russian envoys in 1639 he went to pay his elder brother Kalantshin Noyan a visit, and afterwards went on an excursion to the Chinese frontier, in which he was absent for three years.† On his return from this expedition in 1642 he marched at the head of a thousand men against the Khirgises, and advanced as far as the river Abakan. He made them tributary, and they remained so until 1652.‡ In 1647 the Jassaktu Khan wrote a letter to the Manchu Emperor, which he sent by Ombo Erdeni (*i.e.*, by the Altan Khan), offering to mediate between him and the Mongol tribes which had recently rebelled, but as this letter was unsigned, and its contents were obscure and dubious, the Emperor sent him a sharp reply. In 1650 Ombo Erdeni (*i.e.*, the Altan Khan), with his clans, made another excursion to Koko Khotan under pretence of hunting, and made a cattle raid there. The Emperor sent a messenger to demand the surrender of the plunderers.§ About this time Subati died, and was succeeded as Jassaktu by his son under the title of Biskhireltu Khan, his proper name being Norbu. He sent envoys to the Manchu court with tribute. To them the Emperor replied that he had from the first striven to be friendly with them and had overlooked former offences; he desired them to return the robbers (already complained

* Schmidt, Mem. St. Peters. Acad., ii. 467. † Fischer, op. cit., 701.
‡ *Id.*, 701, 702. § Schmidt, op. cit., ii. 468.

of), and bade them not trust too much to the remoteness and inaccessibility of their country.*

In 1652 the Altan Khan of his own free will made over the Kirghises, who had been his tributaries, to the Russians. Fischer says that as he did not wish to appear as acting badly towards his former subjects, he arranged with his cousin Mergen Taishi, that under pretence of a family quarrel with the Khan, he should march with 700 men as if escaping from the Mongols into the Kirghiz country. This he accordingly did, and under the plea that he wished to protect the Kirghises, he occupied an old Tartar fort that existed at the mouth of the Syda, one of the tributaries of the Yenisei. The Kirghises were not at all satisfied. The more innocent the transaction looked and the more they suspected it, and they sent word to the Russian authorities at Krasnoyarsk. The latter sent off a messenger to inquire more fully from the Taishi as to the motive of his coming. Hardly had he reached the Kirghiz frontier, when he heard that the Altan Khan and his son were already in the country, and were encamped with 4,000 men at the mouth of the Yerba (one of the tributaries of the Yenisei), and had besieged his cousin the Taishi there. The suspicious Kirghises were assembled on the river Iyus, where they were speedily summoned by the Khan's messengers to submit to him as his subjects, proving how hollow his pretences had been. The Kirghises were scared; 1,500 of them retired towards Krasnoyarsk to the river Indsul (a tributary of the Iyus), where they intrenched themselves behind wooden palisades. Thence they sent to Tomsk and Krasnoyarsk for help against Irden Kontaishi (*i.e.*, Ombo Erdeni, the Altan Khan). The Russians collected what forces they could at Tomsk and Krasnoyarsk, and also sent for aid to Yeneseisk and Kusnetz, and they despatched a messenger named Kolowskoi, to ask explanations from the Khan. He however was too much afraid to go in person, and contented himself with letting the Khan know that a mighty army was coming to drive him away. This had its effect. The Khan assembled the Kirghises, of whom a large number were by him, around him, and told them he never meant to fight them, reminded them of their old regard for him, and told them that as he was now growing old he proposed to resign one-half his kingdom to his son Lousan (*i.e.*, Lobdzan), that he had come to introduce him among them, and hoped they would show him the same regard they had shown to himself. The Khan then took his departure homewards, his cousin Mergen, who had become reconciled to him, followed him on foot, while the Kirghises returned to their old quarters.† But this cheerful condition of things did not last long. The next year the Khan sent twenty-five Mongols to the Kirghises, to insist upon their paying tribute to him, and such terror was created in the land that the Kirghises were greatly scattered. Some fled to the chief of the Kalmuks. The Tubini asked for an ostrog or settlement, and for a Russian garrison,

* *Id.*, ii. 468. † Fischer, 702-705.

but this was not assented to. A large section of the Kirghises took to the more congenial employment of marauding.*

In 1656 the Jassaktu Khan Norbu and the Altan Khan Ombo Erdeni each sent a son to make their peace with the Manchu court, and two years later two of their relatives named Setzen Jinong and Kundulen Toin were sent on a similar errand.† The next year, namely in 1657, Ombo Erdeni the Altan Khan died, and was succeeded by his son Erintshin, under the style of Lobdzan Taishi.‡ About the same time Norbu was succeeded as Jassaktu Khan by his son Wangshuk. Lobdzang fills an important figure in the later Mongol history, and was the prime cause of the dispersal and prostration of the Khalkas.

Among his other monuments is a winding road which he made over the mountains called Khonin Tag, for a passage from Mongolia into Siberia. Formerly these mountains had been impassable, nor is the passage very easy now.§ But the fact which gave Lobdzan a preponderating influence, was that one of his brothers had become a very renowned Kutuchta. Lamaism had spread very greatly among the Mongols, and it was a subject of pride among the Khalkha chiefs to have a Kutuchta or regenerate Buddha among them. It was the custom for their princes to send a son to Thibet, who entered the religious profession, and was generally promoted rapidly. It would seem that it was easy for one in this sphere of life to acquire the privilege of becoming the vehicle of the rebirth of some famous saint. Lobdzan's brother, named Oendur Toroltu Khutuktu, became the Khubilgan or reincarnation of the celebrated Dongkhor Mansushiri Khutukta.‖

In 1657, before his father's death, he had made a raid upon the Kirghiz territory at the head of 4,000 men. They opposed him but were badly beaten. He then reduced the Tartars in the district of Tomsk to tribute, and by the recruits he got from among the Kirghises and Tartars he raised his army to 8,000 men. He now determined to attack the Russian towns of Tomsk, Kusnetz, and Krasnoyarsk, and prepared some burning arrows to fire their wooden bulwarks with. He also made an alliance with Koka, the chief of the Telenguts, who wished him to attack Tomsk on one side, while he attacked it on another. The Russian settlements were probably never in such imminent danger. It was averted by the sudden death of Lobdzan's father, which caused him to retire precipitately to secure the throne. When he had secured it he altered his policy, and desired to conciliate the Russians, and also to secure the obedience of their clients, the Kirghises, to himself. In 1659 he sent sixty men to the Tubini and Kirghises. From the former he asked a free passage through the land for his envoys to the Russians. From the latter he demanded hostages and tribute. These

* Fischer, 706. † Schmidt, Mem. St. Peters. Acad., ii. 469.
‡ Timkowski, i. . Fischer, op. cit., 707. Schmidt, op. cit., 469.
§ Ritter's Asia, 1014. ‖ Pallas, Sami. Hist. Nach. ueb. die. Mong. Volk., ii. 427.

they refused to give, and prepared to retire to the neighbourhood of Krasnoyarsk. The authorities at Tomsk would have treated his advances with indifference but for orders from Moscow, which led them to send the former envoy, Gretshanin, to the Mongol court again. He traversed a little known country, and his journal was abstracted by Fischer. Leaving Tomsk in September, 1659, he came to a lake named Boshie Osero (between the rivers Urup and Iyus), where the first Kirghiz yurts were. There he got a Mongol guide, and with him made his way to the Yenisei, where he got horses from the Tubini. He then went to the mouth of the Abakan, where the Karaits lived, and thence to the country of the Altirzi on the river Wibat. There he suffered considerably from want of food, and had to supplement his provisions with roots. While he stayed there, there arrived a Mongol commissary named Mergen Dega, who had gone to collect tribute from the Kirghises. He offered to accompany the envoy when he should have collected the tribute. This was done in about two months, and in February, 1660, they set out and passed successively the rivers Adsabaz (*i.e.*, the Shebaz), Chegan macha, and Karasibi. Then crossing a mountain they came to the river Anui, the most important feeder of the Abakan which comes from Mongolia. After four or five days they reached the Oka, which flows between two high mountains, then the Alatz, then the Kondelen, which led them into the valley of the Kemtshik. Here they got fresh horses, and once more went on until they arrived at the Khan's court on the Ubsa lake, on the eleventh of March. The Khan, who is called in the narrative Lousan Sahin Kontaisha, had gone to visit his brother the Kutuchta, but he had ordered a good tent and victuals to be provided for the envoys. He returned in a few days and gave them an audience. They pressed on him to become a vassal of the Russians like his father had been, and complained that he should have molested the Kirghises, who were Russian subjects. They also told him that if he sent any envoys they would be welcomed at the Russian court. He gladly accepted the Czar's expressions of good will, and as to the rest he promised to see Gretshanin again. It was some weeks before he had another audience, and in the meantime the Kutuchta sent a messenger to ask the Russians to pay him a visit. The Khan had moved his camp from Ubsa lake, and gone by way of the Amtitai and Kara Usun to the river Tez, to within a two days' journey of the Kutuchta. The Russians availed themselves of the Kutuchta's invitation and went to see him. They were well received, and he suggested that he would also send envoys. He also offered to supply the Czar with horses and food for any messengers he might wish to send to explore the neighbouring and hostile districts of Bukharia, Yarkand, Kashgar, Turfan, Tangut, and China. Having thanked him for his civility they returned once more to the Khan's court. A few days after their arrival the Khan's favourite wife, named Matshika, died. At such times it is customary for private people

among the Mongols to leave their houses, but in the case of the chiefs they change their place of encampment and seclude themselves during the season of mourning. In pursuance of this custom, the Khan left his quarters on the river Tez, and when he had found fresh ones he summoned Gretshanin to a private audience. In answer to his complaints he disputed that his father had ever made himself subject to the Russians, and even if it had been so it would not bind him, who was then a young man, and whose consent had not been obtained. He also said he had not acted contrary to his father's promises, had taken none of the Russian towns nor injured their subjects. As to the Kirghises, they had long been enemies of the Russians, and as they had acted badly towards himself he was justified in punishing them.

At the final audience the Khan spoke in the same fashion. Neither gold nor silver, nor any other gift should induce him to become another man's subject. "What," continued he, "would other Khans like myself, nobles and lords, say if I yielded such a thing unless I was compelled thereto by war or force. My father may have suffered himself to say or write as he pleased. In so doing he followed his own will, which cannot bind me. I will not contend that I am not to obey the Czar, but I am bound to obey him only to the extent that a younger brother submits to the elder, or a son to his father. Nay more, if the Czar should send me aid against my enemies, I would not in that case refuse to pay him such homage as is consistent with my honour."

Gretshanin refused to entertain this proposal as being one derogatory to his master's dignity, and he accordingly set out on his return the day after the audience, accompanied by envoys from the Khan and from his brother the Kutuchta.* At this point ends the interesting account of the early intercourse between the Russians and the Mongols, which we owe to Fischer's researches in the archives of Siberia.

In 1661 Lobdzan, through some private grudge, attacked his suzereign the Jassaktu Khan, took him prisoner, and put him to death. He also seized on his goods and appropriated a portion of his subjects.† This led to serious consequences. Gumbo Ildeng, Lobdzan's uncle, migrated with his clans to the Chinese frontier to seek vengeance upon the murderer.‡ He and his people settled there, and were organised as one of the Forty-nine Banners. I shall have more to say of them presently. Meanwhile the tribes of the Jassaktu Khan were scattered. At this point the Chinese narrative translated by Schmidt, and the account in Du Halde are not quite consistent with one another, and my story must be a compromise between them. Du Halde says that the Tushiyetu Khan sent word to the various chiefs of Mongolia, asking them to join him against the usurper, and that having assembled their forces they defeated and took him prisoner, but not wishing to dip their hands in

* Fischer, op. cit., 716-718. † Schmidt, Mem. St. Peters. Acad., ii. 469. Du Halde, iv. 167.
‡ Schmidt, op. cit., ii. 469.

his blood, they sent him to the Grand Lama to punish him as he would.* De Mailla says that in fear of the confederates he had fled to the Eleuths,† while Schmidt's authority also says he fled to the Ogheleds or Eleuths. This seems a more reasonable account. Lobdzan now disappears for some time.

In 1669 the Dalai Lama nominated Tsenggun, the brother of the murdered Khan,‡ to the office of Jassaktu Khan, and he collected together and restored order among his subjects,§ but through the ill behaviour of Lobdzan, many of these had been scattered, and the greater portion had joined the Eastern Khalkas, under the Tushiyetu Khan. The latter now refused to surrender them. Tsenggun, after many fruitless efforts to regain them, prepared for war. He also sent ambassadors to the Dalai Lama to ask for his influence. The latter thereupon despatched one of his principal Lamas to the two Khans to settle the dispute, but having been bribed by the Tushiyetu Khan, he contented himself with specious promises, without doing anything further.‖ "The Jassaktu Khan despairing of any justice from that quarter sent his second son to the Emperor of China to entreat him to espouse his interests."¶ This is probably the embassy mentioned by De Mailla in 1684.** We are told the Emperor of China sent an envoy to the Dalai Lama, to urge him to join with him in an effort to maintain the peace.†† Meanwhile the Jassaktu Khan Tsenggen died, and was succeeded by his son named Shara.‡‡ He was a *protegé* and close ally of the great chief of the Kalmuks, Galdan Khan. The latter took his part, and also urged upon the Tushiyetu Khan that he should restore the fugitive western clans to their chief. A conference was at length held in the territory of the Tushiyetu Khan, which was attended by envoys from the Manchu Emperor, the Dalai Lama, and the great Kalmuk chief. I shall relate in the account of the Eastern Kalmuks the jealousies that arose at this meeting, and how the envoys of Galdan left it in disgust.

In 1682 the Manchu Emperor sent stately embassies to each of the Khalkha chiefs, apparently to take them presents but in effect to report upon their country, and to inspire them with peaceable disposition. The names and titles of the various envoys are given at length by Mailla. He tells us that to each of the eight principal chiefs were sent a pao tsé, or long robe of ceremony, bordered with black sable, with a cap decorated in the same manner but of a lighter shade, a string of coral beads, boots of leather and of silk furred, a girdle ornamented with precious stones and coral, with a handkerchief, purse, and small knife in an ivory sheath, also a quiver ornamented with precious stones and corals, with a bow and arrows, a gold bowl for taking tea in, also decorated with precious

* Du Halde, iv. 167. † De Mailla, xi. 94. ‡ Du Halde says his son, op. cit., iv. 167.
§ Schmidt, op. cit., ii. 469. ‖ Du Halde, iv. 168. Schmidt, op. cit., 469.
¶ Du Halde, iv. 168. ** De Mailla, xi. 106. †† Du Halde, iv. 169. De Mailla, xi. 107.
‡‡ Schmidt, op. cit., ii. 469. Du Halde, iv. 169.

stones and coral, another of gilt lacquer for rice, and an entire service of silver dishes, five sable skins nearly black, as many skins of beavers, leopards, tigers, and sea leopards, nine blocks or bricks of tea, ninety pieces of silk, and 900 pieces of fine blue cotton stuff.*

Meanwhile Lobdzan apparently continued to rule in his out-of-the-way corner of Mongolia. In 1681 he had sent a messenger to do homage in the old fashion to the Manchu court.† He was now favoured by a special envoy,‡ but the latter *en route* was met by a messenger from the Kalmuk chief Galdan, who told him that he had been badly defeated by the Jassaktu Khan. The latter, having heard that Lobdzan was intriguing with the Russians, had sent his eldest son against him at the head of ten or twelve thousand men, who surprised him in the night while he was overcome with wine, captured him, dispersed his people, and carried off his treasures and himself to his father's camp.§ He survived for some time, for Gerbillon mentions having seen him at a later day, "at the assembly of the estates of Tartary." ‖ As to his people, a portion at least remained independent in their old country, where they remained in 1727, and were then 5,000 strong, and were ruled by a successor of Lobdzan's.¶

Let us once more revert to the Jassaktu Khan. As I have said he was called Shara and was a *protegé* of the Kalmuk chief Galdan, who urged him to attack the Tushiyetu Khan, to recover his lost clans. He consented to do so, and also drew a chief named Dekdekei into his plan. Tushiyetu determined to forestal them, marched against and captured them. The Jassaktu Khan was drowned while his companion was also put to death.** The rash victors then invaded the territory of Galdan, who speedily exacted vengeance as I shall show further on. This was in 1687. As he advanced through the territory of the Khalkhas of Jassaktu Khan, the latter were terrified at their allies, and migrated under Tsewangshab (the brother of the murdered Shara), and two chiefs named Sereng and Akhai, and put themselves under the protection of the Manchus, by whom they were settled on the borders of the Urads. I shall describe later on the grand reception which the Manchu Emperor gave the Khalkha chiefs in 1690. In their distress they had become very submissive, and acknowledged the Emperor as their suzereign, who in his turn placed them on the same footing as the Mongols of the Forty-nine Banners. Sereng and Akhai were each given command of a banner, while Tsewangshab was given the title of Koshoi Chin Wang and the command of the Western Khalkhas, who again became known as the Khalkhas of Jassaktu Khan.†† The Tushiyetu Khan however was made overchief of all the Khalkhas. It was probably jealousy of this promotion which caused the Western Khalkhas in 1696 to migrate once more to

* De Mailla, xi. 97. † *Id.*, 93. ‡ *Id.*, 96. § *Id.*, 98. ‖ Du Halde, iv. 167.
¶ Pallas, Hist., Nach, &c., i. 41. Note. ** Schmidt, Mem., &c., ii. 469. Du Halde, iv. 170.
†† Schmidt, op. cit., ii. 470.

their ancient camping ground, where they are still found. In 1700 Tsewangshab was appointed Jassaktu Khan by the Dalai Lama, to whom he sent many presents.*

This part of Mongolia has been especially *the terra-incognita* in that very unknown land, the Northern Gobi. Latterly, however, it has been traversed by two careful travellers, namely, M. Shismaref and Mr. Ney Elias. The latter found it almost deserted, and its towns nearly destroyed by a cruel inroad of the Tungans, while parties of fugitive Mongols, scared by the terrible inroad, were met in various directions.† In the admirable map appended to Mr. Elias' paper in the Journal of the Geographical Society, the dominions of the Jassaktu Khan are marked out. The authority for the boundary lines is not given, but the work is so well done in other respects that it no doubt represents faithfully the present extent of the dominions of the Khans of the Western Khalkhas. The boundary is very irregular and can be better studied from the map accompanying this work than from any mere description. It is bounded on the east by the possessions of another Khalkha chief, namely, the Sain Noyan, on the south by the Gobi desert, on the north by the province of Kobdo, and on the west by the same province and the districts of Barkul and Khamil. Schmidt's authority gives the boundaries thus: on the east, Ungin Shirgal dsol; on the west, lake Khara Usu Elek Noor; on the south, Artsa Khara Tokoi; and on the north, the river Toin.‡ I shall extract Timkowski's account of the topography of the Khalkha country at the end of the chapter.

Besides the Jassaktu Khan there are several other princes belonging to this section of the Khalkhas. They comprise a beile, two kungs of the first and six of the second class, and nine taidzi of the first class.§

THE EASTERN KHALKHAS OF THE INNER DIVISION.

IN the previous narrative I described how the Altan Khan Lobdzan assassinated his suzereign the Jassaktu Khan, and how in consequence his uncle Gumbo Ilden, with a portion of his clans, fled to the Chinese frontier.‖ He was granted the title of Beilé, and his people were formed into a banner and ranged among the Forty-nine Banners.

"Their country is bounded on the east by that of the Khortshins, on the west by the Naimans, on the south by the Tumeds, and on the north by the Dsarods and Ongnighods. It is 125 li from east to west and 230 li from north to south, and is 1,210 li from Peking. Their chief camp is at Tsaghan kochotun." ¶

* Schmidt, op. cit., ii. 470.

† Ney Elias, Journey through Western Mongolia, Journ. Roy. Geogr. Soc., xliii. 108. Passim.

‡ Op cit., ii. 465. § Timkowski, ii. 225. ‖ Ante, 470. Schmidt, op. cit., ii. 438.

¶ Schmidt, op. cit., ii. 438. Timkowski ii. 279.

THE NORTHERN KHALKHAS OF TUSHIYETU KHAN.

I HAVE already described how the Khalkhas were divided into seven sections, under the seven sons of Geressandsa, the son of Dayan Khan, and how several of these sections settled in North-western Mongolia and became the subjects of the Jassaktu Khans, forming the western division of the Khalkhas. Other sections settled on the Tula and the Kerulon, and are known as the eastern Khalkhas, the supreme overchief of these latter being the Tushiyetu Khan. These eastern sections comprised the tribes who obeyed Unugho Waidsang Noyan, the third, and Amin Dural, the fifth sons of Geressandsa. Unugho, we are told, settled on the river Tula, and became the ancestor of the Tushiyetu Khans. Unugho had five sons, of whom the eldest was called Abatai, surnamed Wadshirai Sain Khan. At first the title of Khan was not in use among the Khalkhas, it being reserved apparently for the chiefs of the elder line of the Mongols, namely, of the Chakhars, but Abatai having made a journey to Thibet paid the Dalai Lama a solemn visit, and received a diploma of investiture from him, after which he was everywhere acknowledged as Khan. He was succeeded by his son Eriyekei, who took the title of Mergen Khan. Mergen Khan left three sons, of whom the eldest was called Gumbo, who first adopted the title of Tushiyetu Khan. In 1636 he sent a letter jointly with Shului, the Setzen Khan of the Eastern Khalkhas, to the Manchu Emperor, offering his submission, and the next year he sent an envoy with presents of camels, horses, sable skins, eagles' feathers, and a Russian gun, on which occasion the Emperor demanded that the three Khans of the Khalkhas, according to ancient custom, should for the future send the so-called "white nine," that is to say, each of them one white camel and eight white horses. In 1646 the chief of the Sunids, named Tenggis, broke away from his allegiance and fled across the desert with his clans. He was chased by the Imperial troops. Gumbo sent an army of 20,000 men to the assistance of his fugitive countryman. The allies met the Imperial army in a place called Dsashi Bulak. They were defeated and lost over a thousand camels and horses. Soon after, Erke Tsokor, a relative of Gumbo's, made an arbitrary raid upon the Barins (then under Manchu protection), and carried off a quantity of prisoners and booty. The Manchu Emperor sent a messenger with a sharp rebuke for the Khalkha chief, upon which another envoy was despatched by Gumbo with a present of horses. He was sent back with a notice that his masters should capture and hand over the Sunid chief Tenggis, and also hand over the booty captured from the Bagharins or Barins. Five years later Tenggis

returned to his allegiance, and Gumbo and his people asked to be forgiven. The Manchu court demanded that the Khan should send some of his relatives as hostages, but this was evaded, nor was the plunder captured from the Barins restored. About 1653 the Taidshi Bondar, one of Gumbo's dependants, submitted with his people to the Manchus, was given the title of Jassak Chin Wang, and assigned quarters near the river Targun. I shall have more to say about him presently. Gumbo now wrote to suggest that Bondar was the person who had attacked the Barins, and sent to ask for his surrender. The Manchu Emperor thus replied. "You have resolutely set yourself against all our commands. You have not sent your sons or younger brothers to the court as hostages. You have this year failed to send the tribute of 'the white nine.' You have not restored their plunder to the Bagharins, but you have on the contrary insolently demanded the return of a man who has sought refuge with us, which is most intolerable and inconsistent with established usage. Even if you had done as we desired you, we should not have returned Bondar and his dependants to you. This is our answer." In the spring of the same year Gumbo sent a messenger with "the white nine," but when he arrived at the gate on the frontier he was not received, and had to return with the things he had brought with him. Gumbo died in 1655, and was succeeded as Tushiyetu Khan by his son Tsagundorji, who sent three of his subjects named Mergen. Noyan, Darkhan Noyan, and Dandshin Lama to announce his accession. They seem to have carried a submissive message, for the Emperor promised to overlook their past offences, and as it was so many years since the outrage on the Barins had been committed, this should also be overlooked. In the following winter the Tushiyetu Khan sent messengers to convey his submission, and to perform the Manchu Emperor's behests, and in 1656 the Manchu court confirmed the division of the Khalkhas into eight districts, of which the Tushiyetu Khan and Mergen Noyan each controlled one. In 1658 an Imperial messenger was sent to the Tushiyetu Khan with presents, &c., and also with wholesome monitions to be obedient and well behaved.*

In 1682 the Manchu Emperor sent stately embassies to the Khalkha and Kalmuk chiefs, with the declared motive of taking presents, but really to report upon their country. I have already described the presents that were sent to the different chiefs.† The brother of Tushiyetu Khan was a Kutuchta or regenerate Buddha, and for him a special kind of present was sent. This consisted of seven large napkins of fine linen, a cup of precious stone (probably of jade), a ewer of the same material with a handle, a string of coral beads, an embroidered saddle covered with gold plates, a complete service of gilt lacquer, and a golden tea urn ornamented with precious stones and corals, as well as presents of furs, tea, silk, &c.‡

* Schmidt, Mem. St. Peters. Acad., ii. 456-460. † Ante, 471. ‡ De Mailla, xi. 97

We now arrive at a critical turn in the history of the Khalkhas. I have already described how, in 1661, the Jassaktu Khan had been murdered by his dependant Lobdzan, and how a portion of his subjects found refuge with the Tushiyetu Khan. The latter, we are told, summoned the other Khalkha chiefs to march against the usurper, whom they defeated, and a fresh Jassaktu Khan was nominated by the Dalai Lama in 1669.* He applied to the Tushiyetu Khan for the restoration of the clans who had fled to him, but the latter, who was much influenced by the advice of his brother the Kutuchta, refused to surrender them. This brother was named Chepsuntanpa or Jabzun.† He had served a probation of eight years in Thibet and became much inflated by his promotion, and according to Du Halde claimed to be the equal of the Dalai Lama and to be independent of him, and his assumption was affirmed largely by his brother and his subjects.‡

When the Tushiyetu Khan refused to make restitution of the clans which he had appropriated, the Jassaktu Khan had recourse to the Dalai Lama, who despatched a Lama to settle matters, but he was gained over by the Tushiyetu Khan. Fresh complaints were then laid before the Manchu Emperor, who urged the great archpriest of Thibet to send an influential Lama to the Khalkha country, promising to send a messenger there himself.§ The Dalai Lama accordingly despatched the Kutuchta Sanpatchinpu to the Khalkha country. This was in 1684, but this dignitary died on the way at Koko Khotan. The Manchu Emperor sent word of this to the Dalai Lama, who thereupon nominated a fresh envoy, namely, the Kutuchta Eleute Ilakuefan, and ordered him to go to Koko Khotan and get the seal of office of the deceased Lama, and then to proceed on his way. He was also given the title of Jassaktu Lama.‖ It was in 1686, after many delays, that a general assembly of the Khalkhas was at length held in the country of Mergen Taishi. The Emperor was represented by the first president of the tribunal of the Mongols named Argni.¶ Galdan, the Kalmuk chief and the patron of the Jassaktu Khan, also had his representatives there. The Kutuchta from Thibet was a person of great consequence, and as the envoy of the Dalai Lama would naturally have presided, but the Kutuchta, brother of Tushiyetu Khan, insisted upon being treated with equal distinction, upon which the envoys of Galdan, protested against the pretensions of the latter as an outrage upon their common high priest. The matter was at length settled by the two Kutuchtas being assigned seats opposite to one another. A solemn treaty was then entered into, which the Tushiyetu Khan and his brother undertook to observe.** News of the peace was sent to the Manchu court, and was much welcomed there.††

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* Ante, 470. † De Mailla, xi. 97. Timkowski, i. 142. ‡ Du Halde, iv. 168.
§ De Mailla, xi. 107. Du Halde, iv. 168. ‖ De Mailla, xi. 107, 108. ¶ Du Halde, iv. 169.
** Du Halde, iv. 169. †† De Mailla, xi. 108.

Meanwhile the Tushiyetu Khan was by no means prompt in fulfilling the conditions of the peace, and Galdan, the Kalmuk chief who had been much irritated by the slight shown to the representative of the Dalai Lama at the conference, sent an envoy to complain of this, and also to urge the carrying out of the treaty. The complaints of the envoy moved the Khalkha Kutuchta to fury, and he sent him back to his master in chains, and with a rude letter. He followed this up by attacking and defeating the Jassaktu Khan, and then by making a raid upon the territory of Galdan, seizing his brother, executing him, and parading his head about on a spear.* With this provocation we are not surprised to find the Kalmuk chief marching against the Khalkhas. He accordingly in the latter part of 1687 set out at the head of 30,000 men, and was joined by some of the chiefs of the Western Khalkhas. The Tushiyetu Khan meanwhile summoned his dependants. Galdan advanced rapidly. On the river Timur he severely defeated Kaltan, the son of the Tushiyetu Khan, and of the force of 5,000 men whom he commanded, only one hundred remained. Meanwhile another body attacked the sacred Mongol settlement of Erdeni tchao, famous for its Lamaseries. This was speedily captured. The harem of the Tushiyetu Khan had fled with a small escort; and panic and confusion reigned throughout the Khalkha district, which was crowded with fugitives.† Galdan was in alliance with another chief named Tukarha rabdan, who was at the head of six or seven thousand men. All the Khalkhas of the family of the Tushiyetu Khan who were met with were slaughtered, and a special vengeance seems to have been wreaked upon the *protegés* of the Kutuchta. Two temples which he had built at great cost were destroyed, the sacred books were burnt, and so were the statues,‡ and the sacred buildings at Erdeni tchao were also given to the flames. The country was scoured in various directions, and orders were given to put all the Khalkhas to death who should be met with. Gerbillon, who should have gone to the Selinga to arrange a treaty on behalf of the Chinese with the Russians in 1688, tells us he met with a great number of the fugitives in the desert, and was prevented from reaching his destination by the disturbed condition of the country. The Tushiyetu Khan and his brother the Kutuchta fled to the south of the Karong or limits, and encamped on the Chinese frontier, and Galdan did not fail to complain to the Imperial court of its offering refuge to such evil doers. He threatened to follow them there. The Khalkha chief was now in great straits, and in conjunction with his brother the Kutuchta he wrote to the Emperor, offering to acknowledge themselves subjects of the empire, and asking to be put on the same footing as the Mongols of the Forty-nine Banners. An official named Horni was accordingly sent to make arrangements for their settlement, and to

* Du Halde, iv. 170, 171. † De Mailla, xi. 116, 117.
‡ De Mailla, xi. 117. Du Halde, iv. 172.

make a census of them. He found there were thirty Taishis, more than 600 Lamas, and 2,000 families, comprising 20,000 individuals, and he was told there was as many more who had not as yet been able to join them, and of whom they promised to give an account. The Mandarin at Koko Khotan was ordered to supply them with rice. Meanwhile a long correspondence was initiated between Galdan and the Emperor. The latter admitted that he had grievances, but said the Khalkhas had been punished enough, while the former insisted that he should not be satisfied until the Tushiyetu Khan and his brother were surrendered to him. As he could get no satisfaction he advanced once more into the Khalkha country, and put to death or made slaves of all the Khalkhas he found encamped on the river Kerulon, which he followed for convenience of forage.* I shall in a subsequent chapter relate the issue of his struggle with the Manchu empire.

Early in 1691 the Emperor Kanghi issued summonses to the various Khalkha chiefs and their subjects to meet him at a grand conference. Gerbillon, who attended this meeting, has left us a graphic account of it, from which I shall quote. He tells us the Emperor set out on the ninth of May, 1691, accompanied by the greater part of his court, his guards, &c. He passed most of his time on the way in hunting, and passed by the site of the old summer palace of Khubilai at Shangtu. He also amused himself by watching wrestlers. Wrestling is a favourite amusement among the Mongols. They dress themselves in a thick jacket, tightly girt, then seizing each other by the shoulders or by the top of the chest, they try to trip each other. On this occasion the victors presented themselves to the Emperor on their knees to do homage.†

The rendezvous was fixed at the plain of Dolonor or Tolonor, *i.e.*, the seven lakes or springs. To Gerbillon was assigned the duty of setting out the camp. The Imperial tents were in the centre. They included four enclosures, one inside the other, one of which contained the tents of the body guards. This was the largest, and formed a gallery round the rest. Another was bounded by an impassable net work of yellow cords. Each enclosure had three gates, one to the east, another to the west, and the third, by which the Emperor entered, to the south. These were guarded by the body guards. The innermost court was formed of yellow hangings, and had only one door of lacquered wood, and was guarded by two hias, who allowed only the Emperor's servants to enter. Over this door hung a yellow standard with a broidered border of black. In the middle of this enclosure was the Imperial tent, which was round and made in the Mongol fashion, very like a dovecot; generally there were two such, one for sleeping and the other for living in.

Besides these there were also two marquées erected for holding the assemblies in, one was five and the other four fathoms in diameter,

* Du Halde, iv. 174. † De Mailla, xi. 154. Note.

Inside they were hung with tapestry of blue silk, and outside with thick felts, covered with fine cloth. These tents were surmounted with an embroidered cylinder of cloth, with a border of black. Inside one tent was placed the Emperor's couch, which was hung with gold tissue sprinkled with dragons. The coverlets and cushions were of satin. It also had a cover of fox skins. Inside the other there was a small platform, five feet wide and a foot and a half high, covered with woollen cloth. A screen, upon which was painted a dragon, closed the doorway between the two tents. The floor was covered with white felt, and in the middle of this was a mat from Tong king. At the two corners of the Imperial tent were two others for the Emperor's sons. Those of the grandees were ranged round about. Towards the south a space was reserved for the musicians, elephants, and insignia of the empire. Outside the tents of the grandees and 300 paces away were those of the hias or grooms and the petty officials of the court. The troops were distributed in twenty-seven quarters and forming a girdle about the rest. Between each quarter an exercising ground of 100 paces was left open. When the Emperor inspected them they were ranged in ranks, with their swords by their sides. The bows, quivers, and muskets were placed on the ground; their officers were at their head and their banners were flying. Each of the four brigades of musqueteers had eight small cannons, two large ones, and two mortars with it. The various princes were at the heads of their contingents, having the insignia of their offices hung before their tents. For the highest rank these consisted of two large standards, a long banner of the same colour as "the banner" to which the chief belonged, and two long pikes having yak tails hanging from the summit. Gerbillon describes the various exercises gone through by the troops before the Emperor. He goes on to say that on the day fixed for the reception of the Khalkha chiefs all the troops were dressed in full uniform, and took up the positions assigned them. Outside the three interior enclosures of the Imperial marquée, and a few feet from the entrance to the outer one, there was built a large yellow tent, four fathoms square, with a lesser one behind it. In the former was a platform, two feet high, covered with two felt carpets, one white, the other red, with yellow dragons upon it. In its midst was put a yellow satin cushion, embroidered with flowers and foliage, with the Imperial arms in gold. This was for the Emperor's seat. The ground was covered with felts, and over them were placed Tongking-mats. Close by these was another tent, in which was a table with gold and jewelled cups upon it, while the various spaces of the enclosure were occupied by soldiers in double ranks, amidst whom was the band and the Imperial insignia, the latter being borne by men dressed in gowns of red taffeta, sprinkled with circles with white spots. They were preceded by four elephants, which had been brought expressly from Peking, and whose harness was magnificent. They were called the bearers of the Crown jewels. They were accompanied by the

Emperor's horses, also magnificently caparisoned. These arrangements having been made, and the various officials having been posted according to their ranks, the Royal princes and regulos, both Manchu and Mongol, were ranged on the Emperor's left, the right being reserved for the chiefs of the Khalkhas.*

When all the arrangements were complete, the Kutuchta of the Khalkhas and the Tushiyetu Khan were ushered into the audience tent. The former was dressed in a long robe of yellow satin, with a border of sable fur. Over this he had a scarf, blood red in colour, fastened over his shoulder. His hair and beard were shaven. On his head he had a kind of mitre of yellow satin, with the four corners turned up and ornamented with very dark sable. His shoes were made of red satin with pointed toes, the seams being covered with yellow lace. He was accompanied by two other Lamas, and was introduced by the president of the tribunal of the Mongols. His brother the Khan, who followed him, was dressed in a long robe of gold and silk brocade, but it was very dirty. His head was covered with a fur cap. He had no suite with him, and was introduced by one of the chief officers of the Imperial guard. The Emperor received them standing and did not allow them to kneel, but took them by the hand as they were about to do so. He was dressed in his ceremonial robes, consisting of a long gown of yellow brocade, with dragons embroidered upon it in gold and silk. Over this was another garment of violet satin, on which were embroidered four circles, a foot in diameter, containing dragons in gold. One of the circles was in the middle of his back, another in front, and the other two on the sleeves. His cap was ornamented in front with a great pearl. He had a string of beads about his neck, some of them of coral, others of a kind of agate (? jade). His shoes were of black satin. His sons and the other grandees were similarly but not so richly attired. The audience lasted half an hour, during which a casket was brought in, containing a seal and letters patent, which were presented to the Tushiyetu Khan.

After the audience the chiefs were conducted to the large tent outside the third enclosure. There they were joined by the Emperor, who seated himself in Eastern fashion on the platform. His sons were seated on a cushion behind him. The Manchu and Mongol tributary princes and grandees were ranged in two rows on the left, while on the Emperor's right were seated the Kutuchta and the three Khalkha chiefs who had the title of Khan, namely, the Jassaktu Khan, the Tushiyetu Khan, and the Setzen Khan; the Lama occupying the first place. Beside them sat the Emperor's uncles and brothers, and some seven or eight hundred Taishis, subordinates of the Khalkha chiefs, seated in fifteen or sixteen rows. When the Emperor entered, the whole assembly rose and remained standing until the Khalkha Khans had done homage. As soon as he was

* Gerbillon. De Mailla, xi. 156, 157. Note.

seated, the officials of the tribunal of the Mongols conducted these princes to a position thirty paces in front of the Imperial platform, when an officer addressed them in Mongol, saying, "Kneel down," upon which they knelt. Then the officer shouted, "Touch the ground with your heads" (*i.e.*, make the kowtow). This they did three times. They were then ordered to rise and to kneel again, and thus they went through the performance until they had knelt three times, and touched the ground with their heads nine times. The Lamas were excused from this ceremony, but they remained standing like the rest. After the performance of this solemn homage, the Khalkha chiefs were conducted to the places which had been assigned them, where they were given refreshments in silver vessels. These were piled up in different stages, containing beef, mutton, and game; others contained pastry, sweets, and dried fruits. The Kutuchta and the three Khans each had a separate table, as well as the Emperor's sons and the grandees of the first class. The others were seated on cushions, two, three, or four at a table, according to their rank. Before the rest began, the Emperor's two chamberlains placed two special tables respectfully before him, after which the chief butler presented him with a cup of tea, the cup made of precious stone and ornamented with gold, all present meanwhile kneeling and doing "the kowtow." The rest of the company then drank tea in order of rank, the grand regulos of Peking being placed on the same footing as the three Khalkha Khans. Before and after drinking, each one bent a knee and bowed towards the ground. The Lamas drank, as was their custom, out of their own cups, and the Kutuchta was accordingly presented with one before drinking. The same ceremony was gone through in drinking wine, &c. The Emperor himself offered wine to the Kutuchta, to the three Khans, and to some twenty of the principal Taishis. They received this honour kneeling, holding the cup with one hand and doing the kowtow. The butlers handed wine to the rest of the company.

During the entertainment there was an exhibition of tight-rope dancing and of marionnettes. The Khalkhas were much amused with these, except the Kutuchta, who kept up an appearance of utter indifference and gravity, as befitted his pretensions. The day after the feast the Kutuchta, the three Khans, and the principal Taishis were summoned to receive their presents. The Kutuchta received 1,000 taels of silver, and each of the three Khans fifteen pieces of satin, with some large silver vessels for tea, and several complete Manchu ceremonial robes, such as are worn by the higher grandees. They were also given pieces of cloth for their servants, a great quantity of tea, and some embroidered saddles. Five of the nearest relatives of the three Khans were created princes of the second class. Others were raised to the third rank, or given the title of Kong. All received Manchu dresses, which they at once put on, and in which they always afterwards appeared when in the Emperor's presence; the Kutuchta retained of his former dress only his scarf and

shoes. After the presentation there was a collation, with music and tight-rope dancing as before. The following day the Emperor reviewed the troops, and after they had retired he amused himself with archery, using a bow so strong that none of the Khalkha princes could draw it. He then entertained them with the horse races called Paohiai. The horses were ridden by tight-rope dancers, who rode them without reins, seizing them by the crupper, and stooping down almost to the ground, first on one side, then on the other. They stood on their heads on the saddles, &c. There then followed wrestling matches between Khalkha wrestlers and those of Manchu, Chinese, and Southern Mongol origin. The Khalkhas won in this, their national pastime. The whole concluded with a visit paid by the wives and daughters of the Mongol chiefs to the Emperor, by whom they were entertained with refreshments, with music, and marionnettes. The Emperor also paid a visit to the Kutuchta, and on the day of his departure he gave another audience, after which he ordered the camps to be raised. The three Khalkha Khans and the various Taishis were ranged in ranks on their knees as he passed, while many of the Khalkhas who were reduced to great want implored his assistance and were relieved.* This stately conference practically closes the independent history of the Khalkhas. Thenceforward they became subjects of the Manchus, and their history is that of the larger empire in which they were swallowed up. At this time Galdan still occupied their old country. When he was at length finally defeated, the Khalkhas of the Tushiyetu Khan, who had found protection under the wing of the empire, drifted back once more to their old country on the banks of the Tula and Selinga. As I have said, they consist of twenty banners; and besides the Tushiyetu Khan they are governed by a tsin wang, two kiun wangs, two beisse, six kungs, and eight jassaks, who have the title of taidzi of the first class.†

"Their present country is bounded on the east by the Kentei chain and the encampments of the Khalkhas of the Setzen Khan, on the west by the river Ongin or Ungki, on the south by the desert of Gobi, and on the north by the Russian frontier." ‡

When this frontier was revised in 1727, a body of Khalkhas, probably before attached to this section, became Russian subjects. They numbered about 5,000.§ I shall describe the topography of the whole Khalkha district further on.

* Gerbillon, abstracted by De Mailla, *vide* op. cit., xi. 153-161. Passim.
† Timkowski, ii. 225. ‡ Borg's Hyacinthe, 99. Schmidt, op. cit., ii. 455.
§ Handbuch der Geographie und Statistik von assen, by Brauer & Plath, 98.

THE WESTERN KHALKHAS OF THE INNER DIVISION.

UNUGHO, the third son of Geressandsa, the son of Dayan Khan, had two sons, the elder of these, named Abatai, became the ancestor of the Tushiyetu Khans, as I have described in the former paragraph. His second son was called Abugho, with the surname Mergen Noyan. He had three sons, of whom the second was called Rakholi. Rakholi had five sons, named Bondar, Bambashihi, Sardshi, Jamso, and Erintshin, all dependants of the Tushiyetu Khan.

In 1653 Bondar quarrelled with the Tushiyetu Khan Gumbo, and with his brothers Bambashihi, Jamso, and Erintshin he escaped at the head of one thousand families, and submitted to the Manchus. Bondar was given the title of Jassak Khoskhoi Darkhan Chin Wang, and was made overchief of the folk he had taken with him. They were formed into a banner of the Inner division, and were assigned quarters by the river Targun.* They are now subject to a prince of the third class and three chiefs of high rank.

"Their country is 120 li from east to west and 130 from north to south. It is bounded on the east by the Durben Keukeds, on the west by the Mao Minggans, on the south by the Tumeds of Koko Khotan, and on the north by the desert of Gobi. It is 1,130 li distant from Peking."†

THE MIDDLE KHALKHAS OF THE SAIN NOYAN.

AS I have said, the Noyan Unugho, the second son of Geressandsa Jelair Khungtaidshi, had five sons. We have already considered Abatai and Abugho, the two eldest. The third, Tarni, died childless; the fourth and fifth sons were respectively named Tumengken and Barai. From them are descended the princes of the Middle Khalkhas, who form twenty-four banners. Tumengken, the elder of the two, was supreme chief. Originally, says Schmidt, the Khalkhas were devoted to the elder form of the Lama religion, that of the so-called Red Lamas, but after holding a controversy with a follower of the Yellow rite, Tumengken found this latter preferable, and for the future took the Yellow Lamas under his protection, and gained the good opinion of the

* Schmidt, op. cit., ii. 449, 450. † Timkowski, ii. 278. Schmidt, ii. 449.

Dalai Lama. The latter gave him the title of Sain Noyan, and the same rank as the three other great chiefs of the Khalkhas. The eldest son of Tumengken was Jodba, who was styled Setzen Noyan; his second son Dandshin Lama also received a title from the Dalai Lama. He was styled Nom Khan. In 1637 the latter sent tribute to the Imperial court, and his messenger returned laden with gifts, and he seems to have succeeded his father as Sain Noyan, to the exclusion of his elder brother. In 1647 he joined with his relative and nominal overlord, the Tushiyetu Khan, in affording assistance to the fugitive Sunid prince Tenggis, for which he was sharply reproved by the Manchu Emperor. In 1650 he sent his son Erdeni Nomtshi to the court with a friendly letter. To this an answer was sent bidding him do homage. In 1654 he again sent his son with a more submissive note, and the following year sent a relative to do homage. On the division of the Khalkhas into eight administrative districts he was thought sufficiently important to be ordered to send the tribute of "the white nine." On the death of Dandshin Lama, he was succeeded as Sain Noyan by his son Tasjab, and on the death of the latter he was in turn succeeded by his son Shamba, who was invested with the title of Itegemjitu Eyetei Erke Daitshing. It was in his reign that the Kalmuk chief Galdan made his raid upon the country of the Khalkhas. Like the other Khalkha chiefs, Shamba fled to the Chinese frontier and acknowledged himself a subject of the Manchus, and he and his people were given quarters on the borders of the Urads. At the great conference in 1690, which I have already described, his people were divided into banners, and were subordinated to the Tushiyetu Khan. In 1696 Shamba, with his people, returned once more to their old country north of the desert. In the following year he died, leaving two sons, the elder of whom received the title of Chin Wang, and the younger that of Uluster tussalakshi Gung. In 1724 the Middle Khalkhas, in consideration of their numbers and of the distinguished services of their chiefs, were made independent of the Tushiyetu Khans, acquired a separate administration, and their chief, who was then named Dashidundub, once more took the title of Sain Noyan. They then comprised nineteen banners. At a later date three other banners were constituted, while there was a further addition made to them of two Eleuth or Kalmuk banners. This makes up altogether twenty-four banners.* They are controlled by two tsin wangs, one of whom is the Sain Noyan, while the other governs twenty-three banners; two kiun wangs, two beile, a kung of the first, five of the second class, and ten jassak taidzi.†

"Their country is bounded on the east by Boro Burghassu Olom, on the west by the mountains Kul Saya Soghotu ekin, on the south by Tsetserlik, and on the north by the river Chilaghotu."‡

* Schmidt, Mem. St. Peters. Acad., ii. 470-474. † Timkowski, ii. 225.
‡ Schmidt, op. cit., ii. 470.

THE EASTERN KHALKHAS OF THE SETZEN KHAN.

As I have said,* the patrimony of Geressandsa Bolod, the youngest son of Dayan Khan, was divided into seven sections among his seven sons. Of these sons, the fifth was named Amin Dural. His son was called Moro Buima. He settled with his people on the river Kerulon. His son, named Shului, first took the title of Setzen Khan, thus forming the third Khalkha chief who was styled Khan. This section of the Khalkhas was dependant upon the Khan of the Chakhars. When the latter were defeated in 1634 by the Manchus, the Setzen Khan Shului, in concert with the chiefs of the Wesumutshins and the Sunids, sent a friendly letter to the Manchu court with a present of camels and horses. As notwithstanding this his subjects in 1635 commenced to trade with the Ming empire, the Manchu Emperor sent him the following note. "The Ming are my sworn foes. Lingdan Khan of the Chakhars, corrupted by the presents annually sent him by the Ming, not only did not help me against them but even sent them assistance. I was therefore constrained to take up arms against him, and to vanquish him, and as heaven disapproved of their conduct it delivered them into our hands. I consider that your people trading with the Ming is giving them very material assistance. It were well if you took warning from the Chakhars, otherwise their fate may overtake you." The following winter Shului sent Waidsang Lama to the court to say that he had forbidden the trade with the Ming. He was well received and liberally rewarded with presents. In 1636 Shului sent a present to the court of one of the wild horses (? a wild ass) called Taki, and the following year followed it with a present of horses, armour, helmets, sable skins, eagles' feathers, a Russian gun, bows and arrows from the Khotong (*i.e.*, the people of Little Bucharia), saddles, bridles, hatchets from the people Armas? white squirrel skins, and black Tangutan fox skins.† After this it was decided that he should send "the white nine" every year and nothing more. In 1646 Shului assisted the rebel Sunid prince Tenggis with a contingent of 13,000 men, under the command of his son Bumba. The confederates were defeated by the Manchu troops, and in 1648, when Tenggis submitted, Shului to make peace sent a present of 100 camels and 1,000 horses, and asked to be forgiven. His messengers were sent back with orders for the Khan to send his sons or younger brothers to the court to do homage. In 1652, on the occasion of offering tribute, a disturbance arose on account of the presents which were given in return. A rebuke was administered to them, upon

* Ante, 456

† A goodly list of objects deemed valuable by the Mongols of the period.

which Shului ceased to send tribute. In 1655 he was succeeded as Setzen Khan by his son Babu, who sent his son Modsang Mergen Tsokor to do homage. The old misunderstanding was overlooked, and it was decided that the tribute of "the white nine" should be renewed. In the same year the Khalkhas were divided into eight sections belonging to the eastern and western divisions, and the Setzen Khan was assigned one of the sections of the eastern division. In 1681 a subject of Babu's made a raid upon the territory of the Wesumutshins, who were then subjects of the Manchus. This led to the strengthening of the frontier guards on both sides, and to the administration of a sharp rebuke to the Setzen Khan's envoys when they took the tribute in that year.* In 1682 the Manchu Emperor sent important embassies with presents to the various Khalkha chiefs. Among others the Setzen Khan was also thus honoured.†

Babu died in 1685, and was succeeded as Setzen Khan by his son Norbu.‡ Two years later, the strife that had arisen among the Khalkhas on account of the murder of the Jassaktu Khan was settled by a peace.§ This was followed by the death of Norbu, and the Emperor sent word to the Tushiyetu Khan, his brother the Kutuchta, and the Jassaktu Khan to proclaim Norbu's son Ildeng Arabtan his successor.‖ He also died very shortly after.¶ This was about the time when Galdan, the Kalmuk chief, was laying waste the country of the Khalkhas. On the death of Ildeng Arabtan his son Wemeki was a minor, and his guardian Namjal abandoned the Khalkha country, and at the head of more than 100,000 families submitted to the Manchus.** The young boy's mother pressed the Emperor to grant him the title of Khan, which he did after some hesitation.†† With the other Khalkha chiefs the Setzen Khan took part in the grand reception held by the Emperor Kanghi at Dolo Nur, in 1691 (which I have previously described), and there became definitely a Manchu subject.

On the collapse of the power of Galdan, the Setzen Khan and his people seem to have drifted back into their old quarters. They are now divided into twenty-one banners, and are encamped in the country watered by the river Kerulon. Besides the Setzen Khan they have among their princes a tsin wang, a kiun wang, a beile, two beisse, a kung of the first, two kungs of the second, and three kungs of the third class, besides twelve jassaks.‡‡

Their country is bounded on the west by the Kentei range which separates them from the Khalkhas of Tushiyetu Khan, on the north by the Russian frontier, on the east by the country of the Wesumutshins and the Solons, and on the south by the desert of Gobi. Schmidt's

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* Schmidt, Mem. St. Peters. Acad., ii. 462-465. † De Mailla, xi. 96.
‡ Schmidt, op. cit., ii. 465. § *Vide* ante, 476.
Schmidt, op. cit., ii. 465. De Mailla, xi. 109. ¶ Schmidt, ii. 465. De Mailla, xi. 118.
Schmidt, op. cit., ii. 465. †† Du Halde, iv. 173. ‡‡ Timkowski, ii. 225.

authority gives the boundaries thus : on the west Tsaghan Chilaghotu, on the north the Undurkhan, on the east Erdeni Tologoi, and on the south Targun Tsaidam.*

The country of Khalkhas comprises the ancient seats of the race before the great conquests of Jingis Khan; the motherland of the Mongol people. The following topographical sketch of this land is a translation from the Chinese account of Mongolia, which was made by Klaproth, and appended to Timkowski's Travels, and is still the best condensed account accessible to me.

MOUNTAINS.

Burkhan ula (or the Divine mountain), in which the Onon has its source. Mount Ti li ven Phou tha (Durben Puta), situated on the Onon : it is near this mountain that Jingis Khan was born. Tono ula (ula signifies, in Mongol, a high mountain), on the right bank of the Kerulun. The Emperor Kanghi stopped there in June, 1696, during his campaign against Galdan, prince of the Sungarians, and caused the following inscription in Chinese verse to be carved in the rock :—

"How immense is the desert of Gobi ; how broad and deep is the Kerulon ! It is here that six corps of my army, under my command, displayed their courage. Like the thunderbolt, they destroyed every thing ! The sun and the moon beheld them with terror. The enemy fled before them, and the surrounding deserts have recovered the tranquillity of peace."

The Khingan : this great chain of mountains stretches along the right bank of the Onon, and to the east of the little mountains of Kentei, and it extends to the source of the Amour. The Kentei ula is to the south of the heights of the Onon. Two small rivers, which afterwards form the Kerulon, have their sources in the south-east of these mountains. To the west rise the mountains of Dzilung daba and Terelkdzi (daba, in Mongol, indicates a mountain, the summit of which may be crossed). The Baga Kentei, or Little Kentei, is near Urga, and joins mount Terelkdzi, where the Tula has its source. The Tsuku (Tchikoi), which enters the Russian frontier, issues from the north side of the Baga Kentei. Mount Kirsa is to the east of the sources of the Tula : this chain commences at the northern extremity of the Khingan, follows the Tula towards the north, and turning, forms the mountains of Terelkdzi.

Khan-ula is to the north of the Khingan, on the left bank of the Tula. The Kul, a small river which issues from it, flows to the north, and falls into the Tula. About thirty li to the south-east is the woody district called Djao modo. In the month of June, 1696, the Emperor Kanghi defeated in this place the army of the Sungarians, and to hand down

* Op. cit., ii. 461.

the memory of this victory to posterity, he caused the following inscription to be cut in the rock :—

"Heaven has lent us its powerful aid to subdue our enemies and to destroy the wicked. These wild beasts (the Sungarians), weakened by resistance, fled to the west : Heaven seconded our efforts : they soon fell under the sword of my troops : at the first beat of the drum their tents, planted in the wilderness, were abandoned. I have caused to be engraved on these rocks the account of the great deeds of the victorious army."

The Dulan khara, to the south-west of Khan ula, opposite to the Tula, approaches, on the south, to the great desert of Gobi, and on the north to the Tula. The Khadamal is on the north side of the little river Khara ussu : its north side approaches the Russian frontier, and forms the northern limit of the Khalkhas. The Kaliar is between the Khara ussu and the Orkhon. These mountains join the Djamur ula, which lies on the north bank of the Tula, at the place where it falls into the Orkhon. The chain following the course of the Tula inclines to the north. Towards the east it extends to the Selbi daba, and forms a semicircle some hundred li in extent. The Burung is between the Orkhon and the Selenga. This mountain extends some hundred li from east to west. The Bonghun Shara extends above 200 li to the west of the Burung. Farther to the north are the mountains Sirkegung and Erklietu, between the Selenga and the Orkhon.

The Khantai chain, to the north of the Selenga, extends northwards beyond the Russian frontiers. The Kuku tsilotu is on the south bank of the Orkhon ; following the course of that river, it inclines towards the east. One hundred li from it, to the east, there are warm springs. The Sirkha adzirgan (in Mongol, adzirgan signifies a stallion) is to the east of the source of the Orkhon. At the western foot of this mountain stands the temple of Erdeni dzao. The Kanghi kamar is to the south of the Sirkha adzirgan ; the Orkhon flows on the north side of this chain, and the Onghin muren rises on the south. The Django, to the north of the source of the Orkhon, is separated by that river from the Sirka adzirgan, and forms the eastern part of the Khangai mountains.

The chain of the latter is to the north of the sources of the Orkhon, and 500 li to the north-west of the Onghin muren. This chain is higher than any of those in the vicinity ; it begins to the north-west of the Altai, crosses the Orkhon and the Tula, and forms the great mountains of Khingan and Kentei. To the west of the Kuku ula the chain turns to the north, surrounds all the sources of the Selenga, and approaches the Russian frontiers. The Orkhon and the Tamir rise in these mountains ; they seem to be the same which, in ancient Chinese writers, are called the Yan jan shan. The Bain dzurukhe is to the east of the source of the Orkhon ; farther to the north-east is mount Saikhan ula ; and still farther to the east, the Erukhetai kubsul, at the termination of the

course of the river Kassui, and on its north bank. Mount Undur is to the west of the Kubsul; the Naiman ula on the north bank of the Selenga; the Kaldzan burguttai to the west of the Naiman ula; the Ertsit to the west of the Kaldzan burguttai, and to the south of the banks of the Kharatal; the Koiboldok on an island in lake Kosogol; the Ulbechi to the east of lake Sanghin dalai. Farther to the south extend the Urlu uga mountains.

The Altai ula, formerly called, in Chinese, Kin shan, or Gold mountain, is to the north-west of the course of the river Tes, and extends at least 2,000 li (670 miles). Its summits rise above the clouds, and the snow which covers them does not melt even in the summer; they are considered as the principal chain from which all the mountains of north-western Mongolia spring. Their main point is to the north-west of lake Ubsa; they rise in stages one above another, and divide into four branches; one begins at the sources of the Ertsis or Irtish, and runs northwards to the Russian frontier by the name of the Altai mountains; that which runs north-east follows the course of the Tes on the north side for about a thousand li, and forms to the east the chain of the Tangnu mountains. This chain meets farther to the north-east, the north side of the Kangai, and extends to the north as far as the Selenga. About a hundred li to the south of that river begins the third branch, which runs to the east, by the name of the Ulan gum mountains, and borders on the north side lake Kirghiz nur. Further to the south-east it forms the Kokei mountains, and then those of Anghi. The Kunghei rises from the south, and the Ukhai from the north side of these latter mountains. The same branch of the Altai forms, farther to the north, the Malga mountains, from the south side of which issues the river Burgassutai; lastly, towards the north-east, it approaches the south side of the Kangai, and borders the rivers Kassui and Tamir. The southern branch extends, almost without interruption, describing various sinuosities. From its western side flow the Narym, the Kuitsil, the Kaliotu, the Akar, the Bordzi, the Khaba, the Khira, the Khara-Ertsis, and the Ertsis. This branch turns to the east; the Buyantu flows from its northern side; the Tsinghil and the Bulagan from the south side. Farther to the east it terminates the Altai chain, but extends in several small branches as far as the great desert of Gobi, where it forms, on the south-east, the mountains of Gurban Saikham; to the south, those of Nomokhon ula, and to the east, those of Uburgun ula, &c. The Tarbaktai ula extends about 600 li to the west of Narym, the Kuitsil, and the Kaliotu.

The Birga daba, to the south-east of the source of the Kerulon, is a branch of the Kentei mountains; from its left side issues the Birga gol, which empties itself into the Onon. The Tsilung daba is to the west of the Kantei; from its left issues the Tsilung, a small river which falls into the Kerulon. Mount Tereldzi is to the west of the Tsilung; the

Tereldzi rises in it and falls into the Kerulon. Mount Galatai is to the south of the Tereldzi; the Adakhai to the north of the Tula; the Selbi daba to the south-west of the Adakhai; the Ukher daba (Ukher, in Mongol, means an ox) to the north-west of the Khangai; the little river Ukher forms the Tui; the Koko ola is to the west of the Ukher, from its left side issues the Tamir, and from its right the Baitarik; the Tsagan tsilo, 800 li to the north of Kalgan, is near to the line of posts on the frontier. These mountains extend about 200 li from east to west. When the Emperor Kanghi passed through this country, in his campaign against Galdan, he caused a stone monument to be erected, with the following inscription :—

"All that is covered by the azure vault of heaven is peopled by my children. I re-establish peace through the whole extent of my dominions; I crush the serpents and reptiles. The genii who preside over the lakes, the mountains, the rich pasture, and the sweet fountains, second my enterprises. This stone will transmit the memory of them to posterity."

To the north of mount Tono and the desert extends a vast steppe, abounding in pasture, and well watered. It is the chief abode of the Khalkhas, and extends 5,000 li from east to west.

RIVERS.

The Kerulon, formerly called by the Chinese Lu khiu ho, rises on the south side of the chain of Kentei, 200 li to the north of the country of the Ordus. It receives five small rivers, runs 200 li farther north, and turns towards the south-east, passes for 100 li through a cleft of the Bain ula, and receives the Sungher; and, at the distance of another 100 li, having run to the south of mount Tono, it turns towards the north-east, and 200 li farther on receives the Tereldzi, which comes from the south-east. Having flowed 800 li farther, inclining a little towards the east, it runs with many windings for 100 li between two mountains, and then 200 li to the north-east, till it falls into lake Kulun or Dalai nur. When it issues from the lake, it forms the boundary between the Solones and the Russians, where it receives from the inhabitants the name of the Erguné (Argun); and after a course of 800 li farther to the north-east, empties itself into the Amur. To the south of the Kerulon lies the great desert of Gobi, destitute of pasturage and water. In the tenth and eleventh centuries this river formed the boundary between the kingdom of Liau and the Mongols.

When the Emperor Kang hi, in 1696, marched against Galdan, he stopped on the banks of this river, thinking that the enemy would dispute the passage; but the Sungarians, being surprised by the arrival of the Chinese, fled towards the west. Kang hi exclaimed: "I was told that Galdan was an able warrior, and that nothing could resist him, but he proves his ignorance by not attempting to maintain his ground on the Kerulon." The Emperor then ascended the river as far as mount Tono,

where he pitched his camp. The great army of the west defeated the enemy about this time, and then the Emperor returned to China.

The Onon, which afterwards takes the name of the Amur, was formerly called in Chinese the Wa nan ho; it rises 200 li to the north-west of the Kerulon in mount Tereldzi, which is a branch of the Kentei chain. It flows to the eastward, to the north of the same chain, and to the south of the great Khingan. It flows 500 li farther, receives eight small rivers, and having joined the Korsu gol, which comes from the south, it turns to the north-east; above 1,000 li further it passes to the south of the town of Nerchinsk. In the interval it receives above ten small rivers running from the north-west, such as the Agachu, the Tarbakhatai, the Tuludai, the Tarbaldzi, &c., and several others which come from the south; 300 li farther, it reaches the stone which marks the frontier. To the south of the source of this river flows the Kerulon, and to the west the Tula. Jingis Khan, the founder of the dynasty of the Yuen, was born in these parts. It was near this river that the Emperor of China defeated, in 1410, as we have mentioned above, Buniashiri Khan, a descendant of that great conqueror.

A hundred li to the north-west of the source of the Onon, the Tula is formed by two springs which issue from the Tereldzi mountains and the little Kentei. This river runs 200 li to the south-west, and receives several smaller streams. After leaving the north of the wood district of Djao modo, it flows westwards for 100 li, then passes by the Khan ula, opposite to which it bathes the town of Urga or kuren (the camp), again runs for 100 li to the south, then for above 300 li to the north-west, receives the Karotka gol (*gol*, in Mongol, means a river), and falls at length, 150 li farther, into the Orkhon. It was near the Tula that, in 1407, Li wen chung, a Chinese general, arriving suddenly from the Kerulon, with his light cavalry, defeated Nangdzu khara djang, general of the Yuen. In 1414 the Oirads were completely beaten there by the Emperor in person.

The district of Djao modo or Dzao modo is to the south of the Tula; it is surrounded on three sides by mountains, and on the north side by a river; to the west is the Khingan, and to the east the Khan ula. In 1696 Galdan was completely defeated there by the Chinese army.

The Orkhon, called by ancient Chinese authors the A lu hoen, has two sources, one to the south of the Khanghi, the other, the Uliastai, issues from the mountain Oldzietu dulan khara ula. These two rivulets, after flowing 500 li to the south-east, unite and form a river, which runs 100 li eastwards in the mountains, then 200 li to the north-east, and passes to the west of the temple of Erdeni Djao. After leaving the mountains, and running 150 li farther, it turns to the north-west, joins the Jirmatai and the Tamir, which come from the west, and then goes straight to the north.

A hundred li farther on, the Orkhon turns and flows 100 li to the

north-east, and receives a warm spring which comes from the south, and 300 li farther is joined by the Tula from the south-west. Having passed the west side of mount Kaliar, it is joined by the Khara from the south-east; 100 li from this place it turns to the north-west and falls into the Selenga. The Orkhon is larger than the Tula, but less considerable than the Selenga, like which it has a very sinuous course between the mountains. Its current is rapid, and its water very clear, and abounding in fish, and the banks are thickly covered with willows and elms. To the north of its junction with the Selenga is the frontier of Russia, and to the south, the territory of the Tushiyetu Khan of the Khalkhas. The Chinese general Li wen chung, after defeating Mangdzu Khara djang near the Tula, pursued him to these parts.

The Khara gol rises to the north of the Tula, in mount Selbi, and has the name of the Kuigol. It runs to the north, receives on the west the Narin and the Burgudtai, and on the east the Adakhai, the Sungnar, and the Tungla; 150 li farther it turns to the north-west, receives afterwards, on the left, the Boro and the Jakdur, runs direct to the north, and falls into the Orkhon.

The Onghin rises near the source of the Orkhon, runs south-east, through a level country, and after a course of 700 li falls into the lake of Kuragan ulen nor. This little lake is 800 li north-west of the country of the Ordus.

The Tamir has two arms; the western rises to the west of the source of the Orkhon, and to the north of the Khangai; the other to the east of this mountain, and to the north of mount Kuku daba; and these two arms are above 200 li from each other. They run north-west, receive several little rivers, and after a course of 200 li, join in a river, which, 100 li farther, falls into the Orkhon.

The Selenga issues from the mountains to the north-west of the Khangai; it has properly six sources. The northern, the Kharatal, and the Buktsui, run to the south-east; the southern, namely, the Eder, Tislotu,* Uliatai, and Adzirak, to the north-east. After a course of about 300 li, they all join in one river, which, after running 200 li to the east, receives the Khassui from the south-east; 200 li to the north-east, the Ekhe from the north-west; and 400 li farther to the north-east, the Orkhon from the south-west. Its course is then to the north-east, to the Russian frontier. From the west it receives the Djedé,† from the east the Chuku,‡ the Udé, &c.; and after a course of 1,000 li to the north it falls into lake Baikal, from which it issues, under the name of Angara, and empties itself into the Northern Ocean.

The Ekhe issues from lake Kosogol or Khussugol, to the north-west of the mountains, runs above 700 li to the south-east, and falls into the Selenga. It receives on both sides a great number of small rivers. The Khassui issues from the mountains to the north of the Tamir, runs 500

* Tilolu, of Ney Elias's Map. † Shida, Ney Elias's Map. ‡ Chilkoi, Ney Elias's Map.

li to the south-east, and falls into the Selenga. The Tui gol (Tuin gol) rises to the south of the Khangai, runs above 300 li to the south, and falls into lake Orok.

The Baitarik rises to the south of mount Koko daba. After a course of above 200 li to the south, it traverses the district of Kuren Beltshir, and joins the Chak Baitarik; 100 li further it receives, on the right, the Tsagan temur, and after running 200 li farther falls into lake Chagan nur.

The Jabkan issues from the mountains to the north-west of Kuren Beltshir, runs more than 200 li to the south-west, and receives, on the right, the Burgassutai, and 200 li farther the Kunghei. After turning to the north-west it receives the Khobdo, after the latter has been joined by the Buyantu, and 100 li farther falls into the Kirghiz nur (lake of the Kirghiz). Here is the western frontier of the country of the Khalkhas.

The Tes comes from the south side of the Tangnu mountains, runs to the south-west, receives several small streams, approaches on the south-west the Altai mountains, and falls into lake Ubra. The Sakli khara gol falls into the same lake on the south-west side.

LAKES.

The Koko nur (different from the great lake of the same name in Tangut). Near its banks Jingis was elected Khan by the assembled Mongols. The position of this lake is now unknown. The Buir nur is 1,200 li to the west of Tsitsigar. The Kulun nur, or Dalai, is 1,170 li to the west of the same town. This great lake is 600 li in circumference; it is formed by the waters of the Kerulon, which comes from the south-west. Under the Thang, this lake was called, by the Chinese, Kiu lun, and under the dynasty of the Ming, Ko liuan. The Kossogol, above 600 li to the north of the Selenga, is 100 li in circumference. In the middle of it is the island of Kui boldok. The Ekhe issues from it on the south-west. The Sanghin dalai is to the west of the sources of the Selenga, and of mount Orbeghi; it is above 100 li in circumference, and has no outlet. The Uldjeitu tsagan nur is to the south-east of the Sanghin dalai. To the north-east it gives rise to the Tcholotor, which falls into the Selenga. The Orok is to the south-east of the Kuen beltshir; the Tui gol falls into it on the north. The Kirghiz nur, to the south-east of mount Ulan gum, is 340 li in circumference; it receives the Jabkan. There is also a lake, Ikhe aral nur, to the south-west of the preceding (*i.e.*, the lake Hara of Ney Elias). The river Kobdo falls into it from the west, and the Buyantu from the south. The Ubsa nor, to the south-east of the Altai mountains, is formed by the Tes, which enters it on the north-east, and by the Sakli Khara from the south-west.

On the south bank of the Orkhon there are warm springs.*

* Timkowski, ii. 226-242.

In this description, which is very faithful and tolerably complete, it is odd that an important lake named lake Turgen by Mr. Ney Elias should be omitted. It is situated only about fifteen or twenty miles from the lake Aral of the above description, whose name, like the great sea of Aral in the west, is derived from containing an island, Aral meaning island. Lake Turgen is a large and probably deep lake, extending towards the north and north-west, and its water is sweet and beautifully clear. It is about 350 feet lower in height than the Aral, and Mr. Elias conjectures that it may receive the overflow of the latter,* and if so, it is probably confused with it in the Chinese narrative. Besides the river Tui and Baitarik mentioned above as flowing southwards from the Kanghai chain, Mr. Elias mentions a third small parallel stream, which he calls the Tatz, and which is some thirty yards broad. It flows into a lake called Sira Buritu. In the country of the Jassaktu Khan, south-west of the Sirke mountains, there are several lakes, probably saline, figured in his map. The principal of these are named the Turkul Nur, Chaghan Ghir Nur, Turgut Nur, Alak Nur, Sirkha Nur, Danghil Nur, Igher Nur, and Tsakhar Tsing.

Note 1.—On page 455 I said that the name Khalkha is generally derived from the river Kalka, a tributary of the Buyur or Buir lake, and this is the view held by the Jesuit missionaries, who did so much to clear up the topography of Mongolia.† This derivation is not improbable, inasmuch as we know of several other Mongol tribes who are similarly named, but it ought to be mentioned that Schmidt does not approve of it. He argues that the Khalkhas did not spring from the neighbourhood of that river, but from the neighbourhood of the Khanghai mountains, and says the name means a shield or shelter.‡ It is curious that the reigning family among the Koshotes bear the name Galgas, which is probably connected with the name we are discussing.§

Note 2.—The Abbe Huc has a curious story about a kingdom of Efe,‖ by which no doubt the country of the Western Mongols of the Inner division is meant. I have no means of verifying the details, but abstract it as a curious picture of Mongol life. He says the kingdom of Efe is a portion of the territory of the eight banners, which the Emperor Kien-Lung dismembered in favour of a prince of the Khalkhas. Sun-Tchó, founder of the Mantchou dynasty, laid down this maxim: "In the south, establish no kings; in the north, interrupt no alliances." This policy has ever since been exactly pursued by the court of Peking. The Emperor Kien-Lung, in order to attach to his dynasty the prince in question, gave him his daughter in marriage, hoping by this means to

* Ney Elias, Journal Roy. Geogr. Soc., xliii. 131, 132. † Du Halde, iv. 196.
‡ Schmidt, Mem. St. Peters. Acad., ii. 456. § Pallas, Saml. Hist. Nach., &c., i. 25.
‖ Huc's Travels, i. 80.

fix him at Peking, and thus to weaken the still dreaded power of the Khalkha sovereigns. He built for him, within the circuit of the Yellow Town itself, a large and magnificent palace, but the Mongol prince could not adapt or reconcile himself to the stiff arbitrary etiquette of a court. Amid the pomp and luxury accumulated for his entertainment, he was incessantly absorbed with the thought of his tents and his herds; even the snows and frosts of his country were matters of regret. The attentions of the court being altogether inadequate to the dissipation of his ennui, he began to talk about returning to his prairies in the Khalkhas. On the other hand, his young wife, accustomed to the refinements of the court of Peking, could not bear the idea of spending the rest of her days in the desert, amongst milkmaids and shepherds. The Emperor resorted to a compromise which sufficiently met the wishes of his son-in-law, without too violently disconcerting the feelings of his daughter. He dismembered a portion of the Chakhar territory, and assigned it to the Mongol prince; he built for him, amid these solitudes, a small but handsome city, and presented to him a hundred families of slaves skilled in the arts and manufactures of China. In this manner, while the young Manchu princess was enabled to dwell in a city and to have a court, the Mongol prince, on his part, was in a position to enjoy the tranquillity of the Land of Grass, and to resume at will the pleasures of nomadic life, in which he had passed his boyhood.

The King of Efe brought with him into his petty dominions a great number of Mongol Khalkhas, who inhabit, under the tent, the country bestowed upon their prince. These Tartars fully maintain the reputation for strength and active vigour which is generally attributed to the men of their nation. They are considered the most powerful wrestlers in southern Mongolia. From their infancy, they are trained to gymnastic exercises, and at the public wrestling matches, celebrated every year at Peking, a great number of these men attend to compete for the prizes, and to sustain the reputation of their country. Yet, though far superior in strength to the Chinese, they are sometimes thrown by the latter, generally more active, and especially more tricky.

In the great match of 1843, a wrestler of the kingdom of Efe had overthrown all competitors, Tartars and Chinese. His body, of gigantic proportions, was fixed upon legs which seemed immovable columns; his hands, like great grappling irons, seized his antagonists, raised them, and then hurled them to the ground, almost without effort. No person had been at all able to stand before his prodigious strength, and they were about to assign him the prize, when a Chinese stepped into the ring. He was short, small, meagre, and appeared calculated for no other purpose than to augment the number of the Efeian's victims. He advanced, however, with an air of firm confidence; the Goliath of Efe stretched out his brawny arms to grasp him, when the Chinese, who had his mouth full of water, suddenly discharged the liquid in the giant's

face. The Tartar mechanically raised his hands to wipe his eyes, and at the instant, the cunning Chinese rushed in, caught him round the waist, threw him off his balance, and down he went, amid the convulsive laughter of the spectators.

Note 3.—Northern Mongolia is separated from Southern Mongolia; the Khalkhas country from the country of the Forty-nine Banners, not by the desert, but by an artificial barrier known as the Limits, which traverses the desert from south-west to north-east. It was beyond this limit that the Mongols were driven when they were expelled from China by the Ming Emperors.* This barrier is called Karong by De Mailla, Carou by Gerbillon and D'Anville,† and Couren, *i.e.*, Kuren by Huc.‡ It is not, as I suggested, a row of palisades, but is rather a low mound or rampart, meant to mark a boundary rather than to be a protection. It is thence, apparently, that it gets its name. Kuré or Kuren means an enclosure, an encampment walled round, and sometimes a cattle pen.§ Thence the native name for the town of Urga is Ta Kuren, or great walled encampment.‖ This points also to the true etymology of Karakorum. Colonel Yule says the greater number of the MSS. of Marco Polo have Caracoron, and not Caracorum, and the name therefore means Black enclosure, and not Black city, as I wrongly wrote.¶

Note 4.—There is an account of the origin of the troubles among the Khalkhas, given by Timkowski,** but it is so full of mistakes and incongruities that I have not quoted or used it. It is in fact quite unreliable.

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* Ante, 384. † Ritter's Asia, ii. 269. ‡ Huc, i. 72.
§ Ney Elias, Journ. Roy. Geogr. Soc., xliii. 122. Timkowski, i. 3.
‖ Ney Elias, *id.*, 122. Note. Timkowski, loc. cit. ¶ Ante, 300. ** Op. cit., i. 142.

CHAPTER IX.

THE KHOSHOTES.

WE have now completed our survey of the history of the Eastern Mongols or Mongols properly so called, and must turn to that of the Western Mongols, more generally known in Europe as Kalmuks. Our former task has been comparatively clear, and a goodly list of authorities has enabled us to reconstruct the Mongol history, from the time of Jingis Khan to the period when the Mongols lost their independence in the seventeenth century. Our present task is very far from being as satisfactory. Materials are wanting, or at all events are not at present accessible, to enable us to give the history the same continuity, and our path is surrounded with darkness and with uncertainty at many points, but I am not without hope that the following story may disentangle some at least of the difficulties which surround it.

As I have said, the Western Mongols are known generally in Europe as Kalmuks. This name is not native. Timkowski failed to find it used among any of the Kalmuk tribes, and only heard of it as applied to a small Thibetan clan. There is no Thibetan tribe known to me with such a name, but one division of Thibet is called Kilmauk by Turner,* which may be the origin of Timkowski's statement. It is the name by which the Western Mongols are known to their Turkish neighbours and to the Russians, who have doubtless borrowed it from the Turks; it is a name familiar to the Turks for a long period, and it is the name by which the Western Mongols were known to Abulghazi Khan, the historian of the Mongols, who wrote in the seventeenth century.

The name has received more than one etymology. Thus Pallas says that it arose thus: "A large section of the race having long before the days of Jingis Khan made an invasion of the west were lost in the neighbourhood of the Caucasus, upon which those who remained behind were styled Khalimaks by their neighbours. Khalimak, he says, meaning 'broken,' remnant."† This derivation is very far fetched and incredible, and I much prefer that given by Fischer, who makes Kalmuk a corruption of Kalpak, the name given by the Muhammedan Turks to the fur caps

* Embassy to Thibet, 315. † Pallas Saml. Hist. Nach., &c., i. 6. Pallas' Voyages, i 488.

worn by the Kalmuks, they themselves wearing the tchelma or turban.* The name thus became in a measure synonymous with unbeliever.† The name Kalmuk is applied not only to Mongol tribes, but also to some Turkish tribes, who apparently wear the same head gear, *ex. gr.*, the Telenguts who inhabit the Altai mountains. They are Turks, are called White Kalmuks by their neighbours, and are in fact *the* Kalmuks of Mr. Ney Elias's narrative. It is well known also that the Manguts, a section of the Nogais, are called Kara Kalpaks, from wearing black caps, and in conclusion I may cite the authority of the English traveller Jenkinson, who was in Russia in the sixteenth century, and who tells us that the Mongols were called Karakalmaks by the Tartars, *i.e.*, by the Turks.‡ These facts make it very probable that Fischer's is the correct etymology of the name Kalmuk, and further, that that name is of small value in working out the origines of the race, inasmuch as it is indefinite in its application, and is not indigenous. The people whom western writers generally call Kalmuks are known to the Chinese as Wala, otherwise written Olöt. The Jesuit father Amiot adopted the form Eleuth, which afterwards became the fashionable way of spelling it.§

This name introduces us to some difficult questions. With Ritter and some others it is the Chinese transcription of the Mongol name Uirad, the letter r being wanting in Chinese, but as I shall show in the account of the Sungars, Uirad by itself is not a race-name at all among the Mongols. Again, while Ssanang Setzen distinctly uses the form Ogheled for one section of the Western Mongols,‖ we find the form Oelot used by Fischer to whom it came doubtless from some Mongol authority, and not from a Chinese one.¶ I believe, therefore, that Olot or Ogheled is very nearly the indigenous form of the name.

Now while the Chinese use the name generically, and apply it to the various tribes of Western Mongols, whom we style Kalmuks, it would seem that Ssanang Setzen applies it specifically to one branch of them only, and so in fact do the Kalmuks themselves.**

I am not clear about the explanation of this, and my solution must be accepted as a purely tentative one. It is this: the dominant tribe among the Kalmuks at the beginning of the seventeenth century was that of the Koshotes. They are the Eleuths *par excellence*, the Eleuths of Kokonur, and I believe that they are alone properly so called, but as they were the dominant tribe, the name was applied to all the rest, just as Englishman includes Scotchman and Irishman.

The Khoshotes are the dominant Kalmuks in the district of Kokonur and Thibet. As I have said, they are known to the Chinese as Olot. The Thibetans call them Sokpa, and Khoshote seems to be their

* Fischer, Sibirische Geshichte, 37. † De Hell's Travels, 223. ‡ Fischer, op. cit., 39.
§ Ritter's Asia, ii. 446. ‖ Ssanang Setzen, 57. ¶ Fischer's Sibirische Geshichte, 33.
** Pallas, Hist. Nach., &c., i. 6.

indigenous name. According to one account they received this name from the intrepidity they showed in a fight with a chief named Bulgari Khan.* A more probable etymology connects them with the frontier town of Kho-dshu.† I may state that the present habitat of the Eastern Khalkhas of the Inner division is called Tsaghan Khoshotu.‡ This is, I think, an interesting circumstance. As I have already said,§ the Khoshotes are governed by a royal race named Galgas, which claims descent from Khassar, the brother of Jingis Khan. I have also remarked on the great probability that when the various clans whom he governed were assigned to him, they all lived in close contact, and as the majority of his clans lived in Eastern Mongolia, it is by no means improbable that the Khoshotes then lived in the very district to which I have just referred, which is still called Tsaghan Khoshotu, and thence derived their name.

Before the Khoshotes invaded Thibet they would seem to have lived in the district of Alashan, and on the borders of Kan suh. I am disposed to think with Klaproth that they are to be identified with the so-called Chikin Mongols, who in the early part of the fifteenth century lived on the frontiers of Shensi, between the towns of Su chau and Sa chau. They derived their name from the district Chikin, where they settled in 1404. They moved thither from a place named Kharato, and were considered as Chinese subjects.‖

This event is referred to by De Mailla, and in the Ming Annals translated by Delamarre. We thence gather that when Kulichi, who I believe to have been the then overchief of the Western Mongols,¶ attempted to become entirely supreme, and when the Chinese Emperor sent him a seal of investiture, &c., he was sharply attacked by several of his subordinates and driven away. The chief of these was named Halutai, who has been identified with the Adai of Ssanang Setzen.** We are told that Halutai and his companion Mahamu sent in their submission to the Chinese court. Delamarre names the chiefs who did so, Aluthai, Fahul (probably a corruption of Mahamu) and Tchahan taluhoa or Chagan talugu. Now it is curious that a current etymology of the name Eleuth is, that it is derived from this very Halutai.†† Whether there be any foundation for this, which I doubt, or not, it is a curious fact that the chief who submitted to China in 1404 should be considered as the eponymous leader of the race, whom we identify with the Khoshotes and Chikin Mongols.

The name Khoshote only appears in Ssanang Setzen as that of a small section of the Chakhars, and under the form Khotshid,‡‡ but Adai, whom

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* *Vide* infra. † Pallas Hist. Nach., &c., i. 25. Note.
‡ Schmidt, Mem. St. Peters. Acad., ii. 469. § *Vide* ante, 491.
‖ Asia Polyglotta, 269. ¶ Ante, 352. ** *Vide* ante, 356.
†† Schmidt's Ssanang Setzen, 404. Note 9. Timkowski, ii. 209. Note.
‡‡ Ssanang Setzen, 205 and 207.

I have identified with Halutai,* does and is made by him the chief of the Khortshins, who it will be remembered, like the Khoshotes, are governed by princes descended from Khassar, the brother of Jingis.† I shall not repeat the story of the life of Halutai, which I have already told.‡

In 1412 we read that "the Tche kin Munku," which Delamarre translates as the Mongols with red battles-axes, offered a refuge to a fugitive from the Chinese empire named Laoti Khan, and that the Emperor in consequence reprimanded them severely.§ These were doubtless the Chikin Mongols or Khoshotes. Halutai was killed in 1434 by Toghon, the overchief of the Western Mongols, and his son Apotchegan submitted to the Chinese.‖

In describing the dominions of Essen Khan, the son of Toghon, the author of the description of Mongolia, translated by Hyacinthe, says it was bounded on the west by the Chikin Mongols.¶

I will now turn to the account of the Khoshotes given by Pallas. He tells us that the Khoshote chiefs claim descent from Khassar, the brother of Jingis Khan.** In this, confirming the independent account of Schmidt,†† He traces their descent from him thus :—

Khabutu Khassar
Enka Summur Taidshi
Anda, or Adashari Galsu Ching Taidshi
Ra Ramnaktu
Burkan Shadshin, or Sandshi
Saba Shirma, or Shabi Shiremun
Aksarguldi Noyon

It is possible that this last chief is to be identified with the Halutai of the Chinese accounts. We are told he left two sons, named Arrak Tommur and Werrok Tommur, who ruled their people jointly. They were in alliance with a brave chief named Toghon Taishi, in whose army their contingent fought so bravely against a chief named Bulgari Khan, that they acquired the name Khoshot.‡‡ Although I cannot approve of this etymology, the story probably points to the period when the Khoshotes first became a portion of the Western Mongols. By Toghon Taishi is no doubt meant the Toghon Taishi who ruled over the Kalmuks in the fifteenth century, and who killed Halutai, as I have already mentioned.

Werrok Timur's son was called Dorong Dutshin, who had three sons, named Run Togadai, Chingsen, and Tummur, from whom, says Pallas, the family acquired the name Galgas. The eldest of the three was succeeded by Sam Mulkho or Sai Malakhu ; he by his son Attakhai, and he by his

* *Vide* ante, 356. † Ante, 438. ‡ Ante, 353-360. § Delamarre, 177.
‖ Delamarre, 235. ¶ Timkowski, ii. 213. ** Hist. Nach., i. 24.
†† Mem. St. Peters. Acad., ii. 422. Ante, 438. ‡‡ Pallas, op. cit., i. 25.

son Nagudi or Nagadai, who left eight sons, the eldest of whom was named Russa. Russa had two sons, named Ubak Chingsan and Boko Mirsa. The second of these had a son named Khana Noyon Khongor, with whom the definite history of the Khoshotes really commences. He was very young when the death of his father and the extinction of the family of Ubak Chingsan, in the person of his grandson Shuker, left him the leadership of the Horde. The Saissans and other chiefs compelled Shuker's widow, named Akho Khatun, to marry the young Khan. For a long time she refused to lie with him. At length she dreamt one night that five tigers suckled at and lacerated her breasts. This dream was interpreted by the wise men, that she should have five valiant sons. She thereupon lay with the young Khan, and had by him five sons, namely, Boibeghus Baatur, Tummeda Kundelung, Nomien Khan Guushi, Sassaktu Ching Baatur, and Buyan Otchun Baatur, who were known as Tabun Bars (*i.e.*, the five tigers). The Kalmuks assign to Khongor two other sons, by a concubine, who were called Khammugai Mintu and Kainuk Tushutu.

On the division of Khongor's patrimony, Boibeghus Baatur, as the eldest son, got the main share. He is well-known among the Kalmuks, according to Pallas, as the first who introduced Lamaism among them. Before his day they had been Shamanists, like the Barga-Buriats are still. It was shortly before this time that Altan Khan, Khan of the Eastern Mongols, was regenerating the Lamaism of the Mongols proper, and the conversion of the Kalmuks was probably due in some measure to his zeal. The evangelist who did the work, however, was a Thibetan Lama, who as the author of the Zagan Nom or White Scriptures is known as Zagan Nomien Khan. Boibeghus persuaded the other Kalmuk princes to become Lamaists, to acknowledge the grand Lama as their spiritual head, and to send their young people to Thibet for education. The Sungar chief Kharakulla, the Derbet Dalai Taishi, and the Torgut Urluk each sent a son to Thibet to become a Lama.

It would seem that in the terrible war that was waged by Altan Khan of the Tumeds against the Kalmuks, to which I have already referred, the Western Mongols had been driven westward, towards the Saissan and Balkash lakes. As we find the Khoshotes at the beginning of the seventeenth century much mixed up with the Torguts, it is not impossible that Ssanang Setzen refers to them under the name Sinbis,* a name otherwise unknown to me. He says that Khutuktu Setzen Khungtaidshi, Altan Khan's grand-nephew, attacked the Torguts on the river Irtish, and took a portion of the Torguts and Sinbis prisoners. He left two sons named Utshirtu Setzen and Ablai Taidshi.† They are elsewhere called Orchirtu Han and Abatai Noyen.‡ See also De Mailla,§ where they are named Outsio ton han and Hopa lai poyen.‖ Ablai

* Op. cit., 211. † Pallas, Hist. Nach., i. 27. ‡ Mems. de la Chine, i. 331. Note.
§ De Mailla, xi. 73. ‖ Fischer's Sib. Ges., 610.

lived on the river Irtish, where there are some remains of a Lama temple which still bears his name, and is known as Ablai kit.* Utshirtu married a daughter of the Khungtaidshi of the Sungars, and settled in the neighbourhood of lake Saissan.† Ablai was of a quarrelsome disposition. He had a feud with his brother, with whom he fought, but having been defeated, he retired towards the river Jaik, where the Torguts had already settled. He had a struggle with them, and even captured their chief Punzuk or Buntshuk, the father of Ayuka Khan. Upon this the various Torgut chiefs, and the Derbets who wandered between the Volga and the Don, united together under Ayuka, attacked their unruly countryman, and captured him. His ulus was dispersed, and the larger portion joined the Sungars. Before he was taken prisoner he lived, according to the Mongol Sagas, in the mountain Chir tumer ula, probably a portion of the Moguldsharian range.‡ He remained a prisoner for some years. His end is uncertain. Pallas met with a tradition among the Kalmuks that he was drowned in the river Sal.§

His elder brother Utshirtu had an equally unfortunate end. He would seem to have once exercised a suzereignty over the other Kalmuk princes, for Du Halde thus speaks of him. "It is not above eighty years since all these Eleuths were united under one chief or king named Otchirtu tchetching Han." ‖

Senghé, the chief of the Sungars, married one of his daughters named Ana Dara, and on Senghé's death his brother, the celebrated Galdan, acquired his widow, and so became the son-in-law of Utshirtu; Galdan, as I have said, became a Lama, and he apparently passed his noviciate in the dominions of his father-in-law. After the murder of his brother Senghé, it was chiefly with troops furnished by Utshirtu that Galdan defeated the murderers and seated himself on the throne. He had a severe struggle with his uncle Shuker, and was forced to take refuge with his father-in-law Utshirtu. Notwithstanding all these favours he was not long in power before he fought against his benefactor, whom he defeated near the lake Kizal pu (? the Kizilbashi), and had his throat cut.¶ A portion of Utshirtu's people then submitted to Galdan. The rest, who attached themselves to his son Erdeni Khungtaidshi, escaped to lake Koko nur to Dalai Khungtaidshi, the Khoshote chief of those parts. In the description of Mongolia attached to Timkowski's Travels, we read that in 1686 Tsirung Lakur, Erke, and Arabtan, grandsons of Utshirtu Khan, fled to the Chinese frontier, where they were assigned quarters. I cannot find any confirmation of the relationship of the three chiefs just mentioned to Utshirtu Khan in Pallas or elsewhere, nor do I think they were Khoshotes at all, but Khoits.* I shall refer to them

* Fischer, op. cit., 610. Pallas, op. cit., i. 27. † Fischer, op. cit., 610.
‡ Pallas, op. cit., i. 28. § Pallas, op. cit., i. 28.
‖ Op. cit., iv. 154. Memoires de la Moscovie, i. 412. ¶ Du Halde, iv. 156, 157.

in a later chapter. The descendants of Utshirtu were apparently scattered. A large part were absorbed, no doubt, by the Khoshotes of Kokonur.

This completes our survey of the descendants of Boibeghus, the eldest of the five tigers. The name of the second in full was Tummeda Usang Kundelung Durgatshi Ubasha. He is mentioned among those who took part in the great war in Thibet.* In 1643 Baatur Khungtaidshi, chief of the Sungars, was at war with Yangir Sultan, the overchief of the Kirghiz Kazaks, and we are told he requested the Khoshote chief Kundulen to act in concert with him. He replied that he was living at peace with Yangir Sultan, who had declared himself his son (*i.e.*, had acknowledged his dependance on him). This highly displeased the Khungtaidshi, who sent a messenger to his father-in-law Urluk, the chief of the Torguts, to march against and punish Kundulen, but his messenger was waylaid, and his plan frustrated.† In 1648, Kunduleng, who is called Dudji Taishi Kuldalang by Abulghazi, made a raid upon the province of Kat,‡ and carried off a large number of prisoners, upon which Abulghazi went in pursuit of him. Kundelung was overtaken in a place named Yuguruk Bach, where he was attacked. He retained his ground but fled the following morning, abandoning a large number of horses and camels. The Khan pursued him with only a small body. The Kalmuks were again attacked and defeated, their chief being shot through the arm, while their standard bearer and his standard were captured.§

Kundelung's heritage was not very large, and it became much disintegrated among his descendants. Two of the grandsons of his son Kallaka Dalai Ubasha, who were named Mangun and Khairtu, fled to Russia at the time of the revolutions in Sungaria. Another, who was descended from his second son Ubasha Khungtaidshi, died among the Cossacks of Stavropol. Dordshi Taishi, his third son, migrated to Russia in 1675, being the first Khoshote to do so. He took with him 1,500 families besides his own, and settled on the river Ilek. Among his descendants, says Pallas, Tukchi had 920, Gunga Baltshur had 180, Ganden norbo, Ganga, Janjiri, Dipsan, and Bayarlakho had each from thirty to sixty families. These, together with 100 families under the Mangun above mentioned, and 220 families under Errenpal, a grandson of Kundelung's fourth son Erka daidshin, accompanied the Torguts in their celebrated flight.‖ A small section of the Khoshotes under Takka, a descendant of Dordshi Arabtan, managed to escape when the Torguts migrated, and still remain on the Volga.¶

We have now considered the two eldest sons of Khongor and their descendants. The third son Guushi fills a much more important place in history.

In order to understand his position, it will be necessary to give a short

* Pallas, op. cit., 27. † Fischer, op. cit., 610-612. ‡ Kat is a town of Khuarezm.
§ Abulghazi, ii. 346, 347. ‖ *Vide* infra. ¶ Pallas, Hist. Nach., &c., i. 29.

resumé of the previous intercourse there had been between the Mongols and the Lamas. I shall reserve a more detailed account of the system of Lamaism for another volume. Jingis Khan and his ancestors were Shamanists. Shamanism, which is the prevailing religion of the Tunguses and many Siberian tribes, is a mixture of nature worship and of fetishism; the supreme God being identified with Heaven (tengri), and symbolised by fire, and is known as Khormusda. Shamanism remained the State religion of the Mongols during the reigns of Ogotai, Kuyuk, and Mangu Khan, although there can be small doubt that the many Buddhists who lived in the Kin empire, in that of Kara Khitai, &c., must have secured some converts among the more humble Mongols. The Buddhism that prevailed at that day, north of the Himalayahs, was of two kinds. The more pure and unsophisticated existed in China, under the name of Foism. A more corrupt kind, which was a good deal mixed up with Sivaism and various forms of necromancy, existed in Thibet, and was known as Lamaism. The same form survives in Thibet as the old Lamaism or that of the Red Lamas. A purer form was introduced in the fifteenth century, and is known as that of the Yellow Lamas. Although the Mongol Khans did not accept Lamaism as the State religion, they yet paid its professors considerable deference. In a Mongol work entitled Jirukenu Tolta, quoted by Schmidt, it is stated that Jingis himself sent an envoy to the chief of the Lamas of Thibet, who was then named Jebtsun Sodnam Chemo, with the message: "If you will follow my counsel, I will become the lord and protector of the faithful, and will combine the practice of religion with the government of the State. With this object I have relieved the whole priesthood of Thibet from the payment of taxes." The Lama in his reply consented to follow the behests of the Khan.*

Kuyuk Khan had by him a Hochang or Lama, to whom he gave a golden seal, with the commission to pray for the welfare of the people. He had a brother named Namo, who was so well thought of by Mangu Khan that he appointed him head of all the Hochangs in the empire.† He also gave him the title of Institutor of the Monarch. The Chinese commentator on the historical work Kangmu has the following caustic remarks on this occasion.

"The existence of a monarchy is founded on mutual duties, on those of a father to his son, of a sovereign to his subject, of a husband to his wife, of the young men to the old, and of friends to one another. As to this Namo, he was a stranger of low extraction, who born in the west, having quitted his home, wandering about for a living, he could not fulfil the duties of supporting his father and mother. He shaved his head and opened his tunic, a proof that he did not know the duty a subject owes to his sovereign. Having a dispensation from being married he had no descendants, he knew not the duties either of a husband or a father.

* Schmidt's Note to Ssanang Setzen, 392. † De Mailla, ix. 254.

He sat on his heels; he did not therefore pay the respect due to old age. He renounced society, and retired from the world; he did not therefore know the duties of friendship. He had none of the qualities therefore upon which a State is founded. He received the title of Ho shi (*i.e.*, Imperial Institutor), but what could he teach? how could he be an example to others? The Mongols, who were barbarians, were not very exacting in this behalf, but since they quitted their felts and adopted the cap and girdle (*i.e.*, the Chinese costume), it behoved them to be more decent. As to ourselves, we point this out to show how brutes cling together" (*i.e.*, Anglice, birds of a feather, &c.)*

The first Mongol of influence who became a Lamaist was Kutan or Godan, the brother of Kuyuk Khan. Ssanang Setzen has made a mistake in styling him Khan, and in making him the successor of Kuyuk, and I was myself misled in correcting this error, in suggesting that he was a brother of Khubilai's.† Khubilai, in fact, had no brother of that name so far as we know. Ssanang Setzen has a short Saga in reference to the conversion of Godan. He tells us that he was very ill, and that none of the doctors that were summoned did him any good, whereupon he sent Dorda Darkhan, of the Oimaghods, at the head of an embassy to the Sakia Gunge r Gialtsan, to ask for his assistance. The latter had gone, says Ssanang Setzen, on a visit to Hindostan, and had there confuted the heretical opinions of the six heretical chiefs of religion (? the Brahmins), whence he had acquired the title of Pandita. On his return, his uncle Dagba r Gialtsan prophesied as follows: "The chief of all the Mongol people, the Khubilgan of the Boddhisatwa Godan Khakan, will send thee an envoy named Dorda. His cap will seem as if it had a hawk upon it, his boots will have the form of a swine's snout, and his house will look like a wooden network (a reference to the wooden trellis work of the Mongol yurts). At his third or fourth word you will hear the strain etshige.‡ By this envoy he will appeal to you, and it will then be your duty to accept the invitation without question, inasmuch as the cause of religion will be much furthered."

On the arrival of the envoys the Sakia pandita saw that the prophecy was fulfilled, and set out in 1244 on his march, and arrived three years later at the Khan's residence. He cured the Khan of his illness, and converted many Mongols to the faith, and found Nirwana, *i.e.*, died in 1251.§ The same story is told in a different manner in the "Spring of the Heart."‖ According to that work Dorda and Godan, the sixth and seventh brothers (cousins) of Khubilai had, in compliance with their mother's orders, moved to the district west of Siling called Shira Talas,

* D'Ohsson, ii. 261. Note. † *Ante*, 165.

‡ Schmidt explains this as the drawling note which the Mongols use in their solemn addresses, op. cit., 392.

§ Ssanang Setzen, 113. ‖ *i.e.*, the Jirukenu Tolta already cited.

within the limits of Lientsu, and there settled. There they heard that the nephew of the Lama whom Jingis had placed over the hierarchy of Thibet, and who was named Sakia Pandita Go dGa rGialtsan, had recently returned from Hindostan, where he had made many converts. Upon this Dorda set out for Thibet with a large following. He addressed the following letter to the Lama. "Sakia Pandita, thou must come to me; urge not thine age as a plea for the enjoyment of repose. It is thy duty to promote the welfare of all creatures, and for this reason men of thy profession are accounted sacred. In case thou shouldst not come I will send many warriors to thee, and the hardships of so many people would grievously affect thee." Sakia Pandita was much surprised, and saw that it was a fulfilment of the prophecy of the Bogda Sodnam Chemo* (which I have already stated), set out for the Mongol camp, which was in the district of Lientsu. He was cordially received by Godan, who was the first to receive the religious vows at his hands. He remained seven years in that land, and did much to spread the faith there.† The Mongol Sagas attribute to him the invention of their first alphabet. They tell us that while he was pondering over the matter he one night had a dream in which he was told to fashion the letters after the first object he should see when he awoke. This happened to be a woman carrying a notched stick or tally over her shoulder. He thereupon constructed an alphabet and formed a set of horizontal lineal characters for the letters a, e, i; na, ne, ni; ba, be, bi; kha, ke, ki; ga, ge, gi; ma, me, mi; la, le, li; ra, re, ri; sa, se, si; da, de, di; ta, te, ti; ya, ye, yi; tsa, tse, chi; dsa, dse, gi; wa, we. The system was very defective, and none of the religious writings were transcribed into it.‡ Mr. Wylie tells us that this alphabet was in fact an adaptation of the Uighur letters to Mongol uses, in which the fourteen Uighur consonants were retained, and that it was not complete on the Lama's death.§ Sakia Pandita was succeeded as overseer of the monastery of Sasekia by his nephew Mati Dwadshawa,‖ who was then fifteen years old. We are told he was a remarkable child, and had already, at the age of seven, mastered many of the religious books, and knew how to recite many thousand prayers. The inhabitants of the country called him the holy child, whence his name Bashpa, in Chinese, Pasepa.¶ For the proper meaning see below, Bashpa was corrupted into Pag'pa.

Ssanang Setzen describes how Khubilai Khan was persuaded by his

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* Called Dagba rGialtsan by Ssanang Setzen. See previous page.

† Schmidt, Ssanang Setzen, Notes, page 393, 394. Pallas, Hist. Nach., ii. 357. Klaproth's Caucasus, 92.

‡ Schmidt, op. cit., 394. Pallas, ii. 358.

§ Wylie on an ancient Buddhist Inscription at Keu Yung Kwan in China, 20.

‖ This is Sanscrit for Banner of wisdom. Schmidt, op. cit, 395.

¶ The Yuen Annals, cited by Pauthier, Journal Asiatique, xix. 8. Remusat Recherches sur les langues Tartares, 346. Schmidt, Ssanang Setzen, 395, &c.

wife Chambui Goa to send for the Bashpa Lama. How he at first objected on the ground that it was not seemly that he should sit on a lower seat than the boy Lama. How she in consequence repaired to the Lama, who argued that the humility of a proselyte did not accord well with a discussion about rank, and that he, as the incarnation of a Wadshradhara, could not sit on a lower seat than the Khan. And how she got over the difficulty by the suggestion, that when Khubilai was taking the vows he should occupy a humbler seat than the Lama, but when they were dealing with matters affecting the government they should then be seated on equal seats. To this both assented, and Khubilai said he would speak on the morrow with the Lama, on the Tantras of the Kei Wadshra. He goes on to say that on the following day at their meeting, the Lama could not answer any of the Khan's questions, nor did he understand a word he said. He was much troubled, and having asked that the conversation might be renewed the following day, retired. The explanation of his ignorance was, that the Sudurs or Sutras of the Tantras of Kei Wadshratu, formerly the property of the Sakia Pandita, had come into the hands of the Khan, and that Madi Dhwadshawa had not seen the book.

On the following night the Lama could not sleep for a long time because of his anxiety and concern. When he at length fell asleep, he saw an old man in the form of a Brahmin, with snow-white hair matted together on the crown of his head, and in his hand a flute made from a man's marrow bone, who approached him and said, "Man, do not harass your mind in this way, but get up and put a lamp in order," upon which the old man disappeared, but returned shortly after with a small box, in which there was a book, and said, "Examine this quickly, and impress its contents on your mind, for I will return before daybreak, remove the book, and replace it in its own place." After this, the vision again disappeared. Madi Dhwadshawa read the book through three times, and fixed it in his memory. At daybreak the apparition returned and said, "Young man, yesterday you were vanquished because you had not with you the very superior Lama; to-day you have him on your head, and the great Khan will not be able to vanquish you in the impending struggle. He will always have before his eyes the Lama to whom he prays, and the person with whom he disputes."* The old man then disappeared. It was the spirit of the lordly Mahakala, who, with the help of the Riti Khubilghan, had removed the Tantras of the Kei Wadshra from the pillow box of the Khan.

On the following day Madi Dhwadshawa had his audience with the Khan as arranged, and the latter was not able to withstand him, upon which he took the vows of the sublime Kei Wadshra, and the Khan granted

* I have translated this sentence literally, without understanding it.

him the following title, Bamsum choigie rGialbo bLama a P'agspa, in Chinese, Sang Sing Dai Wang Guyushiri, *i.e.*, chief of the faith in the three realms, the chief Lama.* Schmidt adds in a note that a Pagspa is the Thibetan equivalent of the Sanscrit Arya Gurus'ri, corrupted by the Mongols into Guyushiri or Guyushi. This again is equivalent to the Mongol Khutuktu or Khutuchta, and means simply the most sacred or most pre-eminent Lama.†

After his initiation, Khubilai presented the Lama with a golden dish of the weight of 100 sidshirs, and upon it a beautiful unpierced pearl of the size of a camel foal's dropping.‡ This last was a present from Surghatu Marghatsa, of the Mergeds, the father of his wife Chambui Khatun. The Khan also gave him a silver dish of the weight of 1,000 sidshirs, and upon it a representation of the mountain Sumer, of the four Duipas, and of the sun and moon made of gold, the seven holy jewels, and the eight objects of sacrifice, besides much gold, silver, lapis lazuli, and other precious things, with silk and other goods, besides elephants, horses, camels, and other cattle in great quantity. He also endowed him with the lands pertaining to the town of Selemdshi, with their inhabitants. Thus did Khubilai introduce the light of religion into Mongolia, and sent to India for images and relics of Buddha, including his sacred dish.§

Such is the quaint Saga as told by Ssanang Setzen. Another form of it is given in the work already quoted, namely, the "Spring of the Heart."‖

The Chinese accounts are more sober in their colouring. We are told in the Yuen history that Bashpa, at the age of fifteen, composed an ode in honour of Khubilai, with which the latter was charmed, and when he mounted the throne in 1259, he gave him the title of Kue se, or preceptor of the kingdom, and a jade seal.¶ It has been supposed by some, including D'Ohsson,** who misled me,†† that this was the commencement of the dynasty of the Dalai Lamas, but this is entirely erroneous. Bashpa was doubtless their prototype, but qua Lama, he was merely the hierarch of the Red sect, the Dalai Lamas, as Koeppen has shown, originated with the founder of the Yellow sect.‡‡ Bashpa Lama is an important figure in Mongol history, because he not only converted their great Khan, but also invented an alphabet for them, of which I must now give some account. The work was done at the instance of Khubilai. The new alphabet was based on that of Thibet, and consisted of about 1,000 characters, composed of forty-one radicals. "The

* Ssanang Setzen, 117. † Schmidt, Note, op. cit., 397.
‡ Schmidt's Note, Ssanang Setzen, 398. § Ssanang Setzen, 119.
‖ Schmidt, Ssanang Setzen, 397.
¶ Remusat Recherches sur les langues Tartares, 346. Pauthier, Journ. Asiat., xix. 10, 11. Gaubil, 137.
** D'Ohsson, ii. 371. †† Ante, 220. ‡‡ *Vide* infra.

order of the letters, says Remusat, is that of the Thibetan alphabet. Thus we have the hard aspirated and soft gutural, k, kh, and g, with their nasal ng ; the palatals tch, tchh, dj, with their nasal gn ; the dentals t, th, d, with their nasal n," &c. ; but although founded on the Thibetan, the forms of the letters in many cases perceptibly differ.* The forty-one radicals, with their equivalent values, have been given by Pauthier.† Bashpa at length completed his task, and was in consequence raised to the rank of ta pao fa wang, king of the law of the sacred jewel.‡ An Imperial decree initiated the public use of his alphabet in the same year. In 1272 a request was preferred to the Emperor by Ho li ho sun, that schools should be created for the study of this character, that the sons of public functionaries and that those employed in the exchequer should learn to use it in preference to that of the Uighurs. An Imperial decree was the consequence, enjoining the exclusive use of these characters.§ Pauthier goes on to cite several other decrees enforcing this use, but it would appear that it was only sparingly and reluctantly employed, the more popular and apparently more easy character was the Uighur. This is the reason probably that so few specimens of it survive to our own day, and that its very existence has until recently been a matter of doubt to European scholars.‖

Koeppen compares with some force the position of the Bashpa Lama and his successors, in regard to the Mongol Emperor's with that of the Pope's, to the Emperors Pepin and Karl the Great.¶ Although the character was introduced officially, it was not found very practicable, and although Khubilai ordered a new revision of the Buddhist Scriptures, and this was completed between 1285 and 1306 by a body of twenty-nine scholars, skilled in the Sanscrit, Thibetan, Uighur, and Chinese tongues, it was not for some years that the Mongols had them translated into their vernacular. Khubilai was an enthusiastic convert to Buddhism. He caused a great number of monasteries and temples to be built, *inter alia*, "the temple of the sovereign repose of the wise life," at Peking.** He rebuilt the monastery of Utai, in the province of Shansi, which had been originally erected by the Topa Tartars in the fifth century, and which is still one of the most famous of their monasteries. He also gave up the palace of the Sung Emperors to the Lamas as a residence.†† I have described the consequences of this patronage elsewhere, how it led to a most arrogant behaviour on the part of the Lamas, and how this again was in no small measure the cause of the expulsion of the Mongols from China. Very little is known of the organisation and history of Thibet during the Mongol occupancy, nor is it a part of our present subject. There is one of the Lamas however

* Recherches sur les langues Tartares, 348. † Journ. Asiat., xix. 24.
‡ Pauthier, Journ. Asiat., xix. 15. § Pauthier, op. cit., 17. ‖ *Vide* infra.
¶ Op. cit., 98. ** De Mailla, ix. 442. †† Koeppen, op. cit., 102.

who comes prominently forward as the inventor of the present Mongol alphabet. His name was Choigyi Odzer, and he lived in the reign of Kuluk Khan.* In the "Spring of the Heart," already quoted, it is said that Kuluk Khan ordered this Lama to translate the Buddhist Scriptures into the Mongol language, and to transcribe them into its characters. He thereupon tried to do this with the Bashpa or square characters, but failed to do so. Hitherto these Scriptures had been translated into Uighur, but not into Mongol. Having failed with the square character, the Lama Choigyi took up again the alphabet of the Sakia Pandita, and having altered it and added some characters, he succeeded in writing out the Buddhist work named Pantsharaksha, not however without borrowing a good many words from the Uighur.† If we puzzle our way through the intricacies of the Buddhist philosophy, and the vocabulary it needs to express them, we shall not wonder that the language of an ingenuous people like the Mongols should hardly be equal to finding suitable terms within its own limits for the translation of its Scriptures.

Such is the origin of the cursive writing still in use among the Mongols, and in which the history of Ssanang Setzen and other works is written. It is founded on the Uighur. It consists of seven vowels, six diphthongs, and seventeen consonants, which are combined in various ways so as to represent 101 forms, which differ when at the beginning, middle, or end of a word, so that the alphabet may be said to consist altogether of 303 letters.‡ When the Mongols were expelled from China, their intercourse with Thibet to a large extent ceased. It is probable that Lamaism had made but a small impression upon them. Except the people about the court, the great body of the nation no doubt remained Shamanists, as the Buriats are still.

The only form of Lamaism which had hitherto prevailed in Thibet, so far as we know, was that of the Red Lamas.

Shortly after the expulsion of the Mongols, a remarkable reformer appeared in Thibet under the name of Tsong kha pa. He was born in the land of Amdo, and would appear to have passed some of his life in Burma, or some other country where the primitive Buddhism still survived. I shall have a good deal to say about him in a future volume. At present it will suffice to say that the reputation of his wisdom collected about him a great crowd of scholars at the monastery of Galdan. He is considered an incarnation of Amitabha, of Mandshushiri, of Vadshrapani, and Mahakala.§ He became the founder of a new sect known as the Gelug pas or virtuous sect, who are distinguished by their closer adhesion to the old forms of Buddhism as it still survives in the south, their yellow

* Ssanang Setzen, 121. Schmidt's Note, 398. Ante, 292.
† Schmidt, Ssanang Setzen, 398. ‡ Koeppen, op. cit., 100. § Koeppen, op. cit., 118.

caps, whence they are often styled the Yellow sect, their practice of celibacy, and their discarding the necromancy, and other corruptions which the Red sect has encrusted upon itself. He died about 1417. Among his many scholars two were specially distinguished, and became, one the founder of the line of the Dalai Lamas, the other that of the Bantshin Erdenis. The two joint hierarchs of the Yellow sect are often represented with their master in the centre as a triad.* Dalai Lama is a curious compound, the former being the Mongol word for sea, and Lama in Thibetan meaning overseer priest, and conjointly the two words signify the priest, whose authority is wide as the ocean. The Thibetan equivalent for Dalai is Jamtso or Giamtso. He lives at Lhassa. The other hierarch known as Bantshen Erdeni, or Bantshen Rin po chen, is the Teshu Lama of Turner and other travellers, and lives at Tatshi Lumbo. The succession is kept up by a metempsychosis, by which, when either dynast dies, his soul is born again within a certain period in the body of some young child, who is marked out in certain ways, and when he has passed the ordeal of examination by the augurs and others, is worshipped as a new Khubilgan or incarnation of the former Lama. A description of the details of the system and its surroundings I shall reserve for another volume.

The first Dalai Lama was called Gedun dubpa, he was probably a nephew of Tsong kha pa's, was born in 1389 or 1391, and died in 1473 or 1476.† Under him many monasteries and temples were built. He was not of course styled Dalai, that being a Mongol word, and the Mongols not having as yet had any intercourse with Thibet. His successor was named Gedun Jamtso, and ruled from 1474 or 1476 to 1540 or 1542. He also built many churches and monasteries, and did much for the organisation of the Lamas, and appointed a special officer to control the civil administration of the country, who was styled Dhe pa or Tipa.‡ He answered partially to a mayor of the palace in Merovingian days.

The third Dalai Lama succeeded in 1543, and was called in Thibetan Sod nam Jamtso. It was during his supremacy that Lamaism was so widely spread among the Mongols.

The first of the Mongol chiefs to enter into relations with the Lamas was, as I have said, Khutuktai Setzen Khungtaidshi,§ and this was in 1566. He entered Thibet and carried off several Lamas with him.‖ Koeppen suggests that it was political foresight which led the Mongol chiefs to adopt their new faith, and that they hoped through it to make themselves masters of Thibet, and eventually of China,¶ but I think this is a somewhat morbid view; there is an ingenuousness and simplicity about the Mongol attachment to Lamaism which precludes such

* Koeppen, *id.*, 118. † Koeppen, op. cit., 131. ‡ Koeppen, op. cit., 133.
§ Ante, 403. ‖ Ante, 403. ¶ Op. cit., 136.

motives. Khutuktai Setzen persuaded his uncle to become a proselyte, and they invited the Dalai Lama to come and meet them, which he did, performing many wonders on the way, as I have described.* After a most successful interview, in which he gained the two Mongol Khans as his supporters, he was given the title of Wadshradhara Dalai Lama, *i.e.*, the diamond sceptre holding Dalai Lama,† and this is really the first use of the title now so well known of Dalai Lama. The office and post had existed, as we have seen, for some time, but it was now that it first got so named.

When he returned home again, the Dalai Lama left behind him as his vicar or proxy Mandshusri Khutuktu, who took up his residence at Koko Khotan. The Khutuktus or Kutuchtas, as the name is otherwise spelt, are a body of high Lamas who rank immediately below the two chief hierarchs. Their succession also is kept up by metempsychosis, and they are the Khubilgans or incarnations of former Buddhist saints and divinities.

The faith seems to have spread very rapidly in Mongolia, and we now read of its extension among the Khalkhas and Chakhars, thus in 1587, according to Ssanang Setzen, Abitai Ghalsagho, a Taidshi of the Khalkhas, paid a visit of respect to the Dalai Lama, and took to him, besides many presents of goods and cattle, a tent covered with sable furs. The Lama expounded to him the doctrines of the faith, and bade him with his eyes closed take from his right hand an image of Buddha, upon which he did so, and drew out the portrait of Wadshrapani. The Dalai Lama said it was the portrait of the divine sceptre bearer, that it was in a house which took fire with many other images, and it alone was saved, whence he said it is an image very rich in blessing. The Lama also gave him a Sharil or relic of the Buddha Sakiamuni of the size of one's thumb, a copper image of the Buddha Chakrasambara, and many other sacred curiosities and relics from Hindostan, and finally a large tent covered with tigers' skins, with its furniture. The Lama also revealed to him that he was an incarnation of Wadshrapani, and on this account gave him the title of Nomun Yeke Wadshra-Khakan.‡ Ssanang Setzen goes on to say that in the same year Amutai Khungtaidshi of the Chakhars also went to pay reverence to the Dalai Lama, and took him innumerable presents of gold, silver, and other goods and valuables, camels, horses, &c. He also conveyed to him the wish of Tumen Khan of the Chakhars, and the whole Chakhar people, that he, the Bogda Lama, would deign to go among them; upon which the omniscient Lama replied, "If he invite me before the following year I can then go; the year after I shall not be able to go." None of those present understood the enigmatical sentence. The

* Ante, 420. † Koeppen, 139. ‡ Ssanang Setzen, 253.

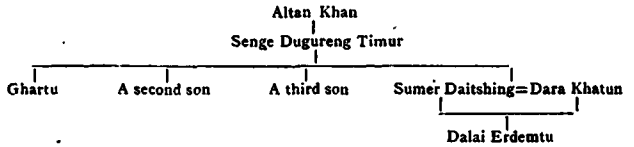
Lama then initiated him into the faith, and gave him much instruction and advice. The next year, the first day of the tenth month, the omniscient Bogda was sitting under a tree covered with fruit blossoms, on a very high mountain, when there appeared over the tree the form of a man in clerical costume. They looked at one another with expressions of joy and love, and made obeisance to one another, and then spoke much to one another in the language of Hindostan, after which the vision vanished. The disciples asked the Lama what the apparition meant. He answered: "This was Tarpa rGialtsan, whose Mongol name is Tonilkhoin ilaghuk anu Toli, from the temple at Nilom Tala. He came to see me because the time draws near when I must set out on my journey." After his return from the mountain, the Lama was immediately attacked with sickness.

At that time there went from the Chinese Emperor an embassy of 1,000 men, headed by three nobles, named Subing, Budshong, and Saching. They took him as a present a golden throne and a valuable sanfte for travelling in, with nine white riding horses with golden saddles, and 300 carriages for baggage, 100 sidshirs of gold, and 1,000 sidshirs of silver, for his use on the way, besides many valuables and goods of all kinds. He sent a letter written in Imperial yellow as follows: "In order to further the cause of religion and follow the example of the former Emperors, Tai Taitsong, Yonglo, and Wangti, I assign to you the title of Sang Shing Dai Wang Guyushiri, which the Mongol Emperor Khubilai first instituted, raise you to the rank of Over-Lama, and summon you to me." * This was no doubt a piece of Statecraft on the part of the decaying Ming authorities to checkmate the growing influence of the Mongols in Thibet. We read further, that about the same time Tumen Khakhan of the Chakhars sent some further envoys, attended by 1,000 men, bearing rich gifts, to whom the Bogda Lama said: "The expressions of good will of the two rulers (*i.e.*, the Khan of the Chakhars and the Chinese Emperor) is very praiseworthy, inasmuch as their good deeds in the cause of religion, have furthered not only their own interests but also those of all living creatures. It therefore becomes my duty immediately to obey the call which has come from two such mighty sovereigns. I told Amutai Khungtaidshi last year that 'if the invitation came before next year I could go, but if it did not come till the year after I should not be able to do so.' Now are these words fulfilled, and the object of my present existence, as well as the course of my active life, have reached their end, and I am on the point of starting on my journey for the welfare of others." Soon after these words, and in the presence of the envoys, he died, or rather was transmigrated, "and rejoined the heart of the pitying divinity and omnipotent all-seeing one, and raised himself to the realm of Chiramadi."

* Ssanang Setzen, 256.

This was in 1588, when he was forty-seven years old. On the twenty fifth of the same month his body was burnt, his skull appeared as that of the Chongshim Boddhisatwa, in the form of the Chakrasambara, with pitying eyes, and after there were found among his ashes an extraordinary number of sharils or relics, in the form of letters, as when before the time of the Ghassanbang, Nomun Khakan built the thousand temple pyramids.*

The fourth Dalai Lama was styled Dalai Erdemtu by the Mongols, and Yon tan Jamtso by the Thibetans.† It is a clear proof of the increasing Mongol influence in these parts, that he should have become regenerate in a Mongol boy, the son of Dara Khatun, the wife of a grandson of Altan Khan.



The young Dalai Lama remained in Mongolia until his fourteenth year, and did not go to Lhassa until 1602, and was then duly installed by the Bantshen Lama. The Mongols were naturally somewhat loth to part with the divinity who had so honoured their country, and we accordingly find that in 1604 the Khutuktu bSampa Jamtso was appointed as his vicar in Mongolia. He took up his residence in the country of the Khalkhas at Urga, and afterwards removed to the great monastery of Kuren, on the river Tula. There his descendant still live, for like other Khutuktus he is renewed by metempsychosis. Among all the hierarchs of Lamaism he ranks immediately next to the Dalai Lama and the Bantshen Lama. As the various caravans that go from Kiachta to Peking pass through his country he is well known to Europeans, and mentioned in many accounts. He is known to the Mongols as Maidari Khutuktu (Maidari being the corruption of Maitreya), and also Gegen Khutuktu (the great Khutuktu). His proper title was rJe bTsun Dam pa Taranatha,‡ and he was a Khubilgan of the Bogda Padma Sambhava.§

The history of Thibet at this period is very uncertain, and one can only follow in the wake of Koeppen and offer a tentative solution.

It would seem that during the ancient *régime* of the Red Lamas there was a temporal sovereign of Thibet, styled the Tsanpo, who filled a similar post to that occupied by the Tycoon of Japan, in reference to the Mikado. At first the heads of the Yellow Lama sect were merely the abbots or superiors of large monasteries. About 1580, when Altan Khan of the Mongols raised the third Dalai Lama to the supreme

* *Id.*, 257. † Koeppen, op. cit., 142. Schmidt's Ssanang Setzen, 417.
‡ Koeppen, op. cit., 143. § Ssanang Setzen, 263.

position, which promotion was confirmed, as we have seen, by the Chinese court, it would seem that this temporal ruler of Thibet, who was then named Chovang Namgial, left Lhassa and retired to Ladak, where he was acknowledged as king and controlled the greater portion of Western Thibet. His son Yamia Namgial, who succeeded his father in 1600, was defeated and taken prisoner by Ali Mir, the chief of Baltistan, when many temples, monasteries, and statues of Buddha were destroyed by the fanatical Muhammedans, while the sacred books were burnt or thrown into the Indus.* Some time after, the conqueror made peace with Yamia Namgial, gave him his daughter in marriage, and reinstated him as chief of Ladak. The son of this marriage succeeded to the throne in 1620, broke down the supremacy of the Sultan of Balti, who was himself the tributary of the great Mogul Yehanghir, recovered the various towns which his father and grandfather had held, and having settled himself firmly in Ladak, prepared to attack Lhassa.

He is no doubt the Guru Sodnam Namgial, chief of the Shira Uighurs, of Ssanang Setzen, against whom we are told that Bushuktu Jinong of the Ordus marched and whom he defeated in 1596.†

There were at this time two well marked parties in Thibet. The old conservative party of the Red Lamas, of which the Tsanpo was the temporal representative. It was doubtless the national party, was supported by the native Thibetans, and had its chief seat in Western Thibet; and the party of the Yellow Lamas, supported chiefly by the Chinese court and by the Mongols, with its main seat at Lhassa. Koeppen compares the situation very fairly to that of Italy in the middle ages, when the Germans on the one side, and the Italians on the other, surged in conflict about the papal chair, the Mongols representing the Germans. The ascetic and retired life of the Dalai Lama left the control of matters very much in the hands of the clever intriguers who generally surround such a court, and especially of the mayor of the palace, or prime minister, the dhepa or tipa. This state of things had lately been intensified by the continuance of a long period of minority. From 1588, when the third Dalai Lama died, to 1630, when the fifth arrived at the age of manhood, there was practically a long regency, and during the reign of the fourth or Mongol Dalai Lama, it is very certain that the chief people about the court and those who controlled affairs were Mongols.

The fourth Dalai Lama died in 1616, and became regenerate the next year in the son of Daba Guruba Noyan, in the land of Sąkia Dakpo,‡ but he was not consecrated by the Bantshen for some years after. It was in this interval that the Tsanpo made his attack upon Lhassa, as I have mentioned. Ssanang Setzen tells us that in 1619 the seven Tumeds,

* Koeppen, 145. † Ssanang Setzen, 263. ‡ Ssanang Setzen, 275.

under the lead of Bagha Toin and Khailin Ugetai Baghatur Tabunang, marched against the Tsanpo Khakan, who was at the head of 100,000 men, and he goes on to say that the Bantshen Erdeni was then in the monastery of Tatshi Lumbo engaged in secluded contemplation. When he suddenly heard of the strife, he said, "to stop such mischief would be a most meritorious work;" upon which he mounted his horse called Norwu Wangchen, and hasted with the speed of the whirlwind to the spot, and alighted between the contending armies. It was remarked by every one how the hard rock yielded to his horse's hoofs, as if it had been mud. This event was foretold, says Ssanang Setzen, by Padma Sambhawa in these words: "In the future, in the days of 500 tribulations, somebody will be born on the river Galchu, who will raise a bulwark for an army in sight of the mountain Jakburi,* *i.e.*, one of the three summits of the mountain Putala, near Lhassa.† On that occasion a Lama or Khubilgan of Anudawa will perform a most beneficent act by saving 100,000 lives."‡ Ssanang Setzen leaves the issue of the story in this hazy condition, from which we may imply perhaps that peace on not very advantageous terms was in some way secured. It was two or three years after this, namely, about 1622, that the Bogda Bantshen, accompanied by all the Lamas and religious of the monastery of Brasbong, and with a complete Lama's dress, repaired to the house of Guruba Noyan. As he entered the house the young Dalai Lama, who as I have said lived there, said to him: "Bulub Bantshin, why have you delayed so long?" The Bogda upon this took some sugar out of his pocket, gave it to the boy and said, "My son, has the time seemed long to you?" He then took him on his knee, embraced and caressed him, and discussed with him the fundamental truths of religion, so that everybody was astonished. The same year he conducted him to the monastery of Brasbong, and when he had shaved him, put a yellow cap on his head, dressed him in the Lama dress, and gave him instruction in all wisdom. This he learnt without difficulty. He was given the name of Lobzang Jamtso.§

Meanwhile the old jealousy and strife between the rival sections of Lamaists, between the national party and that of the Mongols and strangers continued. In 1634 the Ming dynasty of Chinese Emperors came to an end, and was finally supplanted by the Manchus, and we find both parties, that of the Red Lamas and that of the Yellow, sending envoys to secure the powerful support of the new dynasty. This was hardly sufficiently consolidated to encourage it to interfere in far distant Thibet. The party of the Yellow Lamas was being very hard pressed, and in its difficulty appealed for assistance to the Western Mongols or Kalmuks, who had so recently become converts, and who lived not far from its borders.

* Ssanang Setzen, 275. † Koeppen, 146. Note. ‡ Ssanang Setzen, 275 and 419.
§ Ssanang Setzen, 275.

At last, then, we have reached the end of our long digression, and will now resume the history of the Khoshotes. Up to this time, according to Turner, the Yellow Lamas had chiefly prevailed in the province of Kilmauk, while the Red Lamas had their main strength in that of Khumbauk, but their monasteries were scattered promiscuously over the country.* In the struggle I have mentioned, the Yellow Lamas had been beaten in six engagements. The Kalmuks, when appealed to for help, were ready enough as new converts to enter upon the religious war; and we are told that Guushi Khan of the Khoshotes (*i.e.*, the third of the five tigers) allied himself with Baatur Khungtaidshi of the Sungars, with Urluk the chief of the Torguts, with his own brother Kundelung Ubasha, and with his nephews Utshirtu Khan and Ablai, in order to assist the Dalai Lama. They attacked the Tsanpo, and after some engagements defeated him in a great battle and captured his capital, and having taken him prisoner put him to death.† Gerbillon tells us the capital of the Tsanpo, then destroyed, was situated at Putala.‡ Turner, in describing the same event, says the Red Lamas were driven from their possessions in various quarters, more particularly from the neighbourhood of Teshu Lumbo, where they were fixed in great numbers. That place was razed to the ground, and the great monastery of Teshu Lumbo was erected among the ruins.§ The Tsanpos or secular rulers of Thibet were now entirely deposed, and the temporal sovereignty over Thibet was made over by the victorious Mongols to the Dalai Lama. The discomfited Red Lamas with their partisans retired southwards towards Bhutan, where their three chief Lamas lived in the time of Turner.‖ It is very probable that the Bhutan people, who are almost indistinguishable from the Thibetans proper, are descended to a large extent from the emigrants who fled on the victory of the Yellow sect. As a reward for his eminent services, Guushi Khan received the title of Terbayatshi Sadshini Barinchi Gushi Nomien Khan, and a portion of northern and central Thibet were assigned to his people for pasture.¶

The revolution in Thibet, to which I have referred and from which the great temporal position of the Dalai Lamas dates, took place in 1643.**

Some time after, Thibet was disturbed by a raid made there by the Sungar chief Shuker, the brother of Baatur Khungtaidshi. On this occasion Guushi and the other Kalmuk chiefs bound themselves to pursue and punish the invader, to consider themselves as the subjects of the Dalai Lama, and sent contingents to form a garrison for him. These were, however, to remain under their own chiefs." ††

It was doubtless directly after this deposition of the Tsanpo that

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* Turner's Embassy, 315. † Du Halde, iv. 450. Koeppen's Lamaism, 152.
‡ Du Halde, iv. 161. § Turner's Embassy, 315. ‖ Embassy, 315. ¶ Pallas, op. cit., i. 30.
** Koeppen, op. cit., ii. 152. †† Pallas, op. cit., i. 27.

occurred the embassy described by Ssanang Setzen, when he tells us that Guushi Tsordshi received the title of Ilaghuksan Khuktu from the Dalai Lama and the Bogda Bantshin, and was sent by them on an embassy to Mukden, the capital of the rising Manchu empire.* The same embassy is referred to in Kanghi's history of the conquest of the Eleuths, where he says, "The first of their kings who came to do homage was called Kusi Han (*i.e.*, Guushi). He went in the reign of Shun chi, was well received, and given the title of Süve (*i.e.*, Bright), and he was entered in the Imperial registers as Suve Kusi han." †

Guushi Khan, who was already dead, in 1656 was succeeded in his authority in Thibet, that is, as deputy or viceroy of the Dalai Lama, by his son Dayan Khan, who may possibly be the Chetchen ombo mentioned in Kanghi's narrative, where, we are told, that on account of a great victory he won over the white caps he received the glorious titles of Baatur and Tushiyetu Baatur Taitsing, Mongol terms having allusion to his bravery in ridding the province of the brigands who infested it. Dayan Khan bore the Thibetan title of Jik jirko,‡ and is called Ezir Khan by Hilarion in the memoirs published by the Russian Mission at Peking.§ Bernier describes an embassy sent in 1664 by the Tsanpo of Thibet to the Indian Emperor Aurungzeb. This Tsanpo or Chiampo, as he writes it, can be no other than Dayan Khan.‖ He died about 1670.¶ Dayan Khan was succeeded as Protector of Thibet by his son Dalai Khan, who bore the Thibetan title of Kontshok (*i.e.*, Jewel, equivalent to the Mongol term Erdeni).** The Khoshote chief acted as commander-in-chief of the forces, and not as controller of the civil administration. This post was filled, as I have said, by the tipa or depa, who, although he wore the Lama dress, was allowed to marry, and did not follow the ascetic rules of the Lamas.†† On the destruction of the Tsanpo his power had greatly increased and he acquired the title of Tisri or regent.‡‡ According to Georgi, it was in the early time of Dalai Khan's administration that the then tipa rebelled against his sacred sovereign, but he was suppressed and shut up in a fortress. This was doubtless with the aid of the Khoshotes.§§

The deposed Tipa was succeeded by another named Sangje Jamtso, who was credited with being the natural son of the then ruling Dalai Lama (namely, Dalai Lama Nag Bang Lobsang Jamtso), and who had acquired some fame as a writer upon medicine, astronomy, chronology, &c.‖‖ In 1682 the Dalai Lama, his reputed father, died, upon which the Tipa, who was no doubt abetted by the higher dignitaries at Lhassa, who were perhaps his nominees, concealed the death and gave it out

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* Ssanang Setzen, 288, 289. † Memoires sur la Chine, i. 331. Note.
‡ Pallas, Saml. hist. nach., &c., i. 30. § Koeppen, 171. ‖ Koeppen, op. cit., 171. Note.
¶ *Id.* ** Koeppen's Lamaism, 171. Note 1. †† De Mailla, xi. 223. Note.
‡‡ Koeppen, 154. §§ Koeppen, op. cit., 171. ‖‖ Koeppen, 171.

that he had retired for contemplation to the more secluded apartments in the palace, and that he wished to see no one, and he cited instances of other Buddhas who had remained in the ecstatic state for years. The plan succeeded, and for sixteen years the chair of the Dalai Lama was vacant.

While the Khoshote chiefs of Thibet appear to have been close allies and friends of the Manchu Emperors, the Tipa is generally found intriguing with the Sungars, who were then at open strife with the Manchus. To secure such an influential person, and to prevent him from raising Galdan's campaign into a religious war, the Emperor Kanghi seems to have treated him with some consideration. He raised him to the rank of a prince, with the title of Thibet Wang, and afterwards to the higher rank of Tsukapa.* This seems to have had little effect upon him. At length the Emperor began to suspect that something was wrong at Lhassa, and sent an envoy to summon the Bantshen Lama to report upon how matters stood there. The latter was, however, put under restraint and prevented from going by the Tipa, who used his authority to favour Galdan, and we are told that his envoy, a Lama named Khutuktu Tsirong, before the battle at Ulang putang, publicly prayed for Galdan's success.† The Emperor now sent him a caustic letter, in which he reproached him with his ingratitude, with having in several ways assisted Galdan, and with having furthered the wedding between Galdan's daughter and Tsinong Bushtu, one of the Khoshote chiefs of Koko nur. He told him that a great many of Galdan's officers and more than two thousand of his subjects had accused him, the Tipa, of compassing their master's ruin; and he ended by promising him that if he did not amend his ways, render him a full account of what had taken place, allow the two Lamas whom he had sent to see the Dalai Lama, set the Bantshen at liberty, send the Tsinong Khutuktu, whom he charged with having prayed for Galdan's success, loaded with chains to the court, and declare the marriage of Galdan's daughter to be null and void, that he should pay for his temerity with his blood.‡

Kanghi set out on his western campaign in 1696, and we are told that at Kue-hoa-ching, on the frontiers of Shensi and Shansi, he gave audiences to several envoys from the Dalai Lama (*i.e.*, really from the Tipa), the Dalai Khan, the Khutuktu Bantshen, and from eight Taishis of Tsing hai.§ As he approached the borders of Thibet, near the district of Surho, his people captured a party of Mongols, which turned out to be envoys from the Dalai Lama (no doubt from the Tipa), from the Tsinong Bushtu prince of Tsing hai, and from another Taishi of the same district. They had been to pay a visit to Galdan, and were returning with some of his dependents, including his grandson Tortsi Kumon.

* De Mailla, xi. 228. † De Mailla, xi. 219-224. ‡ De Mailla, xi. 229-231.
§ De Mailla, xi. 239.

The forlorn condition of Galdan seems to have made his friend and *protége*, the Tipa, more submissive, and we find him in 1697 writing a letter to the Emperor, in which he excused his former conduct. He said that the Emperor's letter had covered him with confusion; he confessed how much he owed to him. "Is not your majesty," he said, "the Fo Mienchuchuli from whom nothing is hidden." Well assured that all was open to the Emperor, how could he hope to conceal from him the death of the Dalai Lama; he promised to introduce the two Lamas whom he had sent, when they should arrive, to the Grand Lama. He promised that the Bantshen should go in person to the court. He declared that the Khutuktu Tsinong was not present at the battle of Ulan putang; he had not arrived there till after the fight, and had then only exhorted Galdan to peace; he refused to send him to the court, and was sure the Emperor would do no harm to one who had been seven times incarnate. As to Galdan's daughter, since she had married before the quarrel between Galdan and the Khalkhas, she could not suffer for what had since occurred.* The Emperor was not to be deceived, and the Tipa was at length intimidated into more ingenuous ways.

Nimatang, one of the principal Khutuktus of Putala, was despatched to the Imperial court to justify his master's conduct. He was received, according to Gerbillon, with great consideration. The Emperor went in person to meet him at the door of the second inclosure of his palace, and he accepted his presents. These consisted of incense pastils, of pieces of cloth very like ratteen, of pieces of coral, &c. He confessed that the Dalai Lama had in fact been dead for sixteen years, *i.e.*, had died in 1681. That before he died he had assured the Lamas about him that he would become regenerate the following year, and had pointed out to them the place where he should again be born; that he had instructed them to keep his death secret, and to reply to inquiries that he was observing the Tsochen (*i.e.*, was engaged in religious abstraction and contemplation), and that as a gauge of this he had left a packet containing a portrait of Buddha, or of himself (for he held himself as the incarnation of Buddha), with orders to take it to the Emperor on the tenth moon of the sixteenth year after his death, meaning that his death was only then to be proclaimed. The Emperor undertook not to open the packet until the appointed time, and meanwhile sent back the Khutuktu with orders for his master to send him Galdan's daughter, and to let the Bantshen go as he had demanded. Two days after their departure, the Emperor learnt from the envoys he had sent to Galdan's court that he had been deceived, that the death of the last Dalai Lama had been announced there, and that the new Dalai Lâma, who was then fifteen years, had already begun to give public audiences. The Emperor sent messengers to recall the

* De Mailla, xi. 258-260.

Khutuktu, who, when charged with duplicity, could only answer that he had delivered the message of his master, the Tipa. The packet was opened before the Mongol and Manchu notabilities. A small statue of Buddha was found inside, whose head was detached and fell on to the floor, while the rest of the body remained in the Emperor's hand. The Khutuktu was much confused at the incident, the Mongol grandees looked upon it as of bad augury, while the Emperor and his Manchu dependants were delighted.* Some time after the Emperor received a letter from the Tipa, excusing his conduct on the plea of the difficulty he had in discovering the person into whom the Dalai Lama's soul had passed, and the necessity of taking precautions to avoid disturbance during the interregnum; and he added that it was only in the tenth month of 1696 that he was finally assured it had passed into the body of the young Dalai Lama, whom he had so recently proclaimed, and he urged upon the Emperor that he should protect the youthful pontiff against his rivals.†

Having caused him to be proclaimed, the Tipa sent an envoy to take the news to Tse wang Arabtan, Galdan's nephew, who was then engaged at the head of a large force, at the instigation of the Emperor, in hunting for his uncle. The elevation of the new Dalai Lama was to be a kind of "Truce of God," and he was ordered for one year to desist from war and to disband his troops. This was meant probably to give Galdan breathing time, and was very annoying to the Emperor, who despatched the Khutuktu Nimatang with a summons to the Tipa to go to Peking.

De Mailla gives us *in extenso* a letter from the Emperor, who was then engaged in his campaign against Galdan, to his eldest son, in which he inveighs at length upon the treachery of Nimatang and the Lamas in general, whom he accuses of being merely the tools of the Tipa; he orders his son to have the chief of them then in China seized, separately confined and tried, and orders especially that they should be tried by Manchu, *i.e.*, by unbiassed judges. Dogs, he says, only bark at strangers, and are faithful and useful to their masters, but these vile Lamas forget that they owe everything to us; they are ungrateful and treacherous, and determined to undo us. Do not hesitate to charge them with these offences, for these reproaches are just and well deserved.‡

Some time after he wrote to Tse wang Arabdan, telling him of the immense preparations he had made for crushing Galdan; he also informed him of the ill behaviour of the Tipa, and told him that a large number of Saissans and of Hachha Eleuths (*i.e.*, Khoshotes) had submitted to him, and that others were doing so daily.§

The young Dalai Lama, the *protége* of the Tipa, was styled Lobdzang Rinchen Tsang Shang Jamtso. He proved to be of a vicious disposition,

* Gerbillon, quoted by De Mailla, xi. 263, 264. Note. † De Mailla, xi. 267.
‡ De Mailla, op. cit., xi. 272. § De Mailla, xi. 277.

licentious, and a debauchee, and was indifferent to the counsel of the Regent, of the Chinese Emperor, and of the Sungar chief Tse wang Arabtan. This conduct gave rise to doubts as to his authenticity. It was affirmed that he sprang from a family of the Red sect, and that he could not therefore be the true incarnation of the Dalai Lama. The scandal caused by his behaviour at length became so great that, on the instigation of the Emperor Kanghi and of several Mongol and Kalmuk chiefs, a council of Lamas and augurs or diviners (Chos kiong) was summoned to report as to whether he was a veritable Khubilgan or no. They reported that although he was possessed of the created and peccable soul, yet that the soul of the Boddhisatwa was unfolded in him, and as the Regent had supported him they would not venture to depose him.* In all this we see the influence of the Tipa. A more consistent part was acted by the protector of the State, the descendant of Guushi Khan. Dalai Khan had been succeeded in that office by his son Lazzang or Latsan Khan, and the latter now took up arms against the Tipa and his *protége*. He attacked their capital, killed the Tipa, the cause of so much mischief, and captured his *protége*, the young Dalai Lama. As the latter's escort was passing the great monastery of Prebung, situated about twenty li west of Lhassa, 9,000 of the monks who were there, with other devotees, made an attack on the Khoshote escort and carried off the young pontiff into the monastery. Latsan Khan hastened to the spot and surrounded the monastery with his troops.

Meanwhile a fierce dispute ensued inside as to whether the Dalai Lama was a genuine Khubilgan or not. At length the chief augur of the monastery declared with an oath that he was a genuine Khubilgan. Latsan thereupon proceeded to storm the monastery, and many of the inmates were wounded or cut down. The young pontiff was captured, and carried off to Dam, the residence of the Khan. There, according to one account, he was beheaded, while according to another he was sent to China, but fell ill on the way and died of dropsy. This happened in 1705 or 1706.† Latsan Khan was handsomely rewarded by the Emperor Kanghi, whose great enemy the Tipa he had destroyed; he was given a golden seal and the title Fu kiao kung shun khan (the obedient Khan, the supporter and pacificator of religion).‡

Shortly after it was announced that the Dalai Lama was once more regenerate in the person of a boy five years old, who had been born at Lithang, in Kham or Eastern Thibet. His name was Lobdzang Kalsang Jamtso. Although he was supported by many people, both lay and clerical, he was apparently not acceptable to Latsan Khan, and to escape him, he was taken to the Khoshotes of Koko nur, who declared for him, and sent to the Emperor to ask him to confirm him in his authority. He was conducted to the temple of Tarsa, at Si ning fu.§

* Koeppen, ii. 189. † Koeppen, op. cit., ii. 190. ‡ *Id.*, ii. 190. § Koeppen, ii. 192. Timkowski, i. 451.

Galdan had been succeeded as chief of the Sungars by his nephew Tse wang Arabtan, who seems to have been as ambitious as his uncle. He had been on good terms with the Manchus until Galdan's death, but after that he became a suspected personage at their court because of his refusal to surrender the ashes of Galdan and to send Galdan's daughter, whom I have before mentioned, to Peking. He was also, apparently, jealous of the influence acquired by the Manchu empire in Thibet, and looked upon Latsan Khan as the *protége* of the empire. This soon led to a serious quarrel. Latsan Khan had a son named Tan chong, and Tsewang Arabtan had a daughter about the same age, whom he offered in marriage to the young Khoshote chief. When the young man attended the marriage festival at Ili, the capital of the Sungarian empire, he was seized and imprisoned.*

Under pretence of restoring the faith,† Tse wang Arabtan now marched two armies—one towards Sining fu, the residence of the Dalai Lama; the other, under the command of his general Sereng Donduk, crossed the mountains south of Khotan, marched past the Tengri nur, and appeared in November, 1717, before Lhassa, which was attacked. It was captured by treason, and the Sungars were welcomed by many as deliverers. Latsan Khan had taken refuge at Putala, but he was captured and put to death, and his son Surdzu was taken prisoner.‡

With this event the protectorship of the Dalai Lama passed out of the hands of the Khoshotes, nor have I any means of further tracing the descendants of Dayan Khan.

Guushi Khan had inherited only 5,000 subjects from his father,§ and it was his address and skill in the affairs of Thibet which enabled him to so greatly increase his power. His clans were apportioned between his two sons. The great bulk of them remained under Dalai Khungtaidshi,‖ about the Koko nur. The remainder, who were really the garrison of Thibet, filled almost exactly the position that the French did in Rome for so long as the protectors of the Pope against the Italians. They were assigned lands for pasture in Northern and Central Thibet. There some of their descendants still remain, and though there has been a considerable fusion with the natives, still, according to Huc, one may still discern among the black Thibetan tents a certain number of Mongol huts, while a large number of Mongol expressions which are used in the country, having passed into the Thibetan idiom, probably originated with them.

We will now consider the Khoshotes of Koko nur. The second son of Guushi Khan was called Dalai Khungtaidshi. To him his father left his

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* Koeppen, op. cit., ii. 193. Memoires conc. les Chinoises, i. 335. Note.
† Timkowski, i. 452.
‡ Koeppen, op. cit., ii. 194. Mems. sur les Chin., i. 335. Note. Timkowski, i. 451.
§ Pallas, op. cit., i. 29. ‖ *Vide* infra. ¶ Huc, ii. 132.

authority over the Khoshotes, and he ruled in the neighbourhood of the Koko nur lake, he is probably to be identified with the Talai Patur Taidshi of Kanghi; his narrative says he was known as the valiant Taidshi and that he settled with his people in the neighbourhood of Koko nur, whence they were known as the Eleuths of Koko nur.* The Kalmuk chronicles praise him because, in default of sufficient food for the Thibetan poor, he persuaded the Uirat princes to allow them to emigrate to a place in the Altai, where the very wholesome and nourishing root zuuna grows.† He divided his ulus with his brother very generously, but his people suffered much from the Sungar invasions, and many of them drifted towards China. His descendants are called the princes of Tsinghai, *i.e.*, of Koko nur, by De Mailla.‡ Gerbillon tells us that they were only eight in number, each one with his territory and people apart, and leaguing together only for common defence, and that they were vassals of the Dalai Khan, or rather of the Dalai Lama.§ When the Emperor Kanghi was engaged in his campaign against Galdan he was afraid that the latter, who had married one of his daughters to the son of the Tsinong Bushtu, one of the principal chiefs of Koko nur,‖ might find allies among the Khoshotes there, and issued a manifesto to their princes. He praised them for having behaved so well towards the empire, and then went on to recount the causes and the issue of his struggle with Galdan, and the deception which the Tipa had practised on him. He went on to say that Galdan had boasted that the Taishis of Tsinghai and the Russians were disposed to assist him in attacking China, that he had been thwarted in his recent campaign, and it might be that he might seek refuge with them. Kanghi bade them bear in mind that in that case they would forfeit his friendship unless they arrested Galdan and sent him to him in chains, and he bade them also arrest all his dependants there. Some time after Paochu, a deputy whom the Emperor had sent with this despatch, returned and reported that, having entered the country of Chaghan tolagoi of Tsinghai, he had sent the Kanpu Chenparen a copy of the manifesto, with injunctions to him to compel the Taishis of Tsinghai to conform to the Emperor's orders. The Kanpu upon this assembled these princes to explain to them the orders he had received. Tachpatur, accompanied by thirty-one Taishis, attended, and affirmed that Galdan had put to death their chief Haotsir khan (? a corruption of Utshirtu Khan), had appropriated a large number of their people, and that they deemed him a dangerous enemy. In regard to his daughter, who was married to the son of the Tsinong Bushtu, they could not surrender her. They also assured him that they were faithful disciples of the Dalai Lama, and should do nothing without his orders.¶

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* Memoires conc. les Chinois, i. 331. Note. † Pallas Hist. Nach., &c., i. 30.
‡ Op. cit., xi. 216, &c. Porter Smith's Vocab., 56.
§ Du Halde, iv. 159. ‖ De Mailla, xi. 216-221. ¶ De Mailla, xi. 225, 226.

In 1697, when Galdan was defeated, the Taidshi, Djajsi Baatur, and others went to Peking and recognised the sovereignty of the Manchu Emperor. In consequence of which they were all invested with hereditary rights, and one of them was raised to the rank of Tsin wang. Seven others were made Beiles, five Beisses, six Kung, and a great number Taidshi. In 1723 Lobdzang Dandzin, son of Djajsi Baatur, persuaded the others to invade China.*

The Emperor sent an army against them which easily subdued them. Only those who had taken no part in the revolt were confirmed in their dignities. These chiefs were subjected to a triennial tribute, and divided into three classes, so that in nine years each had to offer the tribute once. The trade between the Chinese and the inhabitants of Koko nur is carried on at Si ning fu.

In 1725 the five tribes of Koko nur were divided into twenty-nine banners. The Eluths form twenty-one, the Khoits three, the Torguts four, and the Khalkhas one.† Here Eluth is clearly used as a synonym for Koshote, and contrasted with the other specific names of Kalmuk tribes, thus confirming my previous contention. Besides the above there are four Mongol regiments belonging to the Lama Chaghan nomun Khan. The tribute of all these tribes is sent by way of Si ning fu. The Jassaks or chiefs of Koko nur consist of three Kiun wangs, two Beiles, two Beisses, four Kungs, and eighteen Taidshis. Each of whom has a banner under his control.‡

I will now transcribe the Chinese topographical description of the Koko nur country appended to Timkowski's travels.

"The chain of mountains Kuen lun, or Kul kun, is on the western frontier of the country. The Hoang ho has its source in them; namely, in the mountains Aklan tsikin, Barbukha, and Bayan khara. In 1782 Kien lung sent his equerry Amida to present his offerings to the Yellow River; the source of which he ordered him to investigate. Amida, on his return to Peking, presented the account of his journey to the Emperor, who ordered him to draw up an account of the origin of this river.

"This work says that the second source of the Hoang ho issues from the rock of the Khadasun-cholo, and forms the Altan gol, a small river, the water of which is muddy and yellow. It traverses the Odon-tala, in Chinese Sing su hai (sea of stars), and runs to the east. Originally the source of the Hoang ho was in the mountains of Kashgar and Khotan: the streams which issued from them entered lake Lob nur, from which they afterwards issued.

"The true Kuen lun was therefore in Eastern Turkestan, where are the first sources of the Yellow River. Writers who were ignorant of it, took

* Timkowski's authority calls him a grandson of Guushi Khan, but this is impossible. He was no doubt a descendant. Timkowski, ii. 270.

† Timkowski, ii. 270. ‡ Timkowski, 270, 271.

the Kulkun of Koko nur for the Kuen lun. The mountains of Tsi chi shan, in Mongol, Amïe maldzin musun ula, are 550 li south-east of the frontier of Si ning. This chain runs along the north bank of the Yellow River, for the length of 300 li; it has seven summits, which rise above the clouds. It is considered as the highest of the Koko nur; near mount Bayan khara, it extends towards the east; one of its peaks is so lofty that it may be seen at the distance of 100 li; it is covered with snow and ice which never melt. All the neighbouring mountains are likewise white with snow, and intersected with precipices. Stinking fogs render these parts very unhealthy, and they are but little frequented.

"The Hoang ho runs at the foot of these mountains, and then turns to the north. At the commencement of every season, the inhabitants bring offerings to these mountains. The country of Koko nur contains in all thirteen great and lofty mountains, which are called by the Thibetan name of Amié, or ancestors, to which offerings are brought. The Amiémaldzig mussun ula is the highest.

"The Ye chui shan, the name of which is Chinese, and signifies mountain of the hot spring, is to the south-west, beyond the frontier of Si ning. Besides these, there are the mountains Fung li chan, Mang theou çhan, Tché ngo chin chan, and Shu hoen chan, which have ancient Chinese names: they have been the scene of several remarkable battles. Mount Khan tologoi, 200 li to the south of Koko nur, lies in the midst of the steppe. To the west is mount Tsokto: thick fogs infect these parts, which likewise produce poisonous herbs. Mount Kuisun tologoi is situated in the middle of the lake Koko nur; its summit is quite white, and a small temple stands upon it. The Thibetan Lamas who live in it come out only once a year, when the lake is frozen, to procure corn. The Manitu ula, near the source of the Yellow River, is extremely high, and on its sides are Chinese characters, engraved on them in ancient times. The Altān gachun cholo is a great stone, or rock, of considerable height; the perpendicular sides consist of a yellowish red clay, and are sterile; at the summit is a reservoir, from which issue several little streams, the water of which is of a yellow or gold colour; these uniting, form the Altan, which is the true source of the Yellow River.

"The Yellow River, or Hoang ho, called in Thibetan, Rma chu, and in Mongol, Kara muren, or Kara gol, has its source at the western extremity of the country of the Koko nur; it issues by subterraneous channels from lake Lob, situated in Little Bucharia, receives the Altan, passes through the Odon tala (sea of stars), and the lakes Dzareng and Oreng, runs south-east, turns to the north-west, and then to the north-east. After having thus performed a course of above 2,700 li, it enters China, near Ho chan, at the fort Tsi chi kuan.

"The Koko nur, in Chinese, Tsinghai (blue sea), had formerly the

name of Si hai (western sea); it is 500 li to the west of Si ning; it is above 750 li in circumference, and contains the islands of Kuissun tologoi and Tsagan khada; its waters are of a bluish hue.

"In 1724, the Chinese army being in pursuit of the rebel Arabtan, prince of the Sungarians, arrived on the banks of the Ikhe khorghi, a small river to the north of the Koko nur; the men and the horses suffered extremely from thirst, when a spring suddenly burst from the ground before the camp. The men and the horses recovered their strength, and this event inspired the Chinese army with such courage, that it succeeded in overtaking and defeating the enemy. The commander-in-chief sent a report of these circumstances to the Emperor, who gave orders to erect a monument, on which the event should be inscribed, and to present offerings to the spirit of the blue lake.

"Beyond the frontiers of Si ning, and behind the temple of Archan kit, there are mineral waters. A lake of above 100 li in circumference, and situated to the north-west of the Koko nur, produces a greenish salt; it receives from the west, the Mukhor bulak and the Khara ussu, two small rivers which issue from it again on the south-east, and 100 li farther on join the Barkhu. The Mongols of Koko nur, the inhabitants of Si ning and of Tangut, collect the salt of this lake.

"The country of the Koko nur produces salt, barley, and rye; the principal animals are camels, long-haired oxen, wild oxen, wolves, panthers, lynxes, chamois goats, large eagles, and a kind of fish without scales, which is found only in the lake Koko nur. It is of a round form, and has black spots on the back; its length is from two to four inches; the larger fish of this species are called bukha, and the smaller nukhu.

"Independently of the twenty-six Mongol tribes, whom we have just described, the Imperial geography of China mentions the Eluths of Choros, the right and left wings of the Khalkhas, and the department of Ching te fu, or Ye ho."

Huc describes the vast plains which adjoin the Koko nur as of "great fertility and of a most agreeable aspect. Although entirely destitute of trees, the grass is of prodigious height, and it is watered by numerous streams. The Mongols are in consequence much attached to these pastures. The hordes of brigands harass them in vain. They content themselves with a frequent change of encampment in order to baffle their enemies, but when they can no longer avoid the danger, they encounter it with great bravery and fight gallantly." He amusingly compares these shepherds, always ready for battle, "with the languishing fiddle-faddles of Virgil, eternally occupied in piping on a flute, or in decorating with ribands

* Timkowski, ii. 272-276.

and flowers their pretty straw hats." The chief tribute they take to Peking consists of furs and gold dust.*

On their journey to Thibet, Huc and his companion were introduced to the son of the King of Koko nur, *i.e.*, no doubt the descendant of Dalai Khungtaidshi. "They were surprised with his noble mien and elegant manners. He was attired in a handsome robe of light blue cloth, over which was a sort of jacket of violet cloth, with a broad border of black velvet. His left ear was decorated in Thibetan fashion with a gold ear-ring, from which hung several trinkets; his complexion was almost as fair as their own, and his countenance admirably gentle in its expression; in utter contradistinction from ordinary Tartars his garments were exquisitely clean." The two missionaries entertained the prince at their house with tea, &c., and on his taking leave of them, Huc says he drew from a purse, elegantly embroidered, a small agate snuff-box, and graciously offered them each a pinch.†

I have described the descendants of the three eldest of the five Tigers. Those of their two younger brothers were unknown to Pallas, but they probably, with their clans, are to be found among the Khoshotes of Koko nur already described.

There still remains for description a small section of the Khoshotes. Khana Noyon Khongor, the father of the five Tigers, had a half-brother named Khara Sabar, who was the ancestor of a prince named Samiang. The intervening links are given by Pallas.‡ On the break-up of the Sungarian empire, in 1759, he emigrated to Russia with his wife, who was a Khoit princess, and about 260 families. His friendship for the Russians seems to have been displeasing to the other Kalmuk chiefs, and his son Bokbon succeeded in detaching most of his father's people from their allegiance and accompanied Ayuka Khan of the Torguts in his celebrated flight. Samiang died in 1772, and left his few remaining people, together with certain Torguts who remained behind, to his stepson Tummen, who was of Sungarian descent.§

It is probably the descendants of his subjects who still form a small section of the Volga Kalmuks, and are encamped on the Aktuba. I shall have more to say about the Kalmuks of this area in the next chapter, and will here content myself with a short description of a visit paid to the Khoshotes by two missionary agents of the Russian Bible Society in 1823. They were then governed by a prince named Sered-Jeh. He had acquired many of the habits of civilised life, and we are told he was "a colonel in the Russian service, and knight of several orders, was very perceptibly distinguished by his information and manners from the other Kalmuk princes, and he had already done much for the civilisation of his subjects, who feared him more than they loved him, because they regarded

* Op. cit., ii. 99. † Huc's Travels, ii. 16, 17. ‡ Hist. Nach., &c., i. 30, 31.
§ Pallas, op. cit., i. 31.

all his attempts at amelioration as so many pernicious innovations. He resided on the left bank of the Volga, in a large wooden castle, thirty paces in front, which he fortified with Russian outworks when he returned from the French war: in the revolutionary campaigns he commanded his own troops, and the Torguts. His castle was well fitted up in the interior, and contained a number of saloons, with mahogany furniture, lustres, mirrors, a billiard table, pianoforte, a number of clocks, &c. His court was nevertheless held on the steppes during some part of the warm weather. When we had changed our dress," say the travellers, "we went to the castle and delivered our introductory letter to the prince, who received us politely and kindly. Colonel Kachanof was present likewise, and we dined at the prince's table with him, and part of his suite, together with the prince's daughters, two of his brothers (Baatur Ubashi and Cheringa), a young Tartar prince of the name of Ered-Jab (who had some official business), and a Russian secretary of the prince's. The princess was ill, and we therefore did not see her. The table was set in a summer-house, in the small but beautiful garden at the back of the castle. Before dinner, a small well turned Kalmuk cup of arsa (or treble distilled Kalmuk brandy) was handed round to the company, with smoked salmon, Brunswick sausage, and bread. At table we sat next the high pristaw, who was at the prince's right hand; his wife was on the prince's left, next to her the prince's daughters, and brother, and then the secretaries of the prince and of the high pristaw. Prince Ered-Jab sat at the bottom of the table, and supplied the place of the mistress of the house, in helping the dishes. Everything was well cooked, for amongst the Russian families the prince had in his service, besides a musician and a gardener, an excellent cook, who formerly occupied that station in the household of a Russian count.

"Chicken soup was first set on (by the Kalmuk attendants) in a silver tureen; then followed beef, veal, roast mutton, and antelopes (stuffed and not stuffed), with cucumbers, salad, gherkins, &c. Wine was not forgotten: different sorts of Greek wines, champagne, and other French wines, which were there of great price, followed one after another. The dessert consisted of melons, arbutus-berries, apples, and plums, from the prince's garden. Immediately after we left the table, coffee was handed round, after which the company dispersed in different directions about the garden. During dinner, and afterwards, a band of ten or twelve Kalmuks, headed by the Russian musician, performed a number of German symphonies and marches, with considerable expertness: the prince had procured the music for them from Petersburgh. The conversation at table was easy and unconstrained, generally in the Russian language, occasionally in Kalmuk or Tartar, once or twice in German. Sered-Jeh, who talked most, endeavoured to turn the conversation upon such topics as would occasion a dispute amongst the various foreigners who were assembled at

his table; or bring into notice the religious peculiarities of each, that he might have the amusement of seeing how each would manage to defend his own, without affronting his neighbour. For instance, we had to account for not worshipping images, without saying anything offensive to the Russians; the Russians were to inform him why they undertook pilgrimages to Kief; and Ered-Jab (who was closely watched by some Tartars of distinction) was to discourse of the beatitudes in the Koran, and the prohibition of wine, to which he himself paid no sort of attention. Colonel Kachanof estimated the profit which the Sareptans must make on their goods, thought little or nothing of the labour which was expended, and complained that the work was badly done. Sered-Jeh took up our defence, and sent for some Russia leather and some raw hides, whose respective prices showed that the profit of the Sareptan tanners was not nearly so great as the colonel had stated—and so on. Before we took our leave the prince told us that he would receive some of our books."*

Note 1.—In the previous chapter I have described the origin of the celebrated Mongol system of writing called Bashpa. For a long time it was doubted whether any specimens of it still survived, and a controversy of some length arose in Europe on the subject. I shall now condense the results obtained, relying mainly upon the essays of Professor Gregorief,† Mr. Wylie's paper, already cited,‡ and M. Pauthier's paper.§

Although attention had been drawn to coins with inscriptions in the square characters by Endlicher and Leontiefsky, and allusions to it occur in the works of Pallas, Remusat, and Klaproth, it was the celebrated linguist Von Gabelentz, who in 1839 first published a scientific account of the alphabet in the second volume of the "Zeitscrift fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes," p. 17. This was in an essay on an inscription in the Mongol character which had been extracted for him by Neumann from a reprint of a Chinese work on lapidary inscriptions, entitled "Shih mih tseuen hwa," first published in 1618.‖ The transcription and explanation of Von Gabelentz is described by Pauthier as accurate.¶ The inscription consisted of a yarligh or edict of the Mongol Emperor Buyantu Khan, dated A.D. 1314. It contained a confirmation of certain immunities granted to various Buddhist monasteries by his predecessors. It has been translated by Mr. Wylie, and is a curious proof of the influence the Buddhists acquired in China during the Mongol supremacy.**

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* Calmuc Tartary; or, a Journey from Sarepta to several Calmuc hordes, &c., by Henry Augustus Zwick, 240-244.

† Journal Asiatique, 5th Series, xvii. 522. ‡ Journal Asiatique, 5th Series, xix. 461.

§ Journal Asiatique, 5th Series; xix. 5.

‖ Gregorief, op. cit., 524. Wylie, Essay on Keu yung wang Inscription, 15.

¶ Journal Asiatique, 5th Series, xix. 33. ** Journal Asiatique, 5th Series, xix. 465.

In 1846 there was discovered in the district of Minusinsk, in the government of Yenisseisk, in Eastern Siberia, one of the paizahs or official warrants granted by the Mongol Emperors and referred to in preceding pages.* This one was made of silver, and contained on each side an inscription in gilt letters, and in the Bashpa character. A facsimile of one side of it is given by Colonel Yule in his edition of "Marco Polo."† This relic is now in the Asiatic Museum of the Imperial Academy at St. Petersburgh. The inscription upon it was published by the Archimandrite Habakkuk and by Gregorief, and led to a fierce struggle between the latter and the redoubtable but very capricious editor of Ssanang Setzen, Dr. Schmidt, and M. Banzarof.‡ The general result seems to be that the inscription should be read: "By the strength of the eternal sky. May the name of the Khakan be held sacred. He who does not respect it shall perish."

About the same time an impression of a second stone inscription was forwarded to St. Petersburgh. This also was a yarligh or edict, and had been issued by the mother of the Emperor Kuluk Khan. It was found in a Buddhist monastery at Pao sing fu, chief town of Chi li, 330 leagues from Peking.§ This has not yet apparently been published.

In 1845 a similar paizah or tablet to the one above described, only with the inscription in the Uighur character, was found at Gruchovka, on the Dnieper, in the government of Ekaterinoslaf. This is probably older than the other. According to M. Banzarof, the inscription runs thus: "By the strength of the eternal heaven and by favour of its great power. He who disobeys the order of Abdullah will do ill and shall die."‖ A facsimile of this tablet is also given by Colonel Yule.#

In 1853 a third tablet was found in the district of Verkneudinsk, in the Trans-Baikal district. This is now preserved in the Hermitage Museum at St. Petersburgh.

A small work in the Bashpa character has survived to our own day. It is called the "Pih kea sing," or Book of Surnames. This has been preserved, says Mr. Wylie, by being reprinted in the "King chuen pae peen," a work in 120 books, published in 1581, consisting of extracts from other works on every class of subjects. The eighty-first book is occupied exclusively with the reprint of the "Pih kea sing," but so unmercifully mutilated are the characters that without the Chinese key it would have been utterly impossible to decipher them.¶ The "Pih kea sing" was reproduced in facsimile in 1855 by Mr. Edkins.**

In 1854, while Shanghai was in the possession of the rebels, Mr. Wylie procured a copy of an inscription in a Confucian temple there, which proved to be a transcript into the Bashpa characters of an edict of

* Ante, 271. † Op. cit., 2nd Ed., i. 342. ‡ Journal Asiatique, 5th Series, xvii. 528, et seq.
§ *Id.*, 525. ‖ *Id.*, 545. ¶ Essay on Keu Yung Inscription, 15.
** Trans. China Branch Roy. As. Soc., Part 5, 101-108.

Khubilai Khan in honour of Confucius, of which the original in Chinese characters was below.* The slab has since disappeared, and is probably destroyed. The inscription has been translated by M. Pauthier.†

Mr. Wylie tells us that besides these inscriptions he knew of some thirty others, of which notices are contained in Chinese books in his possession.‡

Some time afterwards, namely, in 1863, he copied the celebrated inscription, in six languages and characters, engraved on an arched gateway at the Keu yung kwan on the road from Peking to Kalgan. One of these versions is in the Bashpa character. The whole appears in facsimile in Colonel Yule's "Marco Polo," and in the "Memoir" on these inscriptions to which I have before referred; in which he further says that he has in his possession a number of coins in the Bashpa character, dating from 1308 to 1354.§ This completes the materials at present accessible to those who would further prosecute the curious subject of the earlier Mongol writing.

Note 2.—In my account of the Khoshotes in Thibet I concluded with the death of Latsan Khan, but it is not quite clear whether those who succeeded to his authority were not also Khoshotes, and perhaps members of his family. I therefore abstract the following passage from the account of Thibet appended to Timkowski's travels. After mentioning that Tse wang Araptan had killed Latsan Khan and taken his son Surdzu prisoner, the account continues:—

"He committed these hostilities under the pretext of restoring religion; but in reality in hope of conquering Thibet. The Thibetans sent deputies to the Emperor of China, to ask for succours; the court of Peking accordingly sent an army under the command of General Olunda. The troops of the rebel were going to retreat to the north, but being seduced by the black Lamas,‖ they returned, and ventured to oppose the Chinese battalions. Kanghi, in his anger, sent again six divisions of his army, under the command of one of his sons, who afterwards succeeded him, and at the same time gave to Gardzankiam, who resided in the temple of Tarsa, the title of Dalai Lama, a letter expressive of his favour to him, and a seal. Yang sing, the commander-in-chief, at the head of a body of troops, destined to replace the pontiff on the throne, marched from Si ning, and passed the frontier; he exterminated the black Lamas, killed Dakdzon, the pretended prince of Thibet, restored peace to the country, and placed Dalai Lama on the throne of Budala. In consequence of these events, Thibet was given to the Dalai Lama, by an Imperial ordinance, dated the fifteenth day of the ninth month of the fifty-ninth year of Kanghi, which corresponds to the year 1720 of our

* Wylie, Essay on Keu Yung Inscription, 16.
† Journal Asiatique, 5th Ser., xix. 39, et seq.
‡ Journal Asiatique, 5th Series, xix. 471.
§ Op. cit., 15.
‖ ? the Red Lamas.

era. Other persons received the dignity of princes, and the title of Kalion, a kind of Thibetian ministers, with the power of governing Thibet. They were Arbuba, Lunbunai, Polonai, Kanchennai, formerly generals of Latsan and Djarnai, shandzaba to Dalai Lama. An Imperial ordinance of 1723 conferred on the Dalai Lama the title of *the pre-eminently just of the West, of the true divinity, or of the most true divinity of the West.*

"In 1727, Arbuba, Lunbunai, and Djarnai, having revolted, the Emperor Yung ching sent to Thibet, by different roads, troops under the command of General Djalanga, to exterminate the rebels. Before their arrival at Thibet, the Taidsi Polonai, governor of Western Thibet, having already reached Lhassa with the army of Tatshi-lumbu, had seized Arbuba and the other rebels, and in expectation of the arrival of the Imperial troops, had sent to court a circumstantial account of the revolt. After the execution of Arbuba, Lunbunai, and Djarnai, peace was again restored to Thibet. Polonai was named prince of the third class, and governor-general of Thibet. At the same time the Emperor gave orders to increase the Chinese garrison in that province, and to build at Koda, near Ta tsien lu (in the Chinese province of Suchuan), the temple of Kuei yuan to serve in future as the residence of the Dalai Lama. The town of Djachi was built in 1733, and two years afterwards, in 1735, the Sungarians submitted. At this time the Dalai Lama was conducted back to Budala. In the fourth year of Kien Lung (1739), Polonai was elevated by an ordinance to the dignity of prince of the second class, and confirmed in his charge of governor-general of Thibet. After his death, Djurmot Namghial, his second son, was invested with his father's dignities, but in 1750 he was put to death for his criminal enterprises. The dignity of prince was afterwards abolished in Thibet, and the government was confided to Chinese generals, with the consent of the Dalai Lama."*

Note 3.—Besides the Khoshotes, who still live in Thibet and Koko nur, there can be no doubt that there are others in the Chinese government of Ili, broken fragments of the clans belonging to the descendants of the chiefs whom I have named in this chapter; and we are told in the notice of the country of Ili, abstracted by Stanislas Julien,† that 3,115 Khoshotes then formed a portion of its garrison.

Note 4.—In the topographical account of the country of Koko nur above given, and which is a translation from the Chinese, it is suggested that the Hoang ho issued from lake Lob. This says Klaproth alludes to an old Chinese tradition which deserves to be examined, though we know very positively that the lake Lob has at present no communication with the Hoang ho.‡

* Timkowski, i. 451-453. † Journ. Asiat. 4th Ser., viii. 385. ‡ Timkowski, ii. 272. Note.

CHAPTER X.

THE KERAITS AND TORGUTS.

THE name of Prester John has an attractive interest both for those who love the romances of the nursery and for those who study the more sober facts of mediæval history. To both it is a puzzle and a paradox, and has given rise to much discussion. That a Christian king and priest reigned in an isolated far off land over a Christian people, environed by pagans and barbarians, was a belief of most mediæval writers. Some of them fixed his residence in Abyssinia, others in India, others again on the borders of China. The legend gradually grew more definite as the various envoys to the Mongol Khans returned and brought news of their having been in contact with this Christian people, and opinion became settled that the Prester John of history was the King of the Mongol nation of the Keraits, a disciple of the Nestorians. This view, which has been held by De Guignes, Remusat, Pauthier, and most of the modern inquirers in this field, has been recently assailed by Dr. Oppert, who has written an elaborately learned book in which he has proposed a new solution. I believe that solution to be entirely faulty, and I propose to criticise it shortly. Dr. Oppert's main position is that Prester John is not to be identified with the insignificant sovereign of the Kerait Mongols, but with the much more important Gurkhan of the Kara Khitais. A few words first about the so-called letters of Prester John. These well-known epistles are found both in prose and in rhymed versions, and are undoubtedly of considerable antiquity. Colonel Yule, whose critical acumen in such matters few will question, thus spoke of them before Dr. Oppert's book appeared :—"Letters alleged to have been addressed by him were in circulation. Large extracts of them may be seen in Assemanni, and a translation has been given by Mr. Layard. By the circulation of these letters, *glaring forgeries and fictions as they are*, the idea of this great Christian conqueror was planted in the mind of the European nations."* Dr. Oppert speaks of them as of similar authority to the story of Sindbad the Sailor,† and every dispassionate scholar who reads them will see at once, both from their style and contents, that Colonel Yule's strictures are well deserved. He calls himself lord of the three Indies as

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* Cathay and the Way Thither, 175. † Op. cit. Preface.

far as where the Apostle Thomas preached, as far also as Babylon and the tower of Babel. "Our land," he says, "is the home of the elephant, dromedary, camel, crocodile, meta collinarum, cametennus, tinserete, panther, wild ass, white and red lion, white bear, . . . wild men, horned men, cyclopes, men with eyes behind and before, centaurs, fauns, satyrs, pigmies, giants twenty ells high, the phœnix," &c. In fact of all the repertory, real and imaginary, of mediæval and monkish natural history. Among his subjects were cannibals, Gog and Magog, the Anie and Aget, Azenach, Fommeperi, Befari, Conei, Samante, Agrimandri, Salterei, Armei, Anafragei, Vintefolei, Casbei, Alanei. "These and many others were driven by Alexander the Great," he says, "among the high mountains of the moon." Assuredly the author of our letter was near akin to the author of Baron Munchausen. Who ever heard of these wonderful races save the Casbei and Alanei? But this is only a sample of the beginning, the absurdities continue to the end, nor is it profitable to quote them. They are printed at length in Dr. Oppert's work,* and are followed there by a portion of the journal of the travels of Johannes de Hese in several parts of the world, in which may be seen the confused geographical notions about India the greater and India the less, about the Asiatic and the African Ethiopians, and how easily the legends about Prester John, when his existence in Asia became doubtful, gradually fixed themselves in Abyssinia, where a Christian king ruling over a Christian people had existed for many generations, and whose language and descriptions make it probable that the letters of Prester John were written after Abyssinia had been fixed upon as his home, most of the marvels described in them being such as have their home in Africa; while to suit the topography with the old stories about the evangelising of the further East by St. Thomas, the land of Prester John was made to include the further India, which was the special field of his labours, and the intervening country; and other details were filled in from the accounts brought home by the missionaries of Thibet, where another pontiff ruler reigned. The river Yconus, whose source was in Paradise, which flowed through Prester John's country, according to the letters, is no other than the river of Paradise Gyon or Gihon, thus described by John de Marignolli in the middle of the fourteenth century. "Gyon is that which circleth the land of Ethiopia, where are now the negroes, and which is called the land of Prester John. It is indeed believed to be the Nile which descends into Egypt by a breach made in the place which is called Abasty (*i.e.*, Abyssinia).† Colonel Yule adds the note that many fathers of the Church believed the Gihon passed underground from Paradise to reappear as the Nile, that Pomponius Mela supposes the Nile to come under the sea from the Antichthonic world, and other heathen writers

* Oppert, 167-179. † Cathay and the Way Thither, 348.

believed it to be a resurrection of the Euphrates.* The extract from Marignolli is interesting as showing that Abyssinia was deemed the land of Prester John as early as the former half of the fourteenth century. The name of Abyssinia in Marignolli is doubtless, as Colonel Yule suggests, a corruption of the Abascy, the Abasci of Marco Polo, from the Arabic name of Abyssinia Habsh.† This name led to a curious complication. It is well known that a large district in the Caucasus is called Abassia or Abkhasia. This district was in the middle ages more or less under the domination of Georgia. Like Abyssinia, it was also occupied by a Christian people and ruled over by a Christian king, and it was even called Abyssinia, as is shown in the recent memoirs of M. Bruun of Odessa, a transcript of which I owe to the courtesy of Colonel Yule. It therefore came about that it was confounded with the African Abassia, and in its turn was made the home of Prester John, and this, too, at an early date, for I find in a note to Karamzin that among the papers sent to him from Konigsberg there were two letters addressed the 20th of January, 1407, by Conrad of Jungingen, grand master of the Teutonic knights, to the Kings of Armenia and Abassia, or Prester John (Regi Abassiæ sive presbyters Johanni).‡ M. Bruun, in the very learned and ingenious essay to which I have already referred, has argued on the same side, and has tried to identify the country of Prester John with Georgia and Abassia; but I confess that his arguments have not moved my judgment, and they amount in reality to little more than this—that Georgia was a Christian country, that some of its kings were called Ivan or John, and others were called David, and that some of the accounts of the Syrian and Jewish chroniclers may be so explained as to allow of this view being urged; but, as in the case of Abyssinia and other places where kings answering many of the attributes of Prester John lived, this view gains its strength by ignoring the statements of those travellers who claim to have come into immediate contact with Prester John's country and his descendants, and by relying upon generalised evidence, which can be made to suit almost any theory, and this is the objection I have to M. Oppert, whose important work I must now treat of very shortly. The contention of M. Oppert is based entirely, or almost entirely upon the statements of three authors, namely, Otto of Freisingen, Benjamin of Tudela, and Rubruquis.

The mainstay of M. Oppert's theory is the chronicle of Bishop Otto of Freisingen, a work which has acquired a factitious reputation in this controversy, because it has been stated with some authority that the story of Prester John depends eventually upon its statements. I believe, on the contrary, that it is of much less value in the solution of the question than some other authorities to which I shall presently refer.

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* *Id.*, 348. Note 1. † *Id.*, 348. Note 2. ‡ Karamzin, iii. 388. Note 29.

Otto of Freisingen tells us that when at Rome in 1145 he saw the Syrian Bishop of Gabala,* who had gone there to lay before Pope Eugenius the Third the peril of the Church in the East since the capture of Edessa. "He also told us," says Otto, "how not many years before one John, king and priest, who dwells in the extreme Orient beyond Persia and Armenia, and is with his people a Christian, but a Nestorian had waged war against the brother kings of the Persians and the Medes, who are called the Samiardes, and had captured Ecbatana (of which he had spoken above), the seat of their dominion. The said kings having met him with their forces, made up of Persians, Medes, and Syrians. The battle had been maintained for three days, either party preferring death to flight. But at last Presbyter John, for so they are wont to style him, having routed the Persians, came forth the victor from a most sanguinary battle. After this victory (he went on to say) the aforesaid John was advancing to fight in aid of the Church at Jerusalem; but when he arrived at the Tigris and found there no possible means of transport for his army he turned northward, as he had heard that the river in that quarter was frozen over in winter time. Halting there for some years in expectation of a frost, which never came owing to the mildness of the season, he lost many of his people through the unaccustomed climate, and was obliged to return homewards. This personage was said to be of the ancient race of those Magi who were mentioned in the Gospel, and to rule the same nations as they did, and to have such glory and wealth that he used (they say) only an emerald sceptre. It was (they say) from his being fired by the example of his fathers, who came to adore Christ in the cradle, that he was proposing to go to Jerusalem when he was prevented by the cause already alleged."† We may add that Otto elsewhere identifies Ecbatana with the Armenian tower Ani.‡ Such is the statement upon which the theory of M. Oppert is mainly founded. He identifies the "Persarum et Medorum reges fratres Samiardos dictos" with Sanjar and his brother Borkeyarok, the Seljuki rulers of Khorasan and Persia, &c., arguing that Samiardos and Sanjar are the same word. He then goes on to identify the battle above named with the great defeat sustained by Sultan Sanjar at the hands of the Gurkhan of Kara Khitai, whom he in turn identifies with Prester John.§ But, as has been urged by M. Bruun, at the time of Sultan Sanjar's celebrated defeat his brothers had been long dead. Ani was certainly not his royal residence, nor yet was Hamadan, which M. Oppert identifies with the Ecbatana of Otto in spite of the latter's own interpretation of the name.‖ Nor is there the slightest evidence in the Persian and Arabic historians, so far as I know, that the Gurkhan either captured

* Jibal, south of Loadicea, in Northern Syria.
† Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd Edition, ii. 539, 504.
‡ *Id.*, 541.
§ Oppert, op. cit., 135.
‖ Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd Edition, ii. 540.

Ani or advanced to the Tigris, nor that he and his people were Christians; in fact, there is very great probability that they were something very different. The fact is, the narrative of Otto is unreliable from end to end. The only foundation of fact it probably contains is this: A belief in an Eastern powerful Christian king named Prester John was then prevalent in the East, and the Christians there, who were being harassed by the attacks of the Seljuki Turks and the Saracens, were only too ready to identify any potent enemy of their oppressors who came from the East with Prester John. Such an enemy was he who defeated Sultan Sanjar, and it may be that his victory is the foundation of Otto's distorted narrative; and that is all we can say.

We will now consider the statements of Benjamin of Tudela. Few mediæval authors read more suspiciously in many places than does Benjamin of Tudela, and so fly-blown are his pages that his work has been pronounced a forgery by some critics. Mr. Asher, his latest editor, who has published an elaborate translation of the work with notes, has to make apologies for his narrative, and tells us that he did not go to many places described in his itinerary. Among the suspicious passages in his narrative few are more suspicious, and even incomprehensible, than the passage relied upon by M. Oppert, as has been hinted by Mr. Asher.*

This passage I shall abstract from Mr. Asher's translation; it says "the cities of Nishapur were inhabited in his day by four tribes of Israel, namely, Dan, Zabulon, Asser, and Naphthali,† being part of the exiles who were carried into captivity by Shalmaneser, King of Assyria, as mentioned in Scripture, who banished them to Lachlach and Chabor, and the mountains of Gozen and the mountains of Media; their country was twenty days' journey in extent, and they possessed many towns and cities in the mountains; the river Kizil Ozein was their boundary on one side, and they were subject to their own prince, who bore the name of Rabbi Joseph Amarkh 'la Halevi . . . some of them were excellent scholars and others carried on agriculture, others again were engaged in war with the country of Cuth by way of the desert. They were in alliance with the *Caphar Tarac, or infidel Turks, who adored the wind* and lived in the desert. They ate no bread and drank no wine, but devoured their meat raw and quite unprepared. They had no noses, but drew breath through two small holes, and ate all sorts of meat, whether from clean or unclean beasts, and were on very friendly terms with the Jews.

About eighteen years before this nation invaded Persia with a numerous host and took the city of Rai, which they smote with the edge of the sword, took all the spoil, and returned to their deserts. Nothing similar was seen before in the kingdom of Persia, and when the king of that country heard of the occurrence he was wrath . . . he raised a

* *Vide* Benjamin of Tudela, by Asher, ii. 175. † Oppert's Presbyter Johannes, 20. Note.

war cry in his whole empire, collected all his troops, and made inquiry for a guide to show him where the enemy had pitched his tents. A man was found who said he would show the king the place of their retreat, for he was one of them. The king promised to enrich him if he would. He told them fifteen days' provisions of bread and water would be needed for crossing the desert, for there were no provisions to be had on the way. They accordingly marched for fifteen days, and at length suffered great distress; the guide excused himself by saying he had missed his way, and his head was cut off by the king's command. The remaining provisions were equally divided, but at length everything eatable was consumed, and after travelling for thirteen additional days in the desert, they at length reached the mountains of Khazbin, where the Jews dwelt. They encamped in the gardens and orchards, and near the springs, which are on the river Kizil Ozein. It was the fruit season, and they made free and destroyed much, but no living being came forward. On the mountains, however, they discovered cities and many towers, and the king commanded two of his servants to go and ask the name of the nation which inhabited those mountains, and to cross over to them either in boats or by swimming the river. They at last discovered a large bridge, fortified by towers and secured by a locked gate, and on the other side of the bridge a considerable city. They shouted; when a man came out to ask what they wanted they could not make themselves understood, and sent for an interpreter who spoke both languages. Upon the questions being repeated, they replied, We are the servants of the King of Persia, and have come to inquire who you are and whose subjects. The answer was, We are Jews, we acknowledge no king nor prince of the Gentiles, but are subjects of a Jewish prince. *Upon inquiries after the Ghuzi, the Caphar Tarac or infidel Turks, the Jews made answer, Verily they are our allies, whoever seeks to harm them we consider our own enemy.*

The two men returned and reported to the King of Persia, who became much afraid, and especially when after two days the Jews sent a herald to offer him battle. The king said: "I am not come to war against you, but against the Caphar Tarac, who are my enemies; and if you attack me I will certainly take my vengeance, and will destroy all the Jews in my kingdom, for I am well aware of your superiority over me in my present position; but I entreat you to act kindly, and not to harass me, but allow me to fight with the Caphar Tarac, my enemy, and also to sell me as much provision as I need for my host." The Jews took counsel together and determined to comply with the Persian king's request for the sake of his Jewish subjects. They were thereupon admitted, and for fifteen days were treated with most honourable distinction and respect. The Jews, however, meanwhile sent information to their allies the Caphar Tarac. These took possession of all the mountain passes and assembled a large host, consisting of all the inhabitants of that desert, and when the King

of Persia went forth to give them battle the Caphar Tarac conquered and slew so many of the Persians that the king escaped to his country with only very few followers." In his escape he carried off a Jew named R. Moshé, and it was from this person that Benjamin claims to have heard the story.*

I have preferred to extract the whole piece, so that it may speak for itself. The Caphar Tarac, or rather Kofar al Turak or infidel Turks, of Benjamin M. Oppert identifies with the Kara Khitai, and the defeated Persian king with Sanjar. He alters the Nishapur of Asher into Nisbun, which he also writes where Asher writes Khazkin; the Kizil ozein of the latter he reads Gosan, and identifies the country described as the neighbourhood of Samarkand. Granting that these emendations are good, what a marvellous geographical jumble Benjamin's story remains. But it is not with this we have to deal. We know the history of the campaign which Sanjar fought against the Kara Khitai in tolerable detail from Persian and other sources, but not one syllable of this queer romantic story is found among them; but we need not trouble ourselves to go outside the document itself, does not it identify the Caphar Tarac not with the Kara Khitai, but with the Ghusses, who were infidel Turks, although the Mussulman Seljuki and other Turkomans sprang from them? Were not these Ghusses at this very time harassing Persia, and did not they eventually carry off Sanjar as their prisoner? There is surely no answer to this except M. Oppert's, who makes the passage to be a corruption,—surely a very easy way out of the difficulty. From end to end of it there is nothing about Kara Khitai or Prester John; nor, as M. Bruun has remarked, is it to be forgotten that Benjamin expressly tells that the Caphar Tarac worshipped the wind, while the subjects of Prester John were Christians. This second authority of M. Oppert's therefore fails entirely. Now for the third.

The story of Rubruquis is as follows:—"At the time when the Franks took Antioch the sovereignty in these Northern regions was held by a certain Coir Cham. Coir was his proper name, Cham his title, the word having the meaning of soothsayer, which is applied to their princes because they govern by means of divination.† And we read in the history of Antioch that the Turks sent for succour against the Franks to King Coir Cham, for all the Turks came originally from those parts of the world. Now this Coir was of Cara Catay; Cara meaning Black and Catay being the name of a nation, so that Cara Catay is as much as to say the Black Cathayens. And they were so called to distinguish them from the proper Cathayens, who dwelt upon the ocean in the far East. But those Black Cathayens inhabited certain mountain pastures (alpes) which I passed

* Benjamin of Tudela, Asher's Translation, i. 129, &c.

† A corruption between Khan chief and Kam, the medicine man of the Shamanists. Cathay and the Way Thither, 176. Note 2.

through, *and in a certain plain among those mountains dwelt a certain Nestorian, who was a mighty shepherd and lord over the people called Naiman, who were Nestorian Christians;* and when Coir Cham died that Nestorian raised himself to be king (in his place), and the Nestorians used to call him King John, and to tell things of him ten times in excess of the truth."*

This is tolerably correct history, except, as I shall show presently, in its making the Naimans Nestorians and identifying their chief with Prester John, but it is anything but a support to Dr. Oppert's theory. Rubruquis here identifies Prester John, not with the Gurkhan of Kara Khitai but with Gushluk, the Naiman king who supplanted him, while it is the Naimans and not the Kara Khitai who are said to have been Christians.

It must be confessed that a grave theory was seldom based upon so slender a foundation as that of which Dr. Oppert is the author. There is no evidence that either the Kara Khitai or their chief were Christians, and the only basis for such a notion resolves itself really into the exceedingly vague and frail testimony of Otto of Freisingen, which I have already analysed.

Before considering the direct evidence in favour of identifying Prester John with the chief of the Keraits, I must now analyse the remaining very crooked story as told by Rubruquis. He goes on to say that "The Nestorians spread great tales about the King John, although when he (Rubruquis) passed over the land that had been his pasture grounds (*i.e.*, the Naiman country), nobody knew anything about him except a few Nestorians. Those pastures were then occupied by Ken Cham (*i.e.*, Jingis Khan). . . . Now this John had a brother who was also a great pastoral chief, whose name was Unc, and he dwelt on the other side of those alps of Cara Catay, some three weeks' journey distant from his brother, being the lord of a certain little town called Caracorum, and ruling over a people called Crit and Mecrit (*i.e.*, Kerait and Merkit). These people were also Nestorian Christians, but their lord had abandoned Christianity and had taken to idolatry, keeping about him those priests of the idols who are all addicted to sorcery and invocation of demons." This account is a strange mixture of truth and error. It seems almost incredible to suppose that the Naimans were Christians. I have already identified them with the Turkish tribe Naiman, which forms a section of the middle horde of the Kirghis Kazaks, and we have no evidence anywhere else that Christianity prevailed among them; they were probably Shamanists, like many of their descendants are still, while their chiefs were perhaps Buddhists. Rubruquis's own statement that when he passed through their country nobody knew anything of Prester John save a few Nes-

* Yule's Cathay and the Way Thither, 176, 177.

torians is conclusive. Again, it is very certain that Gushluk, chief of the Naimans, who supplanted the chief of Kara Khitai, and thus became himself Gur Khan, was no brother of Unc or Wang, the chief of the Keraits; but this mistake was easily made, for Raschid tells us that Wang had an uncle styled Gur Khan, to whom I shall refer presently, and it is the uncle who has doubtless been confused by Rubruquis with the other Gur Khan, and which has led to his crooked narrative; and this seems clear when we continue his story, which goes on thus: "Now King John being dead without leaving an heir, his brother Unc was brought in and caused himself to be called Cham, and his flocks and herds spread about even to the borders of Moal," &c. It is of course absurd to argue that Wang, chief of the Keraits, succeeded Gushluk, the Naiman chief, but not so ridiculous to suppose that he supplanted his brothers, as we know he did. The story of Rubruquis in fact, when divested of its confusion, confirms remarkably the testimony of other witnesses. Let us now turn to these. In the first place, while we have no evidence that the Kara Khitai or the Naimans were Christians, the evidence that the Keraits were so is most clear; thus Raschid, surely a very independent authority in describing them, says "the Keraits had their own rulers and professed the Christian faith."* Elsewhere he tells us that "Khulagu's principal wife was Dokuz Khatun, the daughter of Iku, son of Wang Khan. She had been his father's wife. . . . *As the Keraits had for a long time been Christians*, Dokuz Khatun was much attached to the Christians, who during her life were in a flourishing condition. Khulagu favoured the Christians in consequence, all over his empire, new churches were constantly built, and at the gate of the ordu of Dokuz Khatun there was a chapel where bells were constantly rung." † Khulagu's mother was Siurkuktini Bigi, daughter of Yakembo, the brother of Wang Khan, king of the Keraits. Raschid says that, "although she was a Christian, yet she showed great consideration for the Moslem Imaums," &c.‡ These extracts will suffice without adducing the testimony of Marco Polo and others who knew their country so well. Not only were the Keraits Christians, but their country and the neighbouring province of Kansu seem to have been very strongholds of Nestorian Christianity. Tanchet, *i.e.*, Tangut, is expressly named as the seat of one of their metropolitan sees.§

Marco Polo, the most judicious and critical of all mediæval European travellers, constantly mentions the existence of Christians in that province and on its borders, *i.e.*, on the frontier lands of the Keraits. Thus speaking of Campichu, *i.e.*, the modern city of Kan chau, he says: "It is

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* Vollstaentidge Uebersicht der Aeltesten Turkischen Tatarischen and Mogholischen Voelkerstamme nach Raschiduddins vorgange bearbeitet von F. V. Erdmann Kasan, 1841, 130.

† Quatremere's Raschid, 94, 95. ‡ Pauthier's Marco Polo, i. 214. Note.

§ Cathay and the Way Thither, 179.

the principal town of Tangut," and continues, "its inhabitants are idolaters, Saracens (*i.e.*, Mahomedans), and Christians, which Christians have in this city three large and beautiful churches.* Five days' east of Campichu was Erguiul, a province] of Tangut. Its people also were Nestorian Christians, idolaters, and those who worshipped Mahomet.† South-east of Erguiul was Singu (*i.e.*, Si ngan fu), also in Tangut, where were also some Christians. This is the town where the celebrated Nestorian inscription of the seventh century, written in Syriac characters, which has been much written about, was found. Again, eight days' journey west of Erguiul was Egrigaia, another province of Tangut, where there were also Christians. In its capital, Calachan (*i.e.*, Alashan), were five churches belonging to the Nestorian Christians.‡ These passages suffice to show, what perhaps is hardly necessary, that Nestorian Christianity was a very active faith in the north-western borders of China in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. We are now in a position for quoting the direct authorities in favour of Prester John having been the chief of the Keraits.

Gregorius Bar Hebraeus, surnamed Abulfaradj, was a Jacobite Christian, of the town of Malatia in Cappadocia. He was born in 1222 and died in 1286, and wrote during the reign of Argun Khan, the Ilkhan of Persia. He composed a chronicle in Syriac, in which he tells us that "in the year 398 of the Hegira, *i.e.*, 1007, a tribe called Keryt, living in the inner land of the Turks, was converted to Christianity, and their king was baptised. . . . At that time Ebedjesus, metropolitan of Meru, wrote to the Nestorian Catholicos or Patriarch saying "the king of the Keryt people, who live in the inner Turk land, while he was hunting in a high mountain of his kingdom, and having got into the snow and lost his way, suddenly saw a saint, who thus addressed him: 'If you will believe in Christ I will show you a way on which you shall not perish.' Then did the king promise to become a sheep in Christ's fold. Having been shown the way, the king on reaching home summoned the Christian merchants who were at his court and adopted their faith. Having received a copy of the gospels, which he worshipped daily, he sent me a messenger with the request that I should go to him or send him a priest who should baptise him. In regard to fasting, he inquired how they should fast who had no food but flesh and milk. Finally, he mentioned that the number of his people who had been converted was 200,000." Upon this the Catholicos sent to the metropolitan for two priests and deacons, with the necessary altar furniture, to baptise these people and convert them. And in regard to fasting, that they should abstain from meat and live on milk. Inasmuch as the meats prohibited during the forty days' fast were not found in his country.§

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* Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., i. 222. † Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., i. 266. ‡ *Id.*, i. 272.
§ Oppert der Presbyter Johanns, 88-90. D'Ohsson, i. 48, 49.

Here, then, is the very first mention we have in a western writer of a Christian people in Inner Asia, and strangely enough the name is Keryt, while the details of the story have all the air of truth about them. If the Keryts were an insignificant tribe, as Oppert argues, and if the real Prester John was the sovereign of Kara Khitai, how is it that the name Keryt should have reached the ears of the Syrian chronicler at all, and why should the Catholicos have called them Keryt? Surely this one fact outweighs all M. Oppert's arguments put together. Again, the same chronicler mentions that.

"In the year of the Greeks 1514, of the Arabs 599 (*i.e.*, A.D. 1202), *Unk Khan*, who is the Christian King Johannes, ruling over a tribe of the barbarian Huns called Keryt, was served with great diligence by Jingis Khan," . . . The chronicler goes on to describe the struggle between the two, and then proceeds: "But it must be known that the King Johannes, the Keryt, was not overthrown without cause. This happened when he forsook the fear of Christ, who had raised him up, and had taken a wife from a Chinese nation called Karakhata, then he forsook the religion of his fathers and served strange gods. God took away his kingdom and gave it to one worthier than he, and his heart was upright before God."*

In these notices we have another important fact. If the dates attached to them are reliable, it makes it almost impossible to identify Prester John with the chief of Kara Khitai, for that empire was only founded in 1125, on the overthrow of the Khitan empire in China by the Kins, and in them we have a mention of the conversion of the Keryts more than a century earlier. We also see clearly that Abulfarragius identifies the well-known Unk or Wang Khan of the Keraits with Prester John, and goes further, for he attributes his defection from the Christian faith to his marriage with a daughter of the Khan of Kara Khitai, who, according to Dr. Oppert, was himself the Presbyter Johannes of that day.

The next authority of value is Rubruquis, whose testimony I have already dissected. Then comes that of Marco Polo, the most detailed and worthy of all Eastern travellers of mediæval times. He had himself traversed a part of the land of the Keraits. He was attached to the court of the Grand Khan, and he speaks with the greatest authority. Now he not only identifies Prester John with the Wang Khan of the Keraits, but tells us expressly that he ruled in Tenduk. He speaks of his descendant George as still living there in his day, and this George, who is also referred to as a descendant of Prester John, was actually converted from Nestorianism to Catholicism by John of Monte Corvino, took the lesser orders, and assisted him occasionally when performing mass,

* Oppert, *op. cit.*, 93.

so that he was actually his companion. Again, Odoric, in travelling from Peking towards Shensi about 1326-27, also visited the country of Prester John. . . . He speaks as if his family still existed in authority.*

These facts, which might be enlarged, gives us confidence in our conclusion that the Prester John of history must be identified with the Khan of the Keraits. Let us now collect, as far as we can, the *debris* of the history of the Keraits.

First, about their country and name. The Yellow River at one portion of its course makes a very extraordinary bend, almost at right angles with itself. The district bounded on the west and north by this elbow is the well-known country of the Ordus. North of the river is the camping ground of the Tumeds of Koko Khotan, the Urads, Maominggans, &c. West of the river is a great stretch of country, which before the days of Jingis was very thriving and populous, and which formed the empire of Hia, with its capital at Ninghia. To the Mongols it was known as Tangut, and was the scene of some of their most dreadful butcheries. This empire of Hia included the Ordus country,† and it stretched away westward as far at least as Sachiu,‡ while it extended northwards to Etzina, on the borders of the desert.§

Marco Polo has given us the best description of this district. In describing the province of Egrigaia, which belonged to Tangut, he tells us its capital was Calachan, which Colonel Yule identifies with great probability with Din yuan yin, the capital of the modern kingdom of Alashan, situated a little west of the Yellow River.‖ After describing this province, he continues, we shall now proceed eastward from this place and enter the territory that was formerly Prester John's.¶ This territory he calls Tenduc, and tells us its capital was also called Tenduc, that it had been the capital of Prester John, and that his heirs still ruled there.** After leaving the province, he proceeded eastward for three days, and then arrived at Chaghan nur.†† This description answers exactly to the site fixed upon by Colonel Yule, namely, "the extensive and well cultivated plain which stretches from the Yellow River past the city of Koko Khotan, which still abounds in the remains of cities attributed to the Mongol era;"‡‡ and he further suggests that it is not improbable that the modern city of Koko Khotan, which was called Tsingchau in the middle ages, is on the same site as Prester John's capital. I am disposed to agree most emphatically in this, one of the happiest of the very many happy suggestions of Colonel Yule, not only because the site answers the description, but because we know how constant important trading posts and cities are to their old sites in the East, and that Koko Khotan is by

* Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., i. 278. † Timkowski, ii. 266.
‡ Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., i. 444. Map. § *Id.*, i. 225. ‖ *Id.*, i. 273. ¶ *Id.*, i. 272.
** *Id.*, i. 275, 276. †† *Id.*, i. 276 and 286. ‡‡ *Id.*, i. 277.

far the most important city of this district. M. Pauthier identifies Tenduc with Ta thung, the name of a city and fu of Northern Shansi, south of the Wall and not very far from Koko Khotan. We may take it therefore that the country of Prester John, as understood by Polo, included the district now held by the Tumeds of Koko Khotan and its neighbourhood. Now, on turning to Raschid's account of the Keraits, we find him saying that their country is Uten and Kelurat, as well as Mongolistan and the borders of China.* The borders of China answers surely with great exactness to the site of Tenduc as above fixed, while it is exceedingly probable that his authority extended across the desert as far as the Kerulon. The statement of D'Ohsson that the Keraits lived on the banks of the Orkon and the Tula, and in the neighbourhood of the Karakorum mountains,† I can find no authority for, save the blundering remark of Rubruquis, that his capital was Karakorum, while we know from the very much sounder statement of Raschid, that Karakorum was within the territory of the Naimans. Having fixed their site, let us now consider their name.

Raschid tells us that in old days there was a chief who had eight sons, all of whom had black or dark skins, whence men called them Keraits. In process of time his clans, who were distributed among his children, took their names from them except one, which retained the royal authority and continued to be called Kerait.‡ Abulghazi says that Kerait means Kara Baran (*i.e.*, Black Sheep), and he tells us a man had seven sons who were dark complexioned, whence people called them Kerait, a name which passed to their descendants.§ These are both etymologies that savour of an Eastern origin, although there can be small doubt that the word Kara (black) is an element in the name. The form in Ssanang Setzen is Kergud,‖ whose termination would strengthen the notion that it is a family name, such as Saldshigod, Taidshigod, &c., &c. The Keraits formed a very important element in the Mongol world, and at the accession of Jingis they are named as one of the four sections into which the race was divided. We are even told that in some way the Mongol sovereigns proper were subordinate to those of the Keraits; and it is probable that during the domination of the Kin Emperors (who, unlike their predecessors of the Liao dynasty, seem to have meddled little with Mongolia) they exercised supremacy in the country beyond the frontier. Putting aside the notices I have already referred to from Abulfaradj, &c., the history of the Keraits commences with a king named Merghus Buyuruk Khan, who probably lived in the early part of the

* Erdmann's extracts from Raschid, already cited, 130. In his later history of Temujin M. Erdmann has altered this, apparently to suit an *a priori* notion into Onon and Kerulon (Erdmann's Temujin, 230), which we know to have been the country of Jingis Khan's own people.

† D'Ohsson, i. 50.

‡ Erdmann's Temujin, 231. § Abulghazi, ed. Desm., 47. ‖ Op. cit., 57.

twelfth century. At that time the chief of the Tatars, who lived on lake Buyur (not of the Naimans, as Erdmann says),* was Naur Buyuruk Khan (? the Khan of the lake Buyur). He captured Merghus in an engagement and sent him as a prisoner to the Kin Emperor, who put him to death by nailing him on a wooden ass.† His widow took a characteristic revenge. She sent word to the Tatar chief that she wished to give him a feast. He having accepted the invitation, she sent him ten oxen, 100 sheep, and 100 sacks of kumis. The latter, however, instead of containing drink, concealed a body of armed men, who cut their way out during the feast and killed the Tatar chief.‡

Merghus left two sons, called Kurjakuz Buyuruk and Gurkhan, between whom his tribes were apparently divided, the former having the chief inheritance. He had five sons, namely, Tugrul, Erke Kara, Tatimur Taishi, Buka Timur, and Ilka Sengun. On their father's death Tugrul was apparently absent on the frontier, and his brothers Tatimur Taishi and Buka Timur took the opportunity to seize the throne. He returned and put them to death, and then occupied it himself. Erge Kara fled to the Naimans, who sent an army to his assistance. This drove Tugrul away, upon which he went and sought assistance from Yissugei, the father of Jingis Khan, and Erge Kara was in his turn expelled.§

The next year Tugrul was defeated and expelled by his uncle the Gurkhan; the battle between them being fought in the defile Khalagun. He once more had recourse to Yissugei, who marched in person against the Gurkhan, and made him take refuge in Tangut. On this occasion Tugrul and Yissugei became sworn friends (anda).‖ On the death of Yissugei, Tugrul was once more dispossessed of his throne by his brother Erge, in alliance with the chief of the Naimans, called Inaktzi by Hyacinth. He fled to the Uighurs, and thence to Kara Khitai; but finding no help there he returned across the desert, and suffered great distress, having had to drink sheep's milk and blood from his camels' veins. He now sent for aid to Temujin, the son of his old friend Yissugei. This was readily granted. He gave Tugrul a grand feast on the banks of the river Tura,¶ and promised to acknowledge him as his father. It was probably soon after this that Jingis Khan fought against the Tatars, and was rewarded by the Kin Emperor for doing so. Raschid tells us that on the same occasion Tugrul received the title of Awang, whence he is generally referred to as Wang Khan or Unk Khan, which was corrupted by the Western writers into Johannes, from which came his title of Presbyter Johannes.**

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* Temujin, 232. Extracts from Raschid, 132. † D'Ohsson, i. 50.
‡ Erdmann's Temujin, 232. D'Ohsson, i. 50. § Erdmann's Temujin, 233.
‖ Erdmann's Temujin, 234. Note.
¶ A little river of this name falls into the Ingoda. D'Ohsson, i. 54. Note.
** On the meaning of the word, see Erdmann's Temujin. Note 70.

This will be the proper place to insert a curious story told by Marco Polo, but not confirmed, as far as I know, by any other authority. He says that at Caichu* the Golden King (*i.e.*, the Kin Emperor, as was first suggested by Marsden) had built a splendid palace, "and it came to pass," says Marco Polo, "that the Golden King was at war with Prester John, and the king held a position so strong that Prester John was not able to get at him or to do him any scathe, wherefore he was in great wrath. So seventeen gallants belonging to Prester John's court came to him in a body, and said that if he would they were ready to bring him the Golden King alive. His answer was that he desired nothing better, and would be much bounden to them if they would do so. So when they had taken leave of their lord and master Prester John, they set off together, this goodly company of gallants, and went to the Golden King and presented themselves before him, saying that they had come from foreign parts to enter his service. And he answered by telling them they were right welcome, and that he was glad to have their service, never imagining that they had any ill intent. And so these mischievous squires took service with the Golden King, and served him so well that he grew to love them dearly. And when they had abode with that king nearly two years, conducting themselves like persons who thought of anything but treason, they one day accompanied the king on a pleasure party when he had very few else along with him, for in those gallants the king had perfect trust, and thus kept them immediately about his person. So after they had crossed a certain river that is about a mile from the castle, and saw that they were alone with the king, they said one to another that now was the time to achieve that they had came for. They all incontinently drew and told the king that he must go with them, and make no resistance or they would slay him. The king at this was in alarm and great astonishment, and said, How then, good, my sons, what thing is this ye say, and whither would ye have me go? They answered and said, You shall come with us, will ye, nill ye, to Prester John our lord?

"And on this the Golden King was so sorely grieved that he was like to die, and he said to them, Good, my sons, for God's sake have pity and compassion upon me. Ye wot well what honourable and kindly entertainment ye have had in my house, and now ye would deliver me into the hands of my enemy. In sooth, if ye do what ye say, ye will do a very naughty and disloyal deed, and a right villainous. But they answered only that so it must be, and away they had him to Prester John their lord.

"And when Prester John beheld the king he was right glad, and greeted him with something like a malison. The king answered not a word, as if he wist not what behoved him to say. So Prester John

* Colonel Yule is disposed to identify this place with Kichau in Shansi, op. cit., 2nd Ed., ii. 20.

ordered him to be taken straightway and to be put to look after cattle, but to be well looked after himself also. So they took him and set him to keep cattle. This did Prester John of the grudge he bore the king to heap contumely on him, and to show what a nothing he was, compared to himself.

"And when the king had thus kept cattle for two years, Prester John sent for him, and treated him with honour and clothed him in rich robes, and said to him: Now, Sir King, art thou satisfied that thou wast in no way a man to stand against me? Truly, my good lord, I know well, and always did know, that I was in no way a man to stand against thee. And when he had said this Prester John replied: I ask no more; but henceforth thou shalt be waited on and honourably treated. So he caused horses and harness of war to be given to him, with a goodly train, and sent him back to his own country. And after that he remained ever friendly to Prester John and held fast by him." *

I have abstracted the account as given by Colonel Yule in his graphic language. The whole story seems to me to be fabulous, and is unsupported, so far as I know, by the Chinese annals. It is perhaps a tale belonging to some other period, and with some other actors which has been attached to the Kin Emperor and Prester John by the old traveller.

Temujin had now acquired a considerable power in Mongolia, although he would seem to have been in some way a subordinate chief to Wang Khan, whom he treated with considerable deference. In 1197 he fought with the Merkits, and when he defeated them he surrendered the booty to his patron, who was then apparently at his court.† Wang Khan after this, we are told, returned to the country Wang ho, *i.e.*, to the Hoang ho or Yellow River, where, being joined by many adventurers, he was able to attack the Merkits alone, as he judged that their power had been broken by the campaign of Jingis in the previous year. He defeated them and forced their chief to fly, but he did not reciprocate the generosity of his *protegé*.‡

In 1199 Wang Khan and Temujin had a joint campaign against the Naimans, whom they defeated and forced their chief, Buyuruk, to escape to the country of Kem Kemjut (*i.e.*, of the Upper Yenissei). This defeat was, however, not a crushing one, for some months later we find Gugsu Seirak, a Naiman general, plundering the camp of Wang Khan's brother, Ilka Sengun, and also some of Wang Khan's own people. He advanced as far as a place named Baiberak biljizeh, where a fight took place, which was only stopped at nightfall. Wang Khan and Jingis had fought as allies in this battle, but before it could be renewed discord was sown between them, as I have described, by the insinuations of Jamuka, the chief of the Jadjerats.§ Petis de la Croix assigns a different reason

* Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., ii. 12, &c. † De Mailla, ix. 20. ‡ De Mailla, ix. 20.
§ *Vide* ante, 55. Erdmann's Temujin, 272, &c.

for Jamuka's jealousy of Jingis to that there cited, namely, that he had supplanted him in obtaining the hand of Wisulugine, the daughter of Wang Khan.* The result of his intrigue was that Wang Khan withdrew his forces and retired along the river Asauli,† and then passed to the Tula,‡ while his brother Ilka went to Badrua Altai.§ Jingis was also forced to retire, and went home to his "Yellow Plains."‖ Gugsu Seirak went in pursuit of Ilka Sengun, and plundered him of his cattle and food. He then marched against Wang Khan, whose ulus he overtook on the borders of Lidua maserah,¶ and also plundered. The latter gave his son Sengun command of an army corps, and sent him against the enemy; he also sent for assistance to Jingis.** Jingis sent his four bravest generals to his assistance, namely, Bughurdshi Noyan, Mukuli Guiwang, Jilukan Behadur, and Buraghul Noyan.†† Before their arrival Sengun had been defeated, Wang Khan's two generals, Tegin Kuri and Iturgan Edeku, had been killed, and Sengun himself barely escaped on a wounded horse. The four generals of Jingis attacked and defeated the Naimans, and restored the captured booty to Wang Khan, who expressed himself in terms of cordial gratitude for the help which his *protegé* had sent him,‡‡ while he rewarded Bughurdshi with a present of a state robe and ten great cups of gold.§§ Temujin now appointed a Kuriltai for the following year, which was to meet on his own Yellow Plains, and where his recent gracious acts would probably increase his reputation. Wang Khan was invited and attended the meeting, and it was there determined to make war upon the Taijuts.‖‖

The latter were commanded by their chiefs Angku Hukuju (the Hang hu of De Mailla),¶¶ Kuril Behader, Terkutai Kiriltuk, and Kududar, and with them was a contingent sent by the chief of the Merkits, under his brothers Kudua and Redshaneg. Their rendezvous was on the river Onon, while Jingis and his friend had theirs on the Yellow Plains. In the fight which ensued the Taijuts were beaten, as I have described.***

These victories aroused jealousies elsewhere, and the two allies were now forced to struggle with a confederacy of the tribes of Eastern Mongolia, headed apparently by the Tatars. The allies were successful,††† and we are told that after the victory Wang Khan returned by way of the river Lolin.‡‡‡

Wang Khan seems to have been an unruly person at home, and we are told that when at the approach of winter he was en route from the

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* History of Jingis Khan, 29.

† The Hasui, a small tributary of the Selinga, which springs in lat. 47.50 N. and long. 15.20 W. of Peking, and falls into the main stream in lat. 49.20, long. 13.25. Gaubil, 7. Note 2.

‡ *Id.* De Mailla, ix. 22. § The Ideru Altai of D'Ohsson, i. 58.

‖ Erdmann, 273. ¶ Erdmann, 273. Note 89. ** Erdmann's Extracts from Raschid, 136.

†† *Id.* ‡‡ Erdmann's Temujin, 274. §§ D'Ohsson, i. 59.

‖‖ Erdmann, op. cit., 275. ¶¶ Op. cit., ix. 22 *** Ante, 55. ††† Ante, 56.

‡‡‡ De Mailla, ix. 23.

Kerulon to Kura Kia (? the Tenduc of Marco Polo), his brother Ilka Sengun made overtures to four of his generals, named Ilkutu, Ilkungkur, Narin Tugrul, and Alin Taishi, to dethrone him.* De Mailla calls the generals Antun, Asu, and Yenhotor. He says that the former two informed their master, who had Ilka Sengun and Yenhotor imprisoned. He reproached the latter with having broken the word he had given him when they returned from Hia together, that they would aid one another. Ilka Sengun was treated with so much severity that he fled to the Naimans.† Wang Khan spent the winter at Kuta Kia, and Jingis at Jaghachar, on the Chinese frontier.‡

Jingis Khan by his various victories had made himself greatly feared in Mongolia, and we some time after this find him, when in alliance with Wang Khan, threatened by a very dangerous confederacy.

The confederated tribes were the Naimans, under Buyuruk Khan, the Merkits, under their chief Tukta Bigi, and the several tribes allied with him, as the Durbans, Tatars, Katakins, and Saljuts. The two allies were posted on the Olkhui. Gaubil tells us that besides his four great generals Jingis had with him a member of a Western Royal family, named Say y (? a relict of the Sassanians); he was a great adept in the art of war, and was a fire-worshipper, whence he was called Chapar or the Guebre.§ The advance posts of the two princes were situated at a place called Gui-jagjeru-jiwerki,‖ they had determined to fight on the plain of Kiueitan,¶ but on the approach of the enemy they retired to Karaun Jidun, in the neighbourhood of Tajar Atguh.** Sengun, the son of Wang Khan, who was in command of the advance guard, was first attacked, and withdrew into the mountains, where he caused snow, &c., to fall by magical arts.†† The confederated princes were defeated by the elements, as I have described.‡‡

After the fight Wang Khan and Jingis went to encamp on the borders of the Aral.§§ They then took up their winter-quarters at Alchia Kungur.‖‖ Here proposals were made for mutual intermarriages. Juji, the eldest son of Jingis, was to marry Jaur Bigi, daughter of Wang Khan, while Kudshin Bigi, daughter of Jingis, was betrothed to Kush Buka, the son of Sengun.¶¶

* Erdmann, op. cit., 278. † De Mailla, ix. 23.

‡ Erdmann, 278. Hyacinthe says Jadjar-ula (*i.e.*, the mountain Jadjar). *Id.* Note 104. De Mailla, the mountain Chetcher, op. cit., ix. 24. D'Ohsson says Changa char, on the frontier of the Churtches (*i.e.*, of Manchuria). Op. cit., i. 62.

§ Gaubil, 6. ‖ Erdmann, 281. ¶ De Mailla, ix. 26.

** Raschid says this Atkuh is identical with the wall of Iskender, on the Chinese frontier (*i.e.*, the Great Chinese Wall). Erdmann. Note 118.

†† So says Erdmann, 282. De Mailla says the magician was in the enemies' ranks. *Vide* ante, 59.

‡‡ Ante, 59. Hyacinthe calls the place of refuge of the two princes Alan tchiai, and says the main struggle with the Naimans was at Choi dan. Erdmann. Note 120.

§§ D'Ohsson, i. 66. Aral means island in Mongol, and is given as a name to lakes with islands. Erdmann calls the place Arag. Op. cit., 282.

‖‖ Ante, 59. ¶¶ Erdmann, 283.

These negotiations broke down, and led to a coolness between the two friends, which was fanned into vigour by Jamuka, the old enemy of Jingis, who incited the jealousy of Sengun, Wang Khan's son, and suggested that Jingis was in communication with the Naimans, the old enemies of the Keraits. His words were no doubt confirmed by those of Alun, Kudsher, and Dariti Utsuken, three relations of Jingis, who had disobeyed him in his campaign against the Tatars, and on being reproved had gone over to Wang Khan. They now promised Sengun to kill the mother and all the children of Jingis.* With them were allied the Mengkut Thugai Kulkai and the Hedergin Mukurkuran. Sengun urged upon his father the necessity of punishing Jingis, but he was only angry, said he had sworn anda with him, that he owed him his life, and further, that he was growing old and wished for peace, and that if they wished to fight they might go themselves, but they were not to return to complain if they failed.† Sengun now tried to get Jingis into his power by craft. He pretended to prepare a feast to celebrate the betrothal of his daughter, and invited Jingis to it. The latter innocently set out, and had gone a two days' journey when, as he passed the camp of his stepfather Mengelig Itshigeh, of the Kunkurats, he was warned by him of his danger and returned home.‡ Sengun's first attempt having failed, he now, in the spring of 1203, determined to assassinate his rival. One of the chief officers of Wang Khan, named Yegeh Jaran, on returning to his tent told his wife Alak Sendun of the intended mischief. This was overheard by one of his herdsmen named Kishlik, who was returning with milk; he confided the secret to another named Badai, and they went and warned Jingis of his danger. They also told him that it was in his tent that he was to be seized; he accordingly ordered everything valuable to be removed from it, but ordered it to be left standing, and marched away with his troops to the hills of Siludeljit.§ He had hardly gone when Sengun and Ilka Sengun arrived with their troops, and seeing the camp standing and the fires lit, they fired an immense volley of arrows into it, but they soon found that it was abandoned, and determined to pursue the Mongol chief.‖

Jingis had posted an advance guard on the mountain Muundurdisku. Sengun, who pursued, halted for the night at a place called Kulun Berkat by the Mongols (*i.e.*, some place near the lake Kulun), situated near the mountain Nemudarend. This place was covered with a wood of red willows. They were first seen by two servants of Iljidai Noyan, who went to apprise Jingis. The latter had gone to Kalanchin

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* De Mailla, ix. 27. † Erdmann, 285. De Mailla, ix. 28.
‡ Erdmann, 286. D'Ohsson, i. 69.
§ ? The borders of the river Soyaldji, in the Khinggan range. D'Ohsson, i. 64. Note 2.
‖ Petis de la Croix, op. cit., 39.

alt,* in the Khinggan mountains. At sunrise the armies were in presence of each other, that of Temujin being much inferior in numbers, but it were animated by the courage of Kubuldar Sajan, who was anda or sworn friend to Temujin, and who offered to plant his tuk or standard on a hill behind the enemy. This he succeeded in doing. The hill was called Gubtan. Inspired by this act, Jingis and his companions marched upon the enemy; he routed the Jirkins, their best tribe, and also that of the Tungkaits.† Hyacinthe says he first defeated the tribes Julgyn, Dunga, and Chor Tiremin,‡ and then fell on the main body of Wang Khan's army.§ Sengun was shot in the eye with an arrow. The battle of Kalanchin alt became famous among the Mongols as Raschid reports,‖ but we clearly have not a full account of it, for immediately after what should be an immense victory we find the victor a hopeless fugitive at Baljuna.¶ The probability is, that although he was successful at first the issue of the battle was really against Jingis. This is confirmed by the fact that after the battle Wang Khan attacked the ulus or camp of Khassar, Jingis Khan's brother, who had become separated from him, and carried off his harem, &c.** When he had been a recluse at Baljuna for some time, Jingis came out from his hiding quarters and went along the river Ur, whence he moved on to a place called Galtakai kada,†† near the river Kala, where his forces were raised to 4,600 men. Following the Kala he posted his forces near the lake Tunga (the Naur Turukah of Erdmann), at a place named Turuka Kurgan.‡‡ Thence he sent off messengers to Wang Khan with the letter which I have already abstracted.§§

This letter concluded with a request that he, his son Sengun, Ilka Sengun, Kujer, Altun, and the other chiefs would each send an officer to make peace with him, and he appointed lake Buyur as the rendezvous. Wang Khan was disposed to treat, but his intemperate son refused, was very wrath, and ordered his generals Belgeh Biji and Tudan to assemble the army, to plant the tuk or standard, and sound the drums and trumpets.‖‖ After the fight at Kalanchin alt Wang Khan had encamped at Kait Kulgat alt, where Ilka Sengun, the relatives of Temujin,

* Erdmann, 287. There is a great divergence among the authorities as to the site of this battle. De Mailla and Gaubil place it between the Tula and the Kerulon (De Mailla, ix. 33. Gaubil, 10), but Raschid, whose statement is much more in accordance with the other facts mentioned, places it on the borders of the Jurchis, *i.e.*, of Manchuria, and in another place says it was near the river Olkhui and the old home of the Inkirasses. Erdmann. Note 26 and 126. Halachon, which is the Chinese name as given in one place by De Mailla, ix. 32, is identified with great probability by D'Ohsson with the Halgon, one of the southern affluents of the Kalka river. Ssanang Setzen places the only fight he names between the two chiefs at the outflow of the Onon, near Kulen Buira, *i.e.*, near the Kulun lake. Op. cit., 87.

† Erdmann, 287. D'Ohsson, i. 71.

‡ Chulichin, Tongnai, and Holisiemen of De Mailla, ix. 29. § Erdmann, op. cit. Note 126.

‖ D'Ohsson, i. 71. Note. ¶ Ante, 59.

** De Mailla, ix. 32. Ante, 436. †† Hegtegai Keda of Erdmann, 289. ‡‡ D'Ohsson, i. 73.

§§ Ante, 60. ‖‖ Erdmann, 295.

who had taken refuge with him, and others formed a plot against him. This was discovered, and he attacked them and took their goods from them. Dariti Utsuken upon this abandoned him and went over to Jingis, with a Nirun tribe and the Sakiat tribe of the Keraits, while Kujer, Altun and Kutu Timur, the chief of the Tatars, escaped to the Naimans. Jingis, to put Wang Khan off his guard, practised the ruse I described,* and advanced rapidly with his troops, whom he ordered to put gags in their mouths,† and at length arrived at the mountains Jejir. A sharp battle ensued there, in which the Keraits were defeated, the victors captured a vast booty, and Wang Khan and Sengun fled; the former bitterly blamed his son for the result.‡ The site of the Jejir mountains, where the battle was fought, is not very certain. Gaubil places them in the high land between the Tula and the Kerulon,§ not far therefore from the modern Urga. I believe they were on the Chinese frontier and are to be identified with the Jadjar ula of Hyacinthe.‖

The battle is described by Marco Polo with a good deal of rhetorical effort, but with few Homeric touches. He tells us the cause of the quarrel between the two chiefs was that Jingis asked for the daughter of Prester John, who deemed it a piece of presumption that one of his liegemen should do so, and refused somewhat harshly. This enraged Jingis, who mustered his forces. Prester John also mustered his. At length the former arrived in the beautiful plain of Tenduc (in Prester John's country), and Prester John pitched his camp twenty miles away, and both armies rested so that they might be fresher and heartier for the battle. During this interval Jingis summoned his astrologers to see with whom the victory would remain.

"The Saracens tried to ascertain, but were unable to give a true answer. The Christians, however, did give a true answer, and showed manifestly beforehand how the event should be. For they got a cane and split it lengthwise, and laid one-half on this side and one-half on that, allowing no one to touch the pieces, and one piece of cane they called Jingis Khan, and the other piece they called Prester John, and they said to Jingis, now mark and you will see the event of the battle and who shall have the best of it, for whose cane soever shall get above the other, to him shall the victory be given. Then they read a psalm out of the Psalter and went through other incantations, and lo, while all were beholding the cane that bore the name of Jingis Khan, without being touched by anybody, advanced to the other that bore the name of Prester John and got to the top of it. When Jingis saw that, he was greatly delighted, and seeing how in this matter he found the Christians to tell the truth, he always treated them with great respect, and held them for

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* Ante, 61 and 436. † D'Ohsson, i. 81. ‡ Erdmann, 297. § Op. cit., 10.
‖ *Vide* ante, 551. Note.

men of truth for ever after."* The Venetian traveller merely says of the battle that it was the greatest battle that ever was seen. That the numbers slain on both sides were very great, and that in the end Jingis won the victory. This simplicity may be contrasted with the high flown language of Mirkhond in describing the same fight, in which he says the neighing of the horses and the cries of the soldiers obliged heaven to shut its ears, and the air seemed to be a field of canes and reeds, because of the arrows.† Some authors, including Marco Polo, and apparently Mirkhond,‡ make Wang Khan perish in this battle, but this is a mistake. He fled towards the west. When he reached a place named Negun Ussun,§ he was seized by Kuri Subaju and Iteng Shal, two officers of Baibuka Taiwang, chief of the Naimans. By them he was put to death, and his head was taken to their master, who (according to Raschid) was much displeased, and told them they should have captured him alive.‖ Abulkhair, on the other hand, says he insulted the dead in words full of scorn and spite, and he adds the moral, "It is a base action to tear off a lion's beard."¶ His skull was made into a drinking cup by the conqueror.** Several writers made Jingis marry a daughter of Wang Khan, which is a mistake; he really married his niece, named Abika, which is perhaps the foundation of the story. Abulfaradj mentions the great conqueror having in a dream seen a religious person who promised him success; when he told this to his wife, she said the description answered that of a Christian bishop who used to visit her father Prester John. Jingis then inquired for a bishop among the Uighur Christians in his camp, and they pointed out Mar Denha. After this he treated the Christians with much less severity, and showed them many distinctions. Vincent of Beauvais also speaks of Rabbanta, a Nestorian monk who lived in the confidence of Jingis's wife, daughter of the Christian King David or Prester John, and who used by divination to make many revelations to the Tatars.††

When Wang Khan fled to the country of the Naimans his son Sengun escaped by way of Istu Balghasun towards Thibet, where he plundered some of the inhabitants, who rose against him, and he again fled to a place named Gusatu jau gasmeh, on the borders of Kashgar.‡‡ D'Ohsson says to the country of Kuman, on the borders of Kashgar and Khoten.§§

There he was slain by Kilij Arslan, the chief of the Turkish tribe of the Kalajes. His wives and children were sent to Jingis Khan.‖‖ The

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* Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., i. 234-237. † Petis de la Croix, op. cit., 54. ‡ *Id.*, 56.

§ D'Ohsson says On Ussun, and says further that it means the eight rivers, and was therefore the country of the Upper Yenissei.

‖ Erdmann, 298. D'Ohsson, i. 82. ¶ Petis de la Croix, 57. ** Ante, 62.

†† Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., i. 239. ‡‡ Erdmann, 298. §§ Op. cit., i. 82.

‖‖ Erdmann, 298. D'Ohsson, i. 82.

great Mongol chief appropriated the territory of his former friend and patron, but it is not in accordance with the usual Mongol custom that he should entirely have displaced his family. It is much more probable that he placed some at least of the late chief's tribes under the control of his relatives, and we accordingly read in Marco Polo and elsewhere that a portion of Tenduc was governed long afterwards by one of Wang Khan's descendants.

Marco Polo, in describing the district of Tenduc, says the king of the province is of the lineage of Prester John, George by name, not that he holds anything like the whole of what Prester John possessed. "It is the custom," he adds, "that these kings of the lineage of Prester John always obtain to wife either daughters of the Grand Khan or other princesses of his family."* This George may be either the western name George or a corruption of the Thibetan and Mongol name Jurji or Dorje, which is more probable. He is again mentioned by Marco Polo as having taken part in a fight against Kaidu, the great rival of Khubilai, near Karakorum. He is there called the grandson of Prester John, and also the younger Prester John,† and it is not improbable therefore that he was a son of Sengun's. The name George is mentioned, as I shall show presently, by John of Monte Corvino, who knew him very intimately. It is not likely that either he or Marco Polo were mistaken as to his lineage; on the other hand, it is generally supposed that we have no notice of him except in European authors. I believe, on the contrary, that we have, and that he was no other than the Jurji who is made the eldest son of Khubilai in Von Hammer's tables, while by Gaubil Ching kin is called the heir to the throne, Wassaf also says the latter was Khubilai's eldest son. Colonel Yule suggests that he died young.‡ I would rather suggest that Jurji, who is not named in the succession, as he would assuredly have been if he was Khubilai's eldest son, was no son of Khubilai at all, but was in fact the son of Wang Khan, mentioned by Polo as fighting on Khubilai's side against Kaidu. As I said, he is mentioned by John of Monte Corvino, who speaks thus of him: "A certain king of this part of the world, by name George, belonging to the sect of the Nestorian Christians, and of the illustrious lineage of that great king who was called Prester John of India, in the first year of my arrival here§ attached himself to me, and after he had been converted by me to the verity of the Catholic faith took the lesser orders, and when I celebrated mass used to attend me wearing his royal robes. Certain others of the Nestorians on this account accused him of apostacy, but he brought over a great part of his people with him to the true Catholic faith, and built a church of royal magnificence in honour of our God, of the Holy Trinity,

* Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., i. 275.
† Yule's Marco Polo, 1st Ed., ii., 390. ‡ Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., i. 352.
§ He arrived at Cambaluc or Peking, whence the letter is dated about 1295-6.

and of our lord the Pope, giving it the name of the Roman Church. This King George, six years ago (*i.e.*, in 1299), departed to the Lord, leaving as his heir a son scarcely out of the cradle, and who is now (*i.e.*, in 1305) nine years old. And after King George's death his brothers, perfidious followers of the errors of Nestorius, perverted again all those whom he had brought over to the Church and carried them back to their original schismatical creed. And being all alone and not able to leave his majesty the Cham, I could not go to visit the church above mentioned, which is twenty days' journey distant. Yet if I could get some good fellow-workers to help me I trust in God that all this might be retrieved, for I still possess the grant which was made in our favour by the late King George before mentioned. . . . I had been in treaty with the late King George, if he had lived, to translate the whole Latin ritual, that it might be sung throughout the whole extent of his territory; and whilst he was alive I used to celebrate mass in his church according to the Latin ritual, reading in the before mentioned language and character the words of both the preface and the canon."* Colonel Yule says "the distance mentioned, twenty days' journey from Peking, suits quite well with the position assigned to Tenduc, and no doubt the Roman Church was in the city to which Marco Polo gives that name."†

Friar Odoric, travelling westwards from China in 1326 and 1327, says he arrived after a journey of fifty days at the country of Prester John, whose principal city was Tozan, which although the chief city, Vicenza would be considered its superior. Besides it, he had many other cities under him, and by a standing compact always received to wife the Great Khan's daughter.‡ This Tozan Colonel Yule identifies with Tathung, a circle of administration immediately east of Ninghia and embracing a part of the Ordus country.§ This notice concludes the list of Western authorities who refer to Prester John and his people.

Let us now approach the subject from another point of view. At the accession of Jingis the Mongol race was divided into four great sections, the Mongols proper, the Tatars, the Merkits, and the Keraits. Of these the last were no doubt at that date the most important, what then has become of their descendants? The Mongols of Jingis Khan, that is the Yeka or Great Mongols, are no doubt represented by the Khalkhas and the Forty-nine banners. The Tatars were terribly punished and scattered. The Merkits I believe to have been the ancestors of the modern Buriats. And by a process of exhaustion we arrive at the conclusion that the Kalmuks represent the ancient Keraits, and this view may be supported by other considerations, but first a few words about the name by which the Kalmuks are generally spoken of by the Chinese and Mongol writers and those who draw inspiration from them.

* Cathay and the Way Thither, 199-202. † Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., i. 278.
‡ Cathay and the Way Thither, 146, 147. § *Id.*, 146. Note 2.

This name is Durben Uirad, and it means, according to good authorities, the four allies,* and is used by Ssanang Setzen as the correlative of the term "the Forty," which he applies to the Mongols proper. The name arose no doubt from the Kalmuks having in the middle ages formed a confederacy of four tribes or sections. These four sections are named by Ssanang Setzen as the Kergud, Baghatud, Choit, and the Ogheled.† It is therefore a descriptive term, which may be fitly compared with the term "allies," by which the English and French were known in the Russian war, and it has no specific value as a race name.

It has been confounded, as I believe most improperly, with the name of another tribe which does not belong to the purely Mongol race. This tribe is called Uirad or Uirat by Raschid. He tells us it lived on the Segias Muran.‡ Abulghazi, who follows Raschid, calls the place Sikiz Muran, and adds that it means the eight rivers.§ These eight rivers were the head streams of the Kem or Upper Yenissei. Now it is curious that close to this area there still remains a people whose indigenous name is Uirad, and who are known to the Russians as Telenguts, and, as I have said in the first chapter, it is these Uirads who I believe are the descendants of the Uirads of Raschid, with whom the Kalmuks had nothing to do. Having rid ourselves of this impediment, let us now proceed. As I have said, one of the four divisions of the Durben Uirads in Ssanang Setzen is that of the Kerguds or Keraits. This is a hint that the ancient Keraits were closely related to the modern Kalmuks.

Now, on turning to the account of the early history of the Torguts given by Pallas,‖ which he derived from a chronicle written by Gabung Sharrap, a prince of the Torguts, we find their royal house derived from one Kas wang or Ki wang, who separated himself with the Torguts from his sovereign Wang Khan. Both Pallas and Remusat¶ identify this Wang Khan with the great chief of the Keraits. One of the principal tribes or clans of the Torguts is still called Keret or Karat.** De Mailla tells us the family name of Wang Khan was Yeliku.†† This seems like a Chinese transcription of the famous Torgut clan-name Erket. The name Torgut is derived by certain of the Kalmuks from the word Turuk or Turugut, which means giants or great people, and say further it was given them by Jingis Khan.‡‡ It is not improbable, however, that it is derived, like many other Mongol names, from the place where they lived, and it is curious that in the country of the Tumeds of Koko Khotan, which has been identified as the probable position of Wang Khan's country, there is a river Turguen and a place called Torghi.§§ Lastly, it is very remarkable that when the Durben Uirads first appear in history

* Remusat Les Langues Tartares, 238. Pallas Saml. Hist. Nach., &c., i. 6.
† Op. cit., 57. ‡ Erdmann's Temujin, &c., 187. § Op. cit. Ed. Desmaisons, 45.
‖ Sml. Hist. Nach., &c., i. 56. ¶ Les Langues Tartares, 238. ** Pallas, op. cit., i. 92.
†† Op. cit., ix. 17. ‡‡ Pallas, op. cit., i. 12. §§ See Map, De Mailla, vol. ix.

after the expulsion of the Mongols from China that the chieftain who claimed to be by right their sovereign was Ugetshi Khaskhagha, of the Kergud or Keraits. These facts make it very probable indeed that the Keraits are now represented by the Kalmuks.

As I have said, the Torgut chiefs claim descent from Kas wang or Ki wang, the brother of Wang Khan. Ki wang or Gui wang is merely a Chinese title, meaning Great Khan, and we find it applied to one of Jingis's great generals, namely, Mukuli Guiwang.* The Ki wang who separated himself from his brother and suzereign Wang Khan was doubtless Ilka Seugun, whose prowess got him the Thibetan title of Yakembo Keraiti, *i.e.*, great Kerait Prince,† and we are expressly told that he detached one of Wang Khan's tribes, namely, the Tungkaits, from their allegiance to him.‡ Yakembo was very closely connected with the family of Jingis; his eldest daughter Abika married the great conqueror himself. Another named Bigtutemish Fudshin was married to his eldest son Juji; the third, Siurkukteni, married Tului, and became the mother of the great Khans Mangu and Khubilai; while the fourth was married to a chief of the Onguts.§ And it is very probable indeed that when Jingis appropriated the country of Wang Khan that he left a number of his clans under the authority of Yakembo, and that these clans are the modern Torguts. We will now try and trace out the story of Yakembo's descendants.

Pallas tells us Ki wang had a son called Soffai, otherwise entitled Buyani Tetkukshi, who had a son Bayar, whose grandson was called Makhachi Menggo, with the surname of Karat. He says it is the most famous name among the ancestors of the Torgut princes, and that all his descendants are called Karat. He also tells us that Makhachi means a murderer, and that the name was derived from his having married his seven daughters to seven princes, whom he afterwards murdered and appropriated their lands. He is clearly looked upon by the Torguts as the hero of their royal line. Now, on turning to Ssanang Setzen's history of the Mongols under the years 1393-1399, we read that the Khakan of the Mongols, named Elbek Khakan, rewarded one Chuchai Dadshu for some important services he had rendered him by promising to appoint him Chin sang, and to give him authority over the four Uirads. By his counsel the Khakan murdered his brother Khargotsok Khungtaidshi and appropriated his widow. The latter revenged herself by poisoning the Khakan's mind against Chuchai Dadshu so much that he had him put to death. Finding out soon after that the charges against his favourite were groundless, he raised his son Batula to his father's rank, and gave him the command of the four Uirads. We are told that these events aroused the anger of one Ugetshi Khaskhagha of the Kerguds, who claimed

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* Erdmann's Temujin, 173. † *Id.* Note 73. ‡ *Id.*, 269. § *Id.*, 235.

himself to be the chief of the four Uirads. He marched against the Khakan, defeated and killed him, appropriated his widow Oldshei Chung Beldshi, and subdued the greater part of the Mongol race.* I believe that Ugetshi is no other than the Makhatshi of Pallas. The former was a Kergud (*i.e.*, a Kerait), the latter is especially distinguished by the name Keraiti. One was succeeded by a son Yassun, the other by Esseku. Their names are in fact the same, with the exception of the initial M in Makhatschi; and further, in the lists of Pallas, which give the names of most of the Uirad princes of any renown, Makhatshi is the only one which can be correlated with Ugetshi. For these reasons I shall treat them as the same. I have already shown reason for identifying the Ugetshi of Ssanang Setzen with the Gultsi of Timkowski, and the Kulichi of the Chinese authors.† The Ming annals say he usurped the throne under the title of Kohan (*i.e.*, Khakan).‡ De Mailla tells us that Kulichi, who had authority among the people of the North, arrogated to himself the title of Khan or king of the Tatars, not daring to take that of Khan of the Mongols, for fear of arousing against him the princes of the Mongol royal family. This was in 1388. The Chinese Emperor sent him a seal and patent of office confirming him in the title which he had usurped. He also sent him four pieces of gold brocade.§ These marks of favour were displeasing to certain other princes, who were impatient of obeying one that did not belong to the old Imperial stock.‖ These chiefs having collected an army, attacked and drove him away. This was in 1404. There can be no doubt that for some years Ugetshi reigned supreme in Mongolia, the legitimate Khan Adsai being a kind of state prisoner or puppet in his hands. The chronology of this period of Mongol history is terribly confused. Ssanang Setzen makes Ugetshi murder his rival Batula in 1415,¶ while the Ming annals make Kulichi be killed by Aroktai in 1409.** Ugetshi was succeeded by his son Esseku, whom I identify with the Yassun of Pallas. This was, according to Ssanang Setzen, in 1415. He was then twenty-nine years old. He married the widow of Batula, and was known as Esseku Khakan. Adsai and Aroktai continued to live in his house, as they had done in that of his father. He reigned for eleven years, and died in 1425.†† After his death confusion reigned among the Uirads. When this was overcome, we find them ruled over by the rival house descended from Chuchai Dadshu. Ssanang Setzen tells us nothing more, so far as we can see, about the descendants of Ugetshi, and we are now left to the meagre relation of Pallas. He tells us the son of Yassun was called Boegho or Boibegŏ Urluk, and was the ancestor of the many Torgut princes who

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* Ssanang Setzen, 141-145. Ante, 350.

† Ante, 352. ‡ Delamarre, 97. § Op. cit., x. 153. Delamarre, 155.

Vide ante, 353. ¶ Op. cit., 145. ** Op. cit., 167. †† Ssanang Setzen, 147.

lived on the Volga. He had six sons by his two wives, namely, Sulsega, Buura, Goori, Mangkhai, Wellu Zansen, and Bollikhun.*

The eldest son of Sulsega Urluk was the real founder of the later Torgut power, he was called Khu Urluk. Up to his time the Torguts seem to have lived in close neighbourhood with the other Kalmuks, and, like them, suffered in the terrible campaigns waged against them by Altan Khan. It is probable that up to that time their princes exercised a considerable authority in Sungaria, but that campaign seems to have shattered and disintegrated the nation very considerably. We read that in 1562 Altan Khan's great-nephew, Khutuktai Setzen, marched against the four Uirads, and that on the river Erchis (*i.e.*, the Irtish) he defeated the Torgagods (*i.e.*, the Torguts). As a token of their subjection, he caused a black camel to be killed and its skin to be planted as a standard on the hearth of the royal tent. He also carried off a number of Torguts and Sinbis as his prisoners.†

This defeat no doubt considerably shattered the power of the Torguts. Some years later the Sungars began to grow very powerful, and we read that about 1616 their great chief Baatur separated himself from his father and settled in the country of the Irtish. This was probably after a struggle with the Torguts, for Pallas assigns quarrels with the Sungars as the motives of their migration; and the Scotch traveller Bell, who travelled on the Volga in 1715, says their separation from the other Kalmuks took place on account of a domestic quarrel. Whatever the cause, it would seem that about 1616 they left their old home in Sungaria, under the leadership of Urluk, and migrated across the Kirghiz steppes. On their way, Bell tells us they defeated the Tartar chieftain Eyball Utzik, who lived beyond the Yemba, whose subjects were no doubt the Yimbulatian Tartars of Pallas.‡ He also defeated the Astrakhan Nogays, and the same year (*i.e.*, in 1616) made peace with the Russians.§

When next we read of the Torguts it is in connection with Siberia. After the final defeat of Kuchum, Khan of Siberia, several princes of his house attempted to revive his authority; among these was one called Ishim, who styled himself Khan of Siberia. We are told that in order to strengthen his position he married the daughter of Urluk, the Torgut chief.‖ The latter had his camp apparently on the upper Tobol,¶ whence his influence was widely felt. It was no doubt his subjects who made occasional raids upon the territory of Khuarezm, as described by Abulghazi Khan. They first appeared there early in the reign of Arab Muhammed Khan. They were 1,000 in number, and marching between the lake of Khodja and the mountain of Cheikh Jelil, they pillaged the villages on both sides of the river as far as the fort of Tuk, whence they returned home, passing by Burichi. Arab Muhammed pursued them,

* Pallas, op. cit., i. 57. † Ssanang Setzen, 211. ‡ Op. cit., i. 58. § *Id.*
‖ Fischer, Sib. Gesh., 444. ¶ Fischer, op. cit., 577.

and recovered the prisoners and booty they had taken, but did not capture a single Kalmuk.* Twelve years later, and just at the end of the reign of Arab Muhammed, they made another incursion by way of Bakirghan, and succeeded in carrying off a considerable booty.† They returned again some years later, about 1624, and carried off a large number of prisoners belonging to the il or clan of Abulghazi.‡

Meanwhile Khu Urluk was a powerful influence elsewhere. He was suspected by the Russians of intriguing with the troublesome Nogays of Astrakhan against them, but on their sending an envoy to him, about 1632, he received him well, arranged for a mutual trade between the two nations, and himself sent back envoys to Tumen to promise on behalf of himself, his brothers, &c., that they would live peaceably with the Russians. The Kalmuk merchants who accompanied the envoy found a good market for their wares, especially their horses, and a Russian caravan accompanied them on their return home.§ Meanwhile he covertly intrigued with the Nogays, gained over one of their chiefs named Sultanai, and threatened the rest, who appealed to the Russians for aid. This was in 1633.‖ He seems to have dominated over the whole of the steppes of the Kirghiz Kazaks, and it is clear from the narrative of Abulghazi that the inhabitants of Khuarezm suffered severely at his hands.¶ We are told that about 1639 the Turkomans of Mangushlak were entirely crushed, only 700 families of them remained, and they were subject to the Kalmuks. Abulghazi adds that the sovereign of the Kalmuks, having heard of his arrival at Mangushlak, sent for him, and having detained him for a year, afterwards let him return to his people at Urgendj.** It is probable that at this time the Kalmuks had their winter quarters on the Yaik or Yemba, and their summer camps on the upper Tobol.

In 1643 Urluk moved his camp to the neighbourhood of Astrakhan, and intrigued again with the Nogays to detach them from their allegiance to Russia. Upon this the inhabitants of Astrakhan marched against him, defeated and killed him, with several of his sons and grandsons.†† His following numbered about 50,000 tents. While he lived he was suspicious of his sons, and only gave them small inheritances, but on his death the horde was divided between his three sons, Daitshing, Yeldeng, and Loosang. The eldest was offered the patent of Khan by the Bogda Lama, but he refused it.

The two younger sons were the first to cross the Yaik into the Volga steppe, where they defeated the Nogays of the tribes Kitai-Kaptchak, Maile-bash, and Etissan.‡‡ They also conquered the Turkmans or Truchmen of the Red Camel clan (Ulan temane), who lived south of the Yemba. Later

* Abulghazi, Ed. Desmaisons, 296. † *Id.*, 298. ‡ *Id.*, 325. § Fischer, op. cit., 462.
‖ *Id.*, 576. ¶ *Vide*, op. cit., 337. ** *Id.*, 338. †† Fischer, op. cit., 577.
‡‡ Pallas, op. cit., i. 59. Bell assigns this action to Khu Urluk, and makes the three tribal names names of chiefs.

in the same year Daitshing followed his brothers, and, like them, had to fight with the Nogays and with the Bashkirs. In 1650 the brothers quarrelled, and Loosang recrossed the Yaik, and went towards Siberia. He was pursued by an officer named Saissan Khoshootshi, overtaken on the river Or, and deprived of the greater portion of his followers, while he himself escaped to the Tobol. Yeldeng must soon after this have died, at least when in 1656 Daitshing Taidshi and his son Punzuk or Bantshuk formally submitted to the Czar Alexis Michælovitch, no mention is made of him. In 1662 Daitshing repeated for the second time on the brook Bereket, sixty versts from Astrakhan, the treaty with the Russians.

During the reigns of Urluk's sons the Kalmuks continued their attacks upon the country of Khuarezm. Thus in 1648 they made an attack, which I have already described.* At this time Abulghazi sent home to his own country a prince (turé) of the uruk of the Torguts, named Buyan, who was then at Khuarezm, having gone there for purposes of commerce.†

In 1652 the Torguts, under command of three of their chiefs named Mergen Taishi (probably the Mergen mentioned below), Okchutebé, and Toghul, plundered the villages near Hezar asb, and advanced as far as Sedur and Darughan, and retired with a great number of prisoners. Abulghazi determined to pursue them, contrary to the advice of his Begs, who urged that they had been gone ten days, and were now far enough away. He overtook a party of them near the mountain Irder, and having taken them prisoners, put them to death. He then pursued the main body, which on his approach scattered, each of its three chiefs going a different way, leaving the weak and the laggards to look after themselves. Okchutebé and Toghul were overtaken at Sakin Rabat. There they fortified themselves, and sent envoys to say they had entered upon his (Abulghazi's) territory by mistake. They were very humble, offered to give back all the booty they had captured in the district of Urgenj, and swore not to molest it again. Abulghazi listened to their prayer, since, as he says, neither their fathers nor elder brothers had ever been enemies of his state, and he sent them home with rich presents.‡

Yeldeng's son Mergen quarrelled with his brothers, a quarrel which was made use of by Daitshing's son Punzuk, who imprisoned and killed him and appropriated his subjects. He had to struggle for the prize, however, with Dugar, the son of his uncle Kirossan, who had stood by Mergen. He also was defeated, and forced to take refuge with the Krim Tatars. This happened in 1670. Punzuk, who was now master of the greater part of the Torgut horde, was soon after this surprised by the Khoshote Ablai Taidshi.§ He died in his hands, and left the principality of the Torguts to his eldest son Ayuka Taidshi. Namoserah had

* Ante, 503. † Abulghazi, 346. ‡ Op. cit., 349-351. § *Vide* ante, 502.

next to Punzuk the greatest inheritance among the sons of Daitshing. He had not the same luck in increasing it, and his descendants were considered only as princes of the second rank, ranking next to the Khans.*

In 1672 Ayuka had some intercourse with the Russians. He then lived on the river Sarpa, on the steppe between the Don and the Volga. Since the time of Daitshing the Torguts had annually received a payment of gold, merchandise, and victuals in return for acting as policemen to some of the turbulent tribes north of the Caucasus. Ayuka had compelled some of the Nogays to give him hostages. He was not at this time in a very contented mood, as the payment of his donative by the Russians was in arrear, but he promised to go to Astrakhan to renew the oath of allegiance. He arrived on the 26th of February, 1673. The governor prepared a splendid tent and an imposing guard to receive him, and the following day he took the oath, as did his cousins Melush, Nasarmamut, Tugul, and Dordsha Taidshi, and all the Saissans present, both in the name of themselves and of the other princes (among whom the Derbet Solom Zeren is especially named), and for the Nogays under their authority. The oath was sworn in Kalmuk fashion, each one with his sword on his head touching a figure of Buddha, a rosary, and a sacred book. Ayuka swore to serve faithfully "the Czar Alexis Michælovitch and his sons Ivan and Peter against their enemies, especially the Turks and Tatars, and to protect their towns and subjects. Not to molest the Nogays, the Edissanian, Jimbulatjan, and other Tatars under the jurisdiction of Astrakhan. To have no dealings with the Turkish Sultan, the Shah of Persia, the Krim Khan, the Bey of Azof, they of Temruk, Taban, and Beslenez, the Kumuks, or other enemies of Russia. To prevent the Tatar (*i.e.*, Nogay) Mursas from committing depredations, to shelter no deserters from Astrakhan, and to allow the Mursas who wished to visit Astrakhan to go there freely. Not to demand back escaped Christian slaves, not to ask exorbitant ransom for fugitives who might fall in their way. To assist the Russian merchants' barks on the Volga and to send their horses for sale to the Russian markets at Tambof, Kasimof, Wolodomir, and Moscow. To be content with the annual payment the Russians made them, to make an annual campaign against the Kumuks, and Krim Tatars, and, lastly, to deliver up to the Russians the Khoshote prince Ablai and Ayuka's uncle Dugar, whom they had imprisoned." This treaty, like many of those made by Russia with her barbarous neighbours, seems transparently onesided. On the other hand there was only a promise to deliver up all heathen and Muhammedan escaped prisoners, to prohibit the Yaik Cossacks and the Bashkirs from making incursions upon the Kalmuks, and the payment of the arrears of the donative due

* Pallas, op. cit., i. 60.

to them. To the delight and at the desire of Ayuka and his followers, the Russians after the ceremony performed some military manœuvres, fired off guns, &c., and both parties left the conference highly pleased.*

The position of Ayuka and his people was an awkward one. Placed on the confines of the Russian empire and its hereditary and (then anything but helpless foe) the Turks, whose vanguard was formed by the Khanate of Krim, he was naturally made the subject of intrigues by both. He had among his subjects the Nogays, a turbulent and uneasy race, and his northern neighbours were the Cossacks of the Yaik and the Bashkirs. The three latter were constantly making inroads into each other's country and into that of the Kalmuks. Inroads which led naturally to reprisals, in which the Russian frontier was not always respected. In 1676 Ayuka was encamped in the steppes of the Yaik, where he had gone to await the arrival of the Khoshote chief Dordshi Taidshi.† The Russians complained to him of the disturbances on the frontier, and invited him to another conference at Astrakhan, where he went with the Derbet prince Solomzeren and many others. There mutual complaints were made, and it was agreed that Ayuka should renew his former oath.

Ten years later the Russians grew more uneasy on hearing that Ayuka had been in communication with the Krim Khan, and that gifts had passed between them. They sent him a note, reminding him of his oath. Ayuka retorted that the Bashkirs and Cossacks were permitted to attack him. But he was afraid of falling between the two stools, and he sent the letters of Nart Girei, the Krim Khan, to Astrakhan and promised the Russians not only to assist them in any war they had with the Tatars, but also to send a contingent in any struggle they might have with the Poles and the Turks. The Russian policy towards their border tribes was the favourite policy of our own country until lately. To set one tribe's jealousies against another, and to bind the more intractable to their duties by an annual donative. This policy was followed in the case of Ayuka with indifferent success. He was either dissatisfied with their bounty, or else, like the Kazak chiefs, he was unable to restrain the more turbulent of his subjects, and one of these causes led to constant interference with his liberty and to his being summoned constantly to a council to repeat his oath of allegiance, and to his being threatened with the invasion of his territory by the Cossacks. It was thus that in 1682 the complaints of the neighbouring peoples were made the excuse for sending Ayuka a fresh missive, in which he was ordered to make some recompense for the past, and to give up three of his nearest relatives as hostages for the future. These demands only embittered him, and he refused compliance. In the August of that year, on the invitation of the Uralian Bashkirs, he marched a large

* Pallas, op. cit., i. 61, 62.

† Pallas, op. cit., i. 62. Ante, 503.

body of Kalmuks and Nogays and revolted Baskirs into the Ufa province as far as Kasan. He burnt and laid waste many villages, and carried away everything living, but failed to take Ufa itself. Thus a large body of Russians, Chuvashes, and Cheremisses were carried into captivity, and a portion of the Bashkirs attached themselves to Ayuka's horde. The same year a troop of Kalmuks and Bashkirs fell upon Samara, drove away its garrison, and beat a body of Cossacks in the neighbourhood. Ayuka was, not unnaturally, rather afraid of his success. He knew the vengeance of the Russians would follow him. Having placed the property and baggage of the horde in a place of safety, near the lake of Samar, and the Ufa river, he tried to come to terms, promised to make amends, and even to execute one of his principal chiefs. In case his overtures were rejected, he threatened to desert the Russian borders, and to depart beyond the Yemba. He also took the conciliatory step of forbidding the sale as slaves of the prisoners taken in the late campaign. His envoys were told at Astrakhan that the only terms the Russians would forward to Moscow were the giving of hostages and the payment of an annual tribute of 500 horses. He was also told that in future he must forego his annual donative. These terms were not agreeable to Ayuka, and the negotiations were broken off. Towards the end of March, 1683, as he was marching from the Volga towards the steppes of the Narym, a party of the Bashkirs fell on the Kalmuk outposts, who were watching the Yaik Cossacks. He accordingly marched towards their country with a large army, but thought better of it, turned aside, and crossed the Yaik. Meanwhile the Russians offered to restore him to his former favour if he would restore the prisoners, surrender some fugitive Bashkirs, and give three good hostages. Although he was at this time attacked by two parties of Cossacks of the Don and the Yaik he fulfilled these conditions. We are told that he was by no means humble in his attitude, and reminded the Russians that he was their ally and not their subject, and that his friendship was sought by others besides them, namely, by the Krim Tatars and the Turks. At length he once more renewed his oath with Solom Zeren.*

We next hear of Ayuka in 1693, when he was engaged in punishing the Bashkirs. He would seem to have been at this time on good terms with the Russians, and to have carried out their policy of punishing the neighbouring unruly tribes. He pushed his excursions, we are told, up to the foot of the Caucasus, and being opposed on his march by the Nogays of the Kuban, he completely defeated them. The bodies of his slain foes were cast by his orders into a pit dug under a great tumulus situated on the field of battle, and still known in the country by the name of Bairin Tolkon (mountain of joy), bestowed on it by the

* Pallas, i. 67.

victorious Khan.* About this time he seems to have been granted the title of Khan by the Russian Emperor, for after the year 1700 he is so styled in official documents, and is no longer called Taishi.†

By his three wives Ayuka had eight sons and five daughters, the eldest of the latter, named Sederdshap, was married to the Sungar chief Tse wang Arabtan, and was murdered by her stepson. Two others, named Loosangshap and Galdanshap, were married to Arabtan, the son of the Sungar chief Setzen Akhai. A fourth, named Buntar, was married to the Derbet prince Menko Timur, while the fifth died unmarried.

He had great trouble with his sons, which chiefly arose from the intrigues he carried on with his daughters-in-law. His eldest son, Bjak or Chakdurdshap, who had married a daughter of the Khoshote Setzen Khan, was especially aggrieved. He rebelled in 1701, and was supported by the horde. Ayuka was forced to fly to the Cossack towns on the Yaik; his son followed him towards the Yaik, and sent messengers to the Sungarian Kontaish. Ayuka upon this gave his inheritance to another son, Gundshep, who employed a murderer to kill his brother. The attempt failed, and Gundshep fled to Saratof. In the meanwhile a third son, Sandship, set out with 15,000 followers (?) on the Quixotic errand of possessing himself, by craft or otherwise, of the empire of Sungaria, then held by Tse wang Araptan. Without striking a blow his plans were frustrated. His followers were appropriated, and he himself with several of his immediate friends were sent back again to Ayuka. This was in 1704. He was soon afterwards killed by an explosion of gunpowder. Ayuka and his eldest son were reconciled to one another with the help of the Russian Knäs Boris Alex. Galizin. Soon afterwards Gunshep, who his father had formerly appointed his heir, also died. In 1711 a solemn and memorable conference took place between Ayuka and the Russians. It was agreed that as Khan he should receive an annual stipend of 2,000 rubles, besides 2,000 sacks of flour and a quantity of powder and shot for his troops. He promised to be faithful to the Emperor till his death, to send a body of 10,000 Kalmuks into the Kuban steppe whenever the Azof Cossacks should prove rebellious, and to give assistance when the Bashkirs were troublesome. In 1713 Ayuka declared his eldest son Chakdurdshap to be his successor, and in confirmation gave him the Khan's seal which he had received from the Dalai Lama, and used another one himself. He died, however, before his father, having meanwhile chosen from among his many children his son Dassang to be the head of the house and given him the seal he had received from Ayuka. Gunshep had also died some years before.

In 1722 Peter the Great stayed at Astrakhan on his expedition to Persia; he gave Ayuka a very gracious audience, and received him on

* De Hell's Travels, 224. † Pallas, op. cit., i. 68.

board his galley on the Volga, near Saratof, treating him and his wife like sovereign princes ;* but he arbitrarily fixed upon his cousin Dordshi, who had a good reputation, to succeed to the Khan's power, and exacted from him that in that case he would give the Russians hostages. Ayuka's plans were different. Forgetting his duties to the hereditary representative Dassang, and under pretence of his disobedience, he drove him away and chose one of his younger sons called Cheren Donduk as his heir. At this unfortunate juncture Ayuka died, aged eighty-three, and left everything in confusion.† No sooner was he dead than one of his widows, Darmabala, strove to secure the chief power to Donduk Ombo, his grandson. Dordshi Taidshi, the Russian nominee, refused the honour on the ground that he was too weak to restrain the other princes, but really because he was unwilling to give his sons as hostages. He suggested Dassang or Cheren Donduk as the candidates who had the best title. In this difficulty the Russian governor named Cheren Donduk, who was a son of Darmabala's, an imbecile and the last choice of Ayuka, as we have seen, to hold the position of Vice-Khan, pending the confirmation of the court. Soon after Cheren Donduk was duly appointed Khan of the Torguts by the Russians. He was very weak. He allowed himself to be baptised, which disgusted his people, and then became a Lamaist, which disgusted the Russians. Donduk Ombo, by his address and skill, had formed a large party among the Torguts favourable to himself. He acquired by his perseverance some small brass cannons which could be carried on camels. The Khan did the same, and the Russians, fearful of a general conflagration, forbade the sale of powder and ammunition to the Kalmuks.

Having seduced a great portion of the Kalmuks to his side, and having beaten the Khan in an engagement and compelled him to take refuge at Zaritzin, and fearful of the Russian commander, he now fled with his people to the Kuban, and put himself under the protection of the Turks. Hence he made inroads into the Russian territory, and returned thence with other portions of the Volga horde, the only Kalmuks who remained there were scattered and disintegrated.

The Khan, in order to renew his authority, had recourse to the Dalai Lama, who in the summer of 1735 sent him the Patent, a copy of which, Pallas says, was in the library of the Imperial Academy. The ceremony of investiture is imposing. It took place on the 10th September, 1735. The Khan's felt tent was hung with silken tissues, and two seats were placed in it, one for the Khan and a lesser one at its side for Shakur Lama, the then chief priest of the Torguts. The idols were set out in an adjoining tent, where some Lamas performed the services amidst the sound of trumpets and other

* De Hell's Travels, 224. † Pallas, op. cit., 70.

instruments. The Khan sat on his seat and awaited the arrival of the Grand Lama, who at length set out from his dwelling amidst solemn prayers, accompanied by a long procession of other Lamas. Having taken his seat on the appointed place, there then arrived Baatur Ombo, who had been sent by the Khan as his envoy to the Dalai Lama, and who had himself become a Lama, and was now styled Baatur Gellong. He was accompanied by many other Lamas on horseback. He entered bearing on his head the Holy Missive or Patent of the Dalai Lama, escorted by two mandshis (*i.e.*, neophytes), one with a number of lighted pastils, the other bearing a vessel with glowing coals, on which some Thibetan roots (*i.e.*, sweet-scented roots) were burning. Behind Baatur was another Lama with the sacred statues and relics, and then came the Khan's state riding horse, accompanied by other Lamas. Upon this was the saddle sent him as a present by the Dalai Lama. Others bore his state robes, cap, and girdle (from the latter of which hung a dagger and a knife), his sword, gun, quiver, and bow. Lastly came two small standards or tuks, one sent by the Dalai Lama as the symbol of the authority of Khan, the other sent by the living Buddha of Choidshing (? the Bogda Lama). This procession was also accompanied by a number of Lamas with music, &c. The two standards were planted before the Khan's tent, the remaining things were taken inside, except the arms and horse which were left outside. The Khan having put on his state robes, Shakur Lama took the sacred missive, which was written in Thibetan, and read it out, first in the tent and then outside. It ran thus: "To the wise, holy, and prosperous Shasobense Daitshing Khan (this was the new name conferred by the Dalai Lama) our blessing. We wish thee and thy people the former happy times, that thy power may increase, that as a wise householder and a noble flower thou mayest shine, and that thou as well as others may remain steadfast in the faith. Thy good wishes and thy well-intentioned gifts, namely, a good chadak (a silken hanging for a temple) and carpet, two rosaries of eight beads, eighty pieces of gold money, two pieces of cloth, &c., have been delivered to us, and have been accepted in the name of the Almighty Tsong khapa and the high clergy of the Yellow caps (*i.e.*, the adherents of the Dalai Lama). We wish that thereby peace and happiness, both internal and external, may be secured to thy people and all living beings; strengthen thyself in the faith that thou mayest do right to all thy subjects. Thy forefather, as a defender of the faith and as our constant adorer, has gone to his eternal repose, and as followers of his example all the Torgut and other princes ought in a fatherly and grandfatherly way to rule their people in peace and love, so that they may acquire beneficent knowledge to the increase of the power and authority of the true faith of the Yellow caps, that they be indulgent to its professors and help them on their good path, diligently remember the prescribed prayers, conform benevolently

in all matters pertaining to religion, and have in view the precepts of the gods, the holy writings, and the priesthood. Then will we always be favourably disposed to thee, and thou mayest rely confidently on our spiritual assistance in all things. As a proof of our well wishing, we send thee a sacred Sangia (a symbol of authority in the form of a yellow fillet, and answering to a crown among European sovereigns), my portrait, a true Shalir (*i.e.*, a relic) of the ruler of the world Sakiamuni, besides sacred pills (Urulu) and other consecrated things, and three pieces of red lacquer. Given at Budala on a propitious day of the white month."*

The various Kalmuk grandees now came to Shakur Lama to receive his blessing, while the Khan mounted his horse, girt himself with the sword, quiver, and bow which the Dalai Lama had sent him, and repaired to the temple, or rather sacred tent, where he deposited his arms and adored the several gods. He then returned to his state tent, where a feast was held amidst music and the distribution of drink, while he sat on his throne decked in his robes, among which a scarf of white Chinese sarcenet was conspicuous. He afterwards granted honorary titles to several of his dependants, and acquainted the Russian commissary at his court that he had received consecration by the Dalai Lama. This investiture was of small avail to Cheren Donduk. His rival, Donduk Ombo, made peace with the Russians, and having secured the obedience of the greater part of the Kalmuks, he in 1735 left the Kuban and arrived in the Volga steppes, and Cheren Donduk prudently escaped to St. Petersburgh, where he died. At length it was determined to recognise the *de facto* Khan as Khan also *de jure*, and Donduk Ombo was accordingly, in 1735, invested with the Khanate by Ismailof, the governor of Astrakhan, an authority which he held till his death in 1741. He governed the horde with great skill, and gained much credit by his successful wars with the Kuban and Krim Tartars, and acquired for himself the reputation of the greatest of the Kalmuk Khans of the Volga. For his important service in defeating the Kuban Tartars in 1736 his stipend was raised to 3,000 rubles in money and 2,000 sacks of flour. In 1738 his eldest son Galdan Norbo, a favourite with the horde, rebelled, and was so successful that his father took strong measures. He divorced Norbo's mother, shut him out from the succession, and sent an embassy to the Dalai Lama to secure it for a younger son, Kandul, by another wife. Norbo seems to have escaped to Kazan, and to have there died in 1740. Donduk Ombo removed about 6,000 families of the Turkmans of Mangishlak, belonging to the Red Camel horde. These he augmented by some 8,000 families of Khunduran Mankats or Mountain Nogays, whom he had subdued in his expedition against the Kuban Tatars. The combined tribes were settled in the Kuban steppe and made tributay.†

* The white month or Zagansara answers to February. Pallas, op. cit., i. 73-76.
† Pallas, op. cit., 79.

Donduk Ombo died in 1741, and left as his successor his young son Kandul, whom I have just named, and who was then only ten years old. His mother Dshan acted as regent. She was unscrupulous and had several distinguished Kalmuks killed, among others Galdan Dandshin, a son of the Khan Ayuka, and her proceedings produced great confusion in the horde. She was a Circassian, from the Kabarda, was suspected of being a Muhammedan, and of being in collusion with the tribes of the Caucasus, and unfaithful to the horde. Her coquettings with the Caucasian Tartars and the mountain tribes was not favourably viewed by the Russians. The Russian governor of Astrakhan, Tatitschef, therefore proceeded to appoint Donduk Taishi, a grandson of Ayuka's, to the temporary Khanate pending the confirmation by the authorities at Moscow, and to grant him a yearly allowance of 1,000 golden rubles and as many sacks of flour. He was not only the legitimate heir to the power as representative of Chakdordshap, the eldest son of Ayuka, but had proved faithful to Russia in Donduk Ombo's rebellion. The restless widow Dshan escaped with her children and 700 families, being the clan to which Donduk Ombo belonged, to the Kabarda, and sent an embassy to the renowned Shah of Persia, Nadir, to ask for assistance. The Shah held out hopes, but they came to nothing, and she was persuaded to submit to the Russians. Her eldest son Kandul returned to his father's ulus or horde, called Baga Zoochor, while she and her other children were sent to Moscow, where they were shortly afterwards baptised and raised to the dignity of princes. She was christened Wiera, while her two daughters received the names of Nadeshda and Linbof, and her sons those of Alexei, Jonas, and Philip. A christening gift of 1,000 rubles was given to each of them, and 1,700 rubles for their dress. Their offences were forgiven, but to prevent a recurrence of disturbances among the Kalmuks, they were assigned a residence at Moscow. The sons entered the Russian service and received a yearly stipend. Alexei and Jonas rose to the rank of brigadier, with an income of 1,000 rubles.

On the death of the Khan Donduk Taishi she was permitted, in conjunction with one of her sons, to rule over an ulus of 2,500 families, and settled in the fortress of Yenataewa, where a large house was built for her. One of her daughters died at Moscow, the other, who was a Kalmuk beauty, was married to Prince Derbetef, of the Kalmuks of Stavropol.*

Let us now return once more to Donduk Taishi. In 1742 he went to Moscow to attend the coronation of the Empress Elizabeth and to swear fealty to the Russian authorities. He was still only Vice-Khan, the dignity of Khan being for a time in abeyance. In 1757 he applied to the

* Pallas, op. cit., i. 81, 82.

Russian authorities to have his son Ubasha nominated as his successor. The Russians were not displeased at this request, which implied that the Emperor rather than the Grand Lama was to be considered as the investing authority. They determined to confer at the same time the dignity of Khan on Donduk Taishi, and that of Vice-Khan upon his son, which was accordingly done with all the stately ceremonial which the Russian authorities practise when they wish to impress their barbarous dependants with a notion of their grandeur. The account is given at some length by Pallas. The Khan received the dignity standing, and afterwards knelt and kowtowed three times in honour of the Empress. The oath of allegiance was sworn in the presence of a statue of Buddha, which the princes touched with their hands, and the solemn deed containing the Khan's oath was signed with his tamgha or seal. The state sword was girt on him by the Imperial assessor himself, while other Russian officers dressed him in his sable-lined robes and cap, and another officer bore the tuk, which was handed to a saissan who planted it in front of the tent.* At the parting interview the new Khan showed the Russian assessor a hill, not far from the Solanoi Saymistshi, and which is called Wetan Kharatokhoi by the Kalmuks, and told him he wished to have a monument erected there, at his own cost, commemorating the Imperial favour conferred on him. He had charged his Bodoktshei or market judge with the matter, and asked assistance from the Russians in building it. This monument was in fact put up, but was made of such perishable materials (*i.e.*, of wood and cement) that it soon decayed, and Pallas says that only its ruins remained when he wrote.†

Donduk Taishi did not live very long after his promotion, but died on the 21st of January, 1761, and was succeeded by his son Ubasha, who was then only seventeen years old, and who had lately married Mandere, the daughter of the Khoshote chief Erranpal. He succeeded to the chieftainship of 100,000 families, and their camping ground extended from the Yaik to the Don, and from Zaritzin on the Volga to the northern slopes of the Caucasus. At the time of Ubasha's accession there was a young prince named Zebek Dordshi, a grandson of the Khan Donduk Ombo, who set up pretensions to the throne, and to escape, as he said, from some Kalmuk nobles who had threatened to assassinate him, he fled with sixty-five followers to the Russian town of Cherkask, whence he forwarded his complaints to the Russian court. The opportunity of lessening the authority of the Khan during his minority was too favourable to be lost by the Russians. They had already abridged it somewhat in the year of his accession by deciding that the Sargatshis or members of the Khan's council should be attached to the ministry of

* Pallas, op. cit., i. 85. † *Id.*, 86.

foreign affairs, with an annual salary of 100 rubles, while the Khan's absolute power was reduced practically to being president of this council. Zebek Dordshi was now appointed chief of the Sargatshis by the Russian authorities.* The meddling and patronage of the Russians was becoming intolerably vexatious, interferences on every small pretext were frequent, his power was also harshly employed by the then Russian Grand Pristof Kishinskoi. Ubasha, through the intrigues of ambitious dependants, the discontent of the Kalmuks, and the Russian policy, was being reduced to a nonentity, and listened with avidity to the only scheme for escaping from his difficulties. This was no less a remedy than the transplanting of himself and his people from the banks of the Volga to the borders of China, a gigantic plan, which was carried out in a marvellous manner, for it will be admitted that to transport several hundred thousand people, not soldiers but families with women and children, across the steppes and sand wastes of Siberia, exposed to the attacks of the Kazaks, to terrible privations, &c., and to bring it to a successful issue, constitutes one of the heroic chapters in the history of human endurance. The original suggestion of the migration has been credited to several people. Bergmann would assign it to Zebek Dordshi; arguing that he was not content with the promotion the Russians had given him, and that he had expected by their means to supplant his relative altogether, and determined, as they did not place him on the Khan's throne, to revenge himself by persuading the race to leave Russia and to seek quarters elsewhere.† But, as Madame de Hell says, this is a wholly inadequate, and in fact an incredible reason.‡ The real fountain head and source of the movement was, I believe, the invitation or suggestion of the Manchu court. In order to understand this we must revert somewhat.

About 1703 war broke out, between Ayuka Khan and the chief of the Sungars, and in that year Ayuka Khan's nephew Karapuchin (the Arabshur of Remusat) set out with his mother on a pilgrimage to Thibet. As the war was going on the young prince did not venture to return, but went on to China, where he was well received and settled on the western frontier of Shensi.§ His name was Chereng or Tsereng.‖ After a stay of nine years, he in 1712 received permission to return from the Emperor Kanghi. At the same time, under pretence of escorting him, but really in order to report upon the reason of the migration of the Torguts from Sungaria, to secure them as allies, and perhaps to persuade them to return, the Emperor sent some companions with him, headed by a Chinese official named Tulishen.¶ Whatever the arguments of

* Bergmann, i. 147-153. De Hell, 225. † Bergmann, op. cit., i. 153-157.
‡ De Hell's Travels, 226. § Ritter, Vol. 2, 464.
‖ Mems. sur la China, i. 342. Note. Where he is called Tsereng Ubashi.
¶ The account of this embassy has been printed in China, and has also been translated into English by Sir George Staunton, but I have not met with a copy of it.

Tulishen, they had no immediate fruit in regard to inducing a return of the Torguts to their old country. They, however, probably sowed seed which was now, fifty-eight years later, to be harvested. There was a constant communication going on between the Volga Kalmuks and their brethren in the East, and also with Thibet, and parties of Mongols were constantly passing to and fro, and during Ubasha's reign his people had been thus largely recruited. On one occasion the Khoit chief Chereng, sometimes called the perfidious Chereng, retired apparently before the victorious Manchus and settled with 10,000 of his people among the Torguts. He also has been credited with the suggesting the great migration, but the chief instrument of all in the work, according to Pallas, was the then chief Lama of the Volga horde, Loosang Jatzar Arantshimba, a son of the prince Bambar. He had filled that position for fifteen years, and was held to be a Khubilgan or regenerate Buddha by the Volga Kalmuks. He is described by Pallas as a treacherous impostor. However this may be, he seems to have continuously urged the Kalmuks to leave the country of heretics and to return towards the fatherland and focus of their religion, their ancient home on the borders of Thibet.

These various persons joined in urging upon the Khan the propriety of his migrating, and he was at length persuaded. It seems that he took part in the Russian war with Turkey in 1769 and 1770, and that he marched himself with 30,000 men to assist the Russians, and made a diversion in the Kuban, while one of his principal officers, Momotubash, with 5,000 men, assisted at the siege of Otshakof. The former body fought a severe battle on the river Kalaus, in which 5,000 of the enemy perished.* Ubasha returned home flushed with victory, and not in a condition to be dragooned by the Russian Grand Pristof Kishinskoi. The latter seems to have been a violent and imprudent person. He heard of the rumours about the migration, but instead of using pacifying used very irritating language. At his interview with Ubasha he jeered him, and concluded his speech with the words: "You flatter yourself that there will be a fortunate issue to the business, but you must know that you are merely a bear fastened to a chain, who cannot go where he will but where he is driven."† This language was unpardonable, and it is quite clear that the Russian yoke was becoming unbearable, and necessarily so, for as Madame de Hell says, "It was impossible to allow that the whole southern portion of the empire should be given up to turbulent hordes which, though nominally subject to the crown, still indulged their propensity to pillage without scruple. Placed, as they were, between the central and southern provinces, and occupying almost all the approaches to the Caucasus, the Kalmuks were destined of necessity (if they stayed there) to lose their independence and fall beneath the immediate yoke of

* Bergmann, i. 169. † *Id*, 167.

Russia."* And their country was in fact being rapidly encroached upon. The Yaik was lined with Cossack forts, German colonists were settling on the northern borders, while the fine country on the Don and the Terek, the Kuma and the Volga was not likely to remain long unappropriated by other settlers. The Russians had demanded that a son of Ubasha's should be surrendered to them as a hostage, while it had been determined to remove 300 young men of their best families and to bring them up under Russian surveillance.†

It was not only the princes who felt the burden of the yoke, the common people were also in a fit state to listen to the temptation of quitting the Volga. They suffered severely in their contests with the Kazaks and the Krim Khans (in which the Russians were not always faithful allies). Especially had they been victims in their last war with the latter, when their cattle, having been moved on to a sterile steppe, suffered terribly from famine and pestilence. These facts concurred to make the flight popular with all classes, except perhaps the Derbets, a portion of whose disintegrated horde had long lived with the Torguts. They seem to have informed the authorities of the projected flight, and to have stayed behind in considerable numbers, not because the river was not frozen, as some suggest, but because they disapproved of the flight. The Russians were not taken by surprise, they were fully warned, but were either indifferent or incredulous, and even supplied the Kalmuks with two cannon and their equipment, on the hollow pretence of the latter that they wanted them in their struggles with the Kirghiz Kazaks. "It was on the 5th of January, 1771, the day appointed by the high priests, that Ubasha began his march with 70,000 families. Most of the hordes were then assembled in the steppes on the left bank of the Volga, and the whole multitude followed him. Only 15,000 families remained in Russia."‡

The Kalmuks before their retreat, as a rule, behaved well; they no doubt deemed it prudent not to attract vengeance upon themselves by ravaging the neighbouring towns. There were some exceptions to this, however, and one piece of atrocious cruelty is especially dwelt upon by Bergmann. It would seem that, having captured a small body of dragoons and Cossacks, they wrapped the head and hands of their leader, Dudin, tightly in the "green" and bloody straps made from a freshly flayed ox hide. These shrunk of course as they dried, and put the unfortunate victim to frightful torture. One of his Cossacks managed to escape to the Kirghises, and was by them sold at Khiva, and having escaped again told this story, and reported that he had seen Dudin two months after, still with the straps upon him and at the point of death. All the Russians of this troop seem to have perished.§

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* De Hell's Travels, 226. † Bergmann, op. cit., i. 182. ‡ De Hell, 227. § Bergmann, 189.

The cavalcade marched as lightly as possible, and the heavier things were abandoned on the route, Ubasha himself setting the example by having his large yurts cut down and the poles made into spear handles, kettles, furniture, and hordes of Russian copper money were thrown away, and Pallas says that some of them were recovered years after.* The procession necessarily occupied a vast space on account of forage. The cattle, women, and children travelled in the centre, while the men protected the front, rear, and flanks. Ubasha himself, with 15,000 men, went up the Yaik to cover them from any attacks by the Cossacks. They traversed the steppe between the Volga and Yaik in safety in eight days. The Cossacks of the Yaik were then absent at the Caspian fishing, except a few hundreds who occupied the forts on that river, one of these named Kulagina the Kalmuks tried in vain to take, making use of the two small cannons they had carried off. They crossed the Yaik easily on the ice, and hastened on over the snow-covered Kirghiz steppes. Hardly had they crossed the river when some 2,000 Cossacks, under the Starshin Mitrassof, went in pursuit, and overtook a portion of them, the ulus Yeka Zookhor, under the princes Assarkho, Mashi, and the tribe of the Erkets, consisting of 1,000 yurts, at once gave in, and turned once more to Russia. The section of the Erkets was commanded by twenty Saissans, and had committed some outrages. To conceal the evidence of this they determined to put to death thirty Russian prisoners whom they had with them, and to leave their bodies in the steppe. The outrage was reported to the Empress, who ordered the chief culprits to be knouted and degraded, while their goods were sold and the produce given to the families of the thirty murdered men.† The Kalmuks now began to suffer considerably. The terrible wastes of the Kirghises are in spring, when the snow melts, almost impassable; horses and cattle began to grow meagre and fail, and many of the poor had to trudge on on foot, and complaints began to be heard from rich and poor alike.‡

After journeying for two months they arrived at the river Irgitch. They were buoyed up by delusive hopes held out by the princes that the goal of their journey was not far off, but they now began to see the real extent of the dangers that surrounded them, and they loudly upbraided the princes for bringing them into such a pass, and even prayed, according to Bergmann, for the arrival of some Russian troops to whom they might surrender, and with whom they might return.§ After crossing the Irgitch the country becomes very difficult, especially in spring, from the number of rivers and watercourses that have to be traversed; these tried the strength of the fugitives very much. The larger streams the Kalmuks cross by means of curious floating bridges, made of bundles of reeds fastened together. Between the Irgitch

* Saml. Hist. Nach., i. 91. † Bergmann, op. cit., 194-196. ‡ *Id.*, i. 198.
§ *Id.*, i. 202.

and the Torgai they lost a large portion of their herds, and their misery increased considerably.*

They still continued to drag along with them the two cannons which they had obtained from the Russians, but at length the carriages on which they were drawn were worn out, and they abandoned them on the other side of the Torgai.† As they neared the Torgai a body of Russian troops, under the command of General Traubenberg, set out from the fort of Orsk, on the river Ural, in pursuit of them, and joined a body of the Kirghiz Kazaks of the Little horde, under their Khan Nurali, not far from the river Torgai. They marched on together to the further Torgai river, where the Russian general determined to stop. The Kalmuks were already ten days' march from there; his troops had been much harassed, and were many of them sick; and having contented himself with sending on two messengers to bid the Kalmuks return, he made his way to the fort of Uisk, on the Tobol. He has been a good deal blamed for his want of enterprise and energy, but his prudence would seem to be amply justified.‡ The messengers having arrived at the Kalmuk camp, an assembly was there summoned, and a debate ensued as to whether they should return or not. It was determined to go on, for the way back was as bad as the way forward. They had now reached the better country of the Ishim, where they seem to have loitered awhile, and where they had two sharp brushes with the Kirghiz Kazaks.§

They were now to cross a more dreadful country. The terrible steppe of Kangarbein sharra ussun, which is 150 versts across, and which for three days the wearied wanderers had to traverse,‖ takes its name from the yellow colour of the unwholesome water that alone can be got there. Fatigue, heat, and thirst drove them to drink this, and the consequence was that many of them suffered horribly. Many hundreds must have perished there. When they emerged from this yellow waste they were assailed by the Kazaks. Nurali, with the Little horde, and Ablai, with the Middle horde, attacked them vigorously, and a bloody two days' battle was fought against these old enemies. At length the Kalmuks reached the banks of the Balkhash sea, where a second battle was fought with the Kazaks. I notice on the map attached to Michell's Russians in Central Asia there is a place called Kalmak kargan, near the Balkhash; this ought doubtless to be Kalmak kurgan, the Kalmuk mound, and probably marks where the dead rested. The Kazaks now returned home again. The fugitives had lastly to run the gauntlet of the Burut or Black Kirghises, renowned as robbers and plunderers, and at length arrived within the borders of the Chinese empire, namely, at Charapen, not far from the river Ili.¶ This was in the middle of 1771, and after a march of eight months. "Thus was accomplished," says Madame de Hell,

* *Id.*, i. 203. † *Id.*, i. 204. ‡ Bergmann, op. cit., i. 205-216. § *Id.*, i. 205 and 208.
‖ *Id.*, i. 216. ¶ Mems. sur la Chine, i. 408.

"the most extraordinary emigration of modern times. The empire was suddenly deprived of a pastoral and warlike people, whose habits accorded so well with the Caspian steppes; and the regions in which many thousand families had fed their innumerable flocks and herds for a long series of years were left desolate and unpeopled."*

The Manchu Emperor had been informed of the march of the Torguts, and he gave orders for their settlement on their arrival in the province of Ili. Khuhedé, one of the general councillors, was told to go there and make preparations for their reception. There were some about the court who distrusted the Kalmuks, and urged that the perfidious Chereng, among others, was with them; but the Emperor was not moved from his design. He ordered Khuhedé, however, to take the precaution of fortifying some strong posts. He also ordered him to get together sufficient provisions for their sustenance.

When they at length arrived, in a very forlorn condition, they were supplied with food for a year's consumption and also with clothing. It would seem that they had lost a large number of their herds, and each family was accordingly assigned land for tilling as well as pasturage. They were also granted furniture, &c., and several ounces of silver each to buy what they needed, and with cattle, &c., to make a fresh start with.†

The vanity of the Chinese Emperor was touched in no small degree by this arduous journey, performed, as he satisfied himself, and perhaps with justice, in order that the Torguts might voluntarily place themselves under his protection. Such confidence and affection was indeed testimony to the grandeur of China much more valuable than the deference extorted from conquered subjects. He caused a record of the event to be written in four languages and engraved on a stone, which was set up in the province of Ili, the new home of the Torguts. This famous historical document was translated by Father Amiot.‡ Listen to one paragraph. "No one need blush when he can limit his desires; no one has occasion to fear when he knows how to desist in due time. Such are the sentiments that actuate me. In all places under heaven, to the remotest corners beyond the sea, there are men who obey under the names of slaves or subjects. Shall I persuade myself that they are all submitted to me and that they own themselves my vassals? Far from me be so chimerical a pretension. What I persuade myself, and what is strictly true, is that the Torgouths, without any interference on my part, have come of their own full accord to live henceforth under my laws. Heaven has no doubt inspired them with this design; they have only obeyed Heaven in putting it in force. I should do wrong not to commemorate this event in an authentic monument."

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* De Hell's Travels, 227. † Memoires sur la Chine, i. 422, &c.
‡ It is given in De Hell's Travels, 227-235.

Although the sufferings of the Torguts on their march must have been excessive, there is clearly great exaggeration in the account of Bergmann. We must remember that they were nomades by origin, and that long marches were familiar to them, as were also the various incidents that accompany a caravan-journey over such a country as the Kirghiz steppes; and although they arrived poor and denuded of almost everything, it is not probable that they lost a very large portion of their numbers on the way, as Bergmann would have us believe.* There is considerable discrepancy between the Russian numbers and those supplied by the Chinese. The former make out that only 40,000 families left Russia, while the latter claim that 50,000 families, numbering 300,000 mouths arrived in China.† This kind of discrepancy shows that the loss of life on the journey could not have been so great as Bergmann supposes.

The following register of the strength of the European Kalmuks subject to Ubasha in 1767 is taken from a document prepared by the Vice-Khan Ubasha himself, and printed by Pallas.‡

1.	The Khan's special horde, including the families of the higher clergy			7,672
	The Kerats			3,861
	The Zaatun			3,570
	The Buuron			3,645
	The Sapsor			3,990
	The so-called Koktshinar			727
	Those free from taxes			250
	Khundur Tatars			753
	Turkmens living with the horde			331
	Bashkirs, &c.			45
2.	The Ulus of prince Bambar and his family			2,642
3.	Ditto	ditto	Dondukof	2,187
4.	Ditto	ditto	Zebek Dordshi and his brothers Kirep and Aksakal	2,089
5.	The Ulus of prince Assarkho			597
6.	Ditto	ditto	Mashi	714
7.	Ditto	ditto	Yandik	409
8.	The Derbet Ulus			3,968
9.	The Ulus of the Khoshote prince Tukchi			921
10.	Ditto	ditto	ditto Menghon	100
11.	Ditto	ditto	ditto Erranpal	220
12.	Ditto	ditto	ditto Gungi Baljur	182
13.	Ditto	ditto	ditto Samiang	279

* Op. cit., i. 219, &c. † Mems. sur la Chine, i. 402.
‡ Saml. Hist. Nach., &c., i. 92.

14. A number of small clans belonging to various Torgut, Khoshote, and Sungar princes, as follows :—

Emegen Ubashi ... 182	Janshiri 60	Akhoin Ubashi ... 105
Bayadshich 165	Garashiri 25	Usenga 41
Boro Kasha 159	Dipsan 59	Arabdshur 51
Bossurman Taidshi 205	Bayarlakho 34	Tugul..... 39
Moomut Ubashi ... 311	Bokko Ulan 11	Baildshur 16

15. The so-called little princes Shereng, Sharakokon, Urunkhai, Loosangjap, Janama, Deldesh, Ereng, and Norbudshan had about 980.

That is altogether 41,843 tents.*

Pallas remarks that the Kalmuks made the return as small as possible on account of the levy of men that might be required of them, and he further adds that in the above enumeration the Lamas are not included, so that the whole number of familics may well be increased by a third, and we may calculate that Ubasha's subjects numbered not far from 65,000 or 70,000 families.

After the Torguts had been relieved their princes went on to the Imperial court to pay their respects there. "They were conducted," says the Emperor, "with honour and free of expense by the Imperial post roads to the place where I then was. I saw them, spoke to them, and was pleased that they should enjoy the pleasures of the chase with me; and after the days allotted to that recreation were ended they repaired in suite to Ge Ho. There I gave them the banquet of ceremony."† This was in the palace of I mien yu (*i.e.*, the ordinary residence) in the garden of 10,000 trees, and they were accorded various titles according to their rank.‡

We know little of the history of the Eastern Torguts after their migration. Pallas tells us that Ubasha and Chereng were the first to do homage to the Manchus, and that they went to Peking for the purpose, while Zebekdordshi and Bambar imitated their example the year following. Their subjects were divided into banners, like the other Mongols. The poor were taught agriculture, and the princes were assigned considerable stipends. A portion of them were settled in the Altai, others in the western part of the Gobi desert. The Khoshote prince Erranpal became a Lama and lived at Peking, while Shereng was killed by the Buruts.§ In enumerating the various contingents that formed the garrison of Hi, the Chinese author translated by Stamilas Julien mentions 25,595 Torguts.‖ In the same memoir, which is a topographical description of the Chinese province or district of Ili, different places are mentioned as the former camping grounds of various tribes; thus Yuldus, south-east of Kungghes, and one of the valleys of the Bogda Ula cluster of mountains,

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* Pallas, op. cit., i. 92, 93.
† Memoires sur la Chine, i. 412. De Hell's Travels, 233.
‡ Mems. sur la Chine, i. 423.
§ Pallas, i. 91.
‖ Journ. Asiat., 4th Series, viii. 385.

is mentioned as the ancient pasture ground of the Sungars and the Keliyet. The latter name is assuredly the Chinese form of Karat or Kerait. Again it is said that in Yamlek, &c., north of Ili, were the ancient pastures of the Erkets.* The Erkets still form a notable section of the Torguts, and I find some reference to them in Pallas, thus: The second son of Boegho Urluk was called Buura. He had four sons, of whom the eldest, Zazen Noyon, had thirteen wives and many children; and Pallas tells us that this branch of the family was so multiplied that the individuals became very poor and weak. They willingly submitted themselves to the Torgut hero Khu Urluk, who admitted them with certain privileges as his subjects, and made their princes Saissans. Their ottuk or clan was known as Yike Erket or Great Erket (*i.e.*, great freemen), both the commonalty and Saissans were of princely descent. The descendants of a third son of Boegho Urluk, Boke Taidshi, joined the Volga horde; they were known as Baga Erket (*i.e.*, little freemen).†

Having followed the fortunes of those Torguts who migrated, we must now shortly revert to the fragment of them which remained behind. They formed but a small section of the Volga Kalmuks, the larger portion of whom belong to the tribe of Derbets, of whom I shall speak in the next chapter. The European Torguts consist of several small sections. The most important of these, consisting of 2,592 tents, was controlled in Pallas's day by the princes Dondukof.‡ I have already explained how on the death of Donduk Ombo in 1741, his widow Dshan, with her children, after a short and turbulent reign, took refuge with the Russians, and how her eldest son Kandul returned to his people.§ This tribe or ulus was that especially subject to her late husband and called Baga Zookhor (*i.e.*, little Zookhor).‖ This horde was visited by the missionary Zwick, whose narrative I have previously quoted, and he says it then consisted of 1,700 families, and was governed by the Saissans Onker, Jedjib, and Otskir. The missionaries were not well received. When they told him that the books they offered him contained the word of the Most High God, Onker jeeringly retorted, "how it happened that they had never taken them long before, and whether it were right to keep such precious and important things to themselves." They were more civilly treated by the Lamas, but they also resolutely refused to take any of the books. On the arrival of the Pristof or Russian superintendent of the hordes, they had a conference with him, and he tried to forward their objects. With him they visited an old Lama, but "he was as firm as a rock in his determination that he would receive none of the books," and the Pristof's eloquence was expended upon him for two hours in vain, till at last

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* *Id.* † Pallas, op. cit., i. 57. ‡ Op. cit., i. 93. § Ante 571.
‖ Pallas, op. cit., 80, 81.

the latter laid two of the books on the altar. The Lama quietly observed that they might be there, but that he should take care to proclaim that the High Pristof had left them there against his consent. This enraged the latter, and he hinted that the governors of the horde had been guilty of maladministration and of embezzlement. "If they have been guilty of dishonesty let them be punished," said the Lama, calmly, "they are in your hands." The Pristof replied he would depose them and choose others. "That is contrary to precedent," said the Lama, "for the elders have always elected their governors, but" added he, "do as you please, for you have the power in your own hands."*

One section of the Torguts was at the time of the flight governed by the prince Assarkho and his nephew Mashi. It was called Yike Zookor or Great Zookor.† I have described how, on being pursued by the Russian troops, these chiefs with their followers gave in, and once more returned to Russia.‡ The chiefs were sent on to St. Petersburg, where they died.§ I have small doubt that the two clans are the same as those mentioned by Zwick as governed in his day by the princes Erdeni and Zerren Ubashi, who had their winter quarters in the Sarpa marshes.‖ He describes a visit he paid to them; their camp was then at a place called Baktur Malep (place of heroes' whips). "The tents of the two princes were about a quarter of a mile asunder, and between them was a multitude of tents and cars belonging to the Russian, Armenian, and Tatar merchants, forming the market or bazaar of the horde.¶ He thus describes his audience with prince Erdeni:—

"Having learned from the Kalmuks that the day of our arrival (the 2nd of June) was marked as fortunate in their astrological calendar, we hastened to make our first visit to the prince the same evening. When we approached the tent a servant came out to meet us and inquired what we wanted; we desired to be announced as people who had brought letters from the capital to the prince, upon which we were readily admitted. We drew near to the tent from the right side, according to the Kalmuk custom, for it is considered unmannerly to advance directly to the door, or to approach from the left side. We also took care not to tread on the threshold, an old Mogul ceremonial, which Ruisbrok observed in the camp of Mangu Khan. We made the usual salutation to the prince—Mende sun tabe tiniger buis ta? 'Are you quite hale and well?' to which he replied 'Munde' (well); after which we were obliged to sit cross-legged upon a carpet, in the Asiatic fashion. The prince sat in the same position, on his cushion in the interior of the tent, by his wife Dellek; on their left was the little prince Rashi Sangjai Dordje, attended by his nurse. Erdeni is in his forty-second year, of a short squat figure, and good countenance. He is intelligent, good-natured,

* A Journey to Sarepta, by Zwick, 215-228. † Bergmann, i. 194.
‡ *Vide* ante, 576. § Pallas, op. cit., i. 93. ‖ Op. cit., 39. ¶ Op. cit., 54.

lively, and agreeable. When we entered he was playing on the Domber or Kalmuk guitar. His wife Dèlkek is six-and-twenty, of a robust figure, and truly Kalmuk face, with prominent cheek-bones. The prince was dressed in a short Kalmuk coat of blue cloth, white trousers, a mottled silk waistcoat, and a thick velvet cap trimmed with sable and ornamented with a red tassel and gold loop. The princess wore a blue and white dress over a red silk petticoat ornamented with gold flowers; she had on her head a high square Kalmuk cap of Persian gold muslin, trimmed (like her husband's) with sable, and with a large silk tassel.

"The tent was about ten yards in diameter, and as many in height, and furnished all round in the inside with carpets for the accommodation of visitors. Opposite to the door was the prince's throne or cushion, about an ell high, and covered with green cotton, and over it a kind of canopy of the same material. On each side was suspended an image; the left represented one of their dreadful idols, Bansarakza; the right was a collection of astrological circles and many figures of different colours. Both were designed for the protection of the young prince, and to shield him from evil. To the left of the prince's couch was the altar, with a bench in front of it, and on the altar were silver vessels, with rice and other offerings; behind it a number of chests piled upon one another, and covered with a Persian cloth. Above was a wooden shrine, with a well-formed gilt image of one of their principal idol-deities, Sakia-muni, the founder of their religion. On the right of the prince there was also a heap of chests, covered with Persian cloth, on which stood a few trinket boxes belonging to the princess. These chests probably contained the valuables of the royal family, and those on the left of the throne the sacred writings, the idols, and other things pertaining to the altar. In the middle of the tent there was a hearth, with a cresset and a common tea-kettle; on the left of the door stood a few pails and cans, ornamented with brass hoops, containing sour mares' milk, or chigan, the chief subsistence of the Kalmuks at this time of the year.

"Erdeni read the letter twice through with care, and then asked us our names and the immediate object of our journey, which we endeavoured to explain in the most satisfactory manner. He next inquired, in a friendly manner, after his old acquaintances, Brother Schmidt, of Petersburgh (the editor of Ssanang Setzen), and Loos, of Sarepta, and rejoiced to hear of their welfare. After we had been treated with Kalmuk tea and chigan, we took our leave, and returned to our carriages."

The missionaries afterwards visited the other Torgut prince named Zerren Ubashi. He was then about thirty years old, and is described as above the middle height, slender, and well looking. He wore a loose violet-coloured robe of cotton. He was sitting on a cushion in the interior of his tent, opposite to the door; the tent was roomy and clean, without any splendour; was arranged for the most part like that of Erdeni's, but

was smaller, as he was a widower. After the salutation he invited them to sit down, as they had done at Erdeni's, on the right of the throne, on the same side with the altar. He asked about their business, name, and profession, and seemed piqued that they were not bearers of a letter to him from the Russian minister like the one sent to Erdeni. As usual, there was no desire to become better acquainted with Christianity.

They afterwards visited the chief priest of the horde. "We took with us," Zwick says, "a present of tobacco and gingerbread. He is about thirty, with a countenance indicating at the same time good-nature and bigotry. Contrary to the custom of other ecclesiastics of his rank, who, to counterfeit sanctity, put on a grave insensibility, and speak little and like an oracle, to give themselves an appearance of wisdom, he was both polite and conversable, without in any way lowering his dignity. When we arrived he was sitting cross-legged on a high cushion, in a loose yellow robe, with the red Orkimchi (or scarf) of a Gellong over his left shoulder, and a large cap trimmed with fur on his head, like those which the Gellongs usually wear. He was playing mechanically with the beads of his rosary, without seeming to know what he was doing. His handsome tent was well furnished with religious vessels, and on the splendid altar-table, besides cups, there was a stand for books, many beautiful Krudns (or prayer machines) with Sanscrit characters in gold, and some images and pictures of their gods. On the carpets, which were spread all around the interior of the tent, there were two rows of Gellongs, clad according to their respective dignities, in red and yellow, and drinking chigan with great assiduity; this liquor was supplied by the Gezuls, from two large vessels full of it which stood in the middle of the hut. After the salutation, the bald-headed Gellongs, at a wink from their chief, drew their ranks closer to make room for us, and we were treated with chigan, out of cups of honour of maplewood. The Lama pretended to be ignorant of the object of our journey, though he had no doubt been informed of it, both by his watchful servants and by the prince himself; for it is seldom that anything is determined in a horde without the advice of the Lama, and the business in question belonged especially to his own department. It seemed however to all the rulers of the horde a matter of considerable importance, and therefore they endeavoured each to shift the responsibility to another. When we had explained to the Lama the cause of our visit he turned the conversation, and inquired after Brother Loos, whom he had known many years ago, and then asked if we meant to leave the horde the next day? We replied, that our plans depended upon the prince's answer, and that we were therefore unable to fix the time of our departure. The sign was then given, by a few strokes on a metal basin in the neighbouring Khurul, for the priests to assemble, and we took our leave."

Two days later they paid Erdeni another visit, "but only found

the princess and her servants at home: the prince himself, with a numerous company of Gellongs and nobles, was playing at cards in the hut of justice, a few steps from his tent. They drank chigan in great abundance; this liquor, taken to excess, produces a slight intoxication. The princess took the opportunity of bringing out her ornaments for our admiration. Amongst these we particularly noticed a golden ear-ring, with a fine pear-shaped pearl of the size of a large hazel-nut; this, she said, was an heir-loom in her family. We also perceived a beautiful rosary, made of the smooth black kernels of an unknown fruit, with coral and round onyx-stones interspersed. In showing us a richly-embroidered purse, and a pair of red Morocco boots, the princess asked us if the German ladies had any ornaments to compare with hers, which we were compelled to answer very humbly. The conversation afterwards fell upon images, and she took the opportunity of inquiring whether the images of our gods were as splendid as theirs. We informed her that we had statues, but that we did not worship them, but addressed our prayers to the Supreme Being, in spirit, and with the heart. She replied that it was the same amongst themselves, but as the senses could not reach the invisible Deity they liked to have a visible representation before them in prayer, but that this was not essential, and that in cases where they could not have the images (in travelling across the steppes for example), they were accustomed to worship without any symbol addressed to the senses. 'For,' said she, 'the All-wise knows and sees everything, even the interior of the heart, and observes whether we pray to him, at home, or on the steppes, with an image, or as the Invisible.' After this, when we were conversing about the formation of the world, the princess expressed a wish to see a map, which we promised we would show her before long. During our stay the prince took so much notice of us as to leave his game for a few moments to welcome us, apologising at the same time for not receiving our visit, as he was eager to join a party in the next hut. After he returned the company became loud and riotous, upon which the princess seemed uneasy, and looked often through the lattice-work of her own tent into the hut of justice, which she could easily do, as the lower felts of both tents were turned up to let in the air. She said once to her maid, 'The chigan has made them merry over there; the Germans will think they are all drunk!' We were obliged to take our leave for this time, without any further conference with the prince, and to wait for a better opportunity. On the following day, the 6th of June, it presented itself. We took with us the promised maps (some good surveys of these steppes), with which the prince, his wife, and daughter were all highly delighted. Dellek looked for her early home on the Volga, by the Bogdo mountain, where her father, a petty prince, fed his herds; Mingmer wanted to see the situation of the Khoshote camp, into which she had married; and Erdeni the position of his own horde,

and the road by which we had reached it: they were all amazed to find these places correctly laid down. I prepared a copy of this chart for the prince, at his request."

I have abstracted these sentences as giving a good picture of Kalmuk life; for other details I must refer to a subsequent volume. When Zwick was travelling among the Torguts, the two clans subject to Erdeni and Zerren Ubashi were at war with the Derbets.*

We read in Bergmann's account of the migration of the Kalmuks that, beside the tribe of Yike Zookor, there was another section of the Torguts who thought it prudent to return when pursued by the Russians. This was the tribe of the Erkets, which had no special prince, but was governed by twenty Saissans.† This tribe is not mentioned by Pallas in his enumeration of the Kalmuks who stayed behind,‡ but it was visited by Zwick. He tells us it had its usual residence between the Don and the Sarpa, and passed the winter on the well-wooded shores of the Caspian, above Kislar.§ He says its strength was estimated at 1,000 tents, and was entirely dependant on Russia, being governed by Saissans or nobles of its own body appointed by the Russian Emperor. "As there is here no Oergo (? orda) or princes' court," says Zwick, "the Kura or circle of ecclesiastical huts surrounding the Lama may be considered as the centre or headquarters of the encampment, and one of the Saissans in command is usually residing in this Kura. In all the Kalmuk hordes the administration of public affairs, which is divided between the princes and the superior priests, is transacted within this circle."‖ The missionaries were cordially received, but made no way in their special work, the Lamas, as usual, opposing, saying "they wished to abide by their old religion, and wanted no other; that in the meantime they should always remain good and peaceable subjects, and pray for the Emperor and the welfare of the kingdom in their own way."¶

Another section of the Torguts is known as the Yandikshan horde, from Yandik, a Torgut prince who ruled at the time of the migration. In Pallas's day it consisted of 1,216 tents;** when Zwick visited it it consisted of 1,000 tents, and was governed by a young widow of Derbet origin named Nadmid or Bagush; she had married Sandshi Ubashi, father of Zerren Ubashi.†† Pallas mentions a fourth small section of Torguts, under the sons and brothers of prince Arabshur, who, according to his genealogical tables, was a brother of Sandshi. This small section consisted of forty-seven tents. Zwick also mentions another section of them, but as he tells us their princes were the sons of Zebek Ubashi, who was the chief of the Derbets, it is very probable that he was mistaken in making them Torguts.

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* *Vide* next chapter. † Bergmann, op. cit., 195. ‡ Op. cit., i. 93. § Op. cit., 38, 39.
‖ Op. cit., 189. ¶ *Id.*, 192. ** Pallas, op. cit., i. 93. †† *Zwick*, op. cit., 205.

Note 1.—It is a curious fact that among the tribes of the Kirghises met with by the early Russian explorers in Siberia was one named Karait, which lived on the river Abakan.* This is probably the tribe named Kerei, which is still dominant in the valley of the Black Irtish. Pallas speaks of Kharaits and Kharatshins as still living in his day near Kalgan.†

Note 2.—The mixing of blood with drink in the making of solemn pacts, which was so common among the Mongols, was a very wide-spead custom elsewhere, and I abstract some notices of it from Erdmann. In the annals of Tacitus we find a description of the treachery of Rhadamast towards Mithridates, Annals XII. 47, in which he says : "Mos est regibus, quoties in societatem coeant, implicare dextras, pollicesque inter se vincire nodoque præstringere. Mox ubi sanguis in artus extremos se effuderit, levi ictu cruorem eliciunt atque invicem lambunt. Id fœdus arcanum habetur, quasi mutuo cruore sanctum." Valerius mentions a similar custom among the Armenians, thus : "Sariastes adversus patrem suum Tigrarem, Armeniæ regem, ita cum amicis consensit, ut omnes dextris manibus sanguinem mitterent atque eum invicem sorberent."‡ A similar custom prevailed among the ancient Romans, thus Festus says : "Assiratum apud antiquos dicebatur genus quoddam potionis ex vino et sanguine temperatum quod Latini prisci Assis vocarunt." Sallust, in his account of Catiline, says : "Humani corporis sanguinem vino permixtum in pateris circumtulisse inde cum post execrationem omnes degustavissent sicuti in solemnibus sacris fieri consuevit quæsisse consilium suum," &c. In the primitive Hungarian Saga of the Hetu Moger there is a description of the way in which Almus was chosen chief, and how each man on swearing allegiance to him stretched his right arm over a basin, and having opened a vein, allowed some of the blood to run into it, and swore to be true to him and his family; to treat each other as equals, and to share the booty fairly. While the blood ran into the bowl a wish was invoked that if either side forgot the pact the blood might not cease to flow till the vein was empty.§

Note 3.—In regard to the divination by twigs, mentioned in this chapter, Petis de la Croix quotes from Thevenot thus : "This experiment of the canes was then in use among the Tatars, and is still among the Africans, Turks, and other Muhammedan nations. The Cojas or registers of their corsairs or pirate ships commonly try this trick before they fight, and this is what they call *Do the book*. It is true that they oftener use arrows. Two men sit on the ground over against one another, and hold each of them two arrows by the iron part or heads. The ends of the two contrary arrows are fixed together, one in another,

* Fischer's Sib. Gesh., 709. † Saml. Hist. Nach., &c., i. 9. ‡ Op. cit., lib. ix.
§ Erdmann's Temujin. Note, 155.

by the notches where the bowstring comes in shooting, so that the four arrows together make, as it were, but two sticks in a parallel line. Then the Coja reads a certain Arabian prayer. They pretend that during the reading these two pairs of arrows, two of which represent the Christians, the other the Turks, shall approach one another in spite of those that hold them, and after fighting the one pair shall get above the other.* Colonel Yule has collected some other curious instances. He says the Chinese method of divination is conducted by two persons tossing in the air two symmetrical pieces of wood or bamboo of a particular form. It is described, he says, by Mendoza, and more particularly, with illustrations, by Doolittle.† Rubruquis was the witness of a similar process at the Mongol court. He says that on visiting Kuktai, a Christian queen of Mangu Khan, who was ill, he found the Nestorians repeating certain verses, he knew not what (they said it was part of a psalm), over two twigs which were brought into contact in the hands of two men.‡ Colonel Yule goes on to say, Mr. Jaeschke writes from Lahaul, there are many different ways of divination practised among the Buddhists, and that also mentioned by Marco Polo is known to our Lama, but in a slightly different way, making use of two arrows instead of a cane split up, wherefore this kind is called *da nio*, "arrow divination," and, he adds, the practice is not extinct in India, for in 1833 Mr. Vigne witnessed its application to detect the robber of a Government chest at Lodiana.§

Note 4.—In the account of the migration of the Torguts, translated by the Jesuits and elsewhere, it is stated that they originally left their fatherland under the leadership of Ayuka, and that they left there in consequence of a dispute between him and Tse wang Rabtan, the Sungarian chief.‖ This is not correct as we have seen, the migration having taken place, at least into Siberia, two generations before. It is not improbable that it was really caused in a great measure by the wars of Altan Khan of the Khalkhas¶ (not the great Altan Khan of the Tumeds, from whom they suffered so much in the preceding century). Their camping ground, after they left the Irtish and before they crossed the Yemba, seems to have been the old country of the Uzbegs before their emigration, namely, that watered by the Irgitch, the Ulkoiak, the Upper Tobol, the Ishim, &c. It is curious that two important rivers in this area are respectively called Turgai and Kara Turgai; whether this name be connected with Torgut I don't know.

Note 5.—In regard to the fate of Dudin, the Russian officer, and his troops who were captured as I have mentioned,** I find a reference in the account of the migration of the Torguts translated by the Jesuits. It is there said that among the Russians whom the Torguts carried off was

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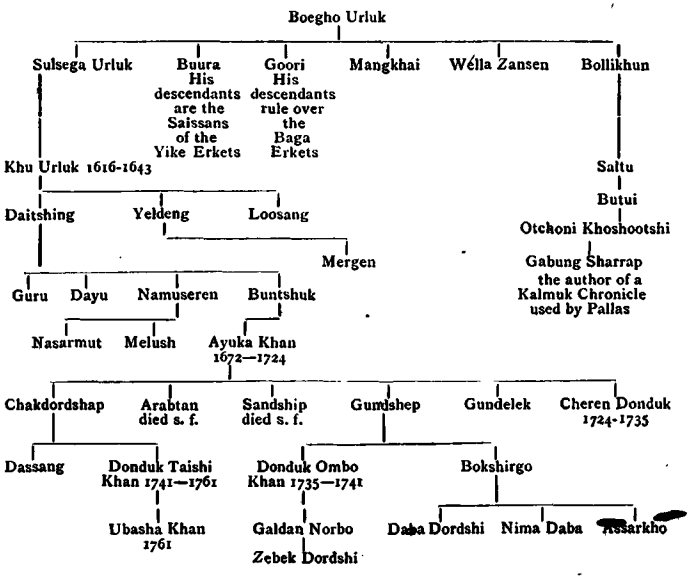
* Hist. of Genghizcan, 52. Note. † Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., i. 238.
‡ *Id.* § *Id.* ‖ Mems. sur la Chine, i. 407. ¶ Ante, 457. ** Ante, 575.

a certain Dudin. When the Torgut chiefs had an audience with the Manchu Emperor he asked them if it was true that before their departure they had pillaged the possessions of the Russians and had carried off one of their officers and one hundred soldiers. "We did so," said the Torgut prince, "we could not avoid it in the position in which we were placed. It is probable they perished on the way. I recollect that when they were divided among us eight of them fell to my share. I will inquire of my people if any of these Russians survive, and if so will send them on to your Majesty when I return to Ili."*

Note 6.—The following table of the Torgut princes contains those names only which are of importance in illustrating the preceding chapter. It is abstracted from the fuller tables given by Pallas.



* Memoires sur la Chine, 1. 402.

CHAPTER XI.

THE CHOROS.

IN the previous chapter I tried to show that the term Durben Uirad is rather a descriptive epithet than a proper name. It means the four allies, and denotes a confederacy of tribes, but is not in itself a race name. It is a term of considerable antiquity, and is found in the pages of Chinese authors as well as in those of native writers. The Chinese form is Wala, which is accommodated to the fact that the Chinese have no letter r. This form is as old at least as the fifteenth century.

The connotation of the term is by no means fixed. Thus Ssanang Setzen tells us that the four factors of which the Durben Uirads were formed consisted of the Kergud (*i.e.*, the Keraits or Torguts), the Khoit, of whom I shall say more presently, the Elighud or Eleuth (*i.e.*, the Khoshotes), and the Baghatud or Baatud (*i.e.*, the heroes or brave ones),* and comprising, as I believe, the Sungars and Derbets before their division.

Pallas, from native Kalmuk sources, gives us two different solutions of the extension of the name. According to one of these the Durben Uirad consisted of the Oelot or Eleuths, the Khoits, the Tumuts, and the Barga Buriats.† This may be a traditional meaning of the phrase, but it is one which has clearly been obsolete for a long time, as Schmidt says the Tumuts or Tumeds have for a very long period at least belonged to the Mongols proper,‡ while the Barga Buriats, although closely connected with the Kalmuks, as I shall show in the next chapter, have had a history distinct from theirs from the days of Jingis Khan himself. The other tradition distinguishes the ancient Eleuths from the modern four Kalmuk tribes, and ignoring the Tumuts, replaces the four names above mentioned by two hordes named Khoit-Bahtud and Barga-Burat. This tradition may be of some value. If the Eleuths are to be, as I believe, properly identified with the Khoshotes, then their origin and history does stand considerably apart from those of the other Kalmuks. While if the Bahtud represent the Sungars and Derbets, then Khoit-Bahtud would comprehend very fairly the Kalmuk race, which I distinguish by the name of Choros, the Torguts having, as I have shown, a separate royal race and history.

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* Op. cit., 57. Pallas, op. cit., i. 33. † Saml. Hist. Nach., i. 6. ‡ Ssanang Setzen, 373.

There is a fourth meaning of the term Durben Uirad, which is perhaps more generally known, and that is the one which makes the name comprehend the four great Kalmuk tribes of the Sungars, Derbets, Torguts, and Khoshotes, who, when the Khoits became disintegrated, formed in fact the nation of the Kalmuks.

These facts will show that the connotation of the term is very uncertain; we may roughly say, however, that it is a general name, including those tribes which western writers designate as Kalmuks.

As I have shown, the division into Eastern and Western Mongols, or into Mongols and Kalmuks, is one of very old date, and it is probable that the race name of the Western Mongols was that of the particular tribe which was predominant at the time; thus at one time they were styled Keraits, at another Sungars.

During the reign of Jingis the political topography of Asia was entirely altered. For a time at least the many tribes and nations which he had conquered were welded into a homogeneous whole, and Turks and Mongols were equally ready to obey his commands. It would seem that no attempt was made to alter the internal organisation of many of the conquered tribes. The patriarchal hierarchy of chiefs, from the chieftain of the tribe to the head of the family, remained in many cases not only unaltered itself but the posts of leaders were retained by the same men. When the empire of Jingis was divided among his sons the headship of the family was retained, as we have seen, by the branch which had its focus in the ancient country of the Mongols at Karakorum. This headship was retained and acknowledged for several generations, but at last it inevitably failed to command the respect of the distant dependencies, and the vast and unwieldy empire broke into pieces. The fragments were very naturally constituted,—one became the empire of the Il Khans, and comprised the Mongol possessions south of the Oxus; a second, the empire of Jagatai, comprised Turkestan and Little Bukharia; a third, that of the Golden Horde, included the wild steppe country from the Dnieper to the Altai mountains. These three empires were essentially Turkish, and beyond the picked soldiers and the bodyguards of the chiefs probably few Mongols were to be found in them. The Mongols naturally retained their allegiance to the elder branch, which had moved its court from Karakorum to Peking, and is known in history as the Yuen dynasty. During the reign of that dynasty we do not hear of any division or schism among them. They no doubt all retained their substantive and individual existence under their own chiefs, but they all, so far as we know, obeyed implicitly the central authority of the Mongol Emperors of China. At length, in 1368, the Yuen dynasty came to an end, and was succeeded by the native dynasty of the Ming, and the Mongols were driven out of China and once more made Karakorum their capital. The beaten and decrepid dynasty could not however retain its authority over all the

race; ancient divisions reappeared, and especially the great division which had from early times separated them into two parts—the Eastern and the Western Mongols.

It is well established that the two important Kalmuk tribes of the Sungars and Derbets formed comparatively recently but one tribe, which was divided between two brothers named Ongozo and Ongorkhoi, who became the respective founders of the Sungarian and Derbetan royal houses.* Among the ancestors of these two brothers was a chief named Ulinda budun Taidshi, who was surnamed Zorros or Choros, whence all his descendants and also his tribe or ulus got the name of Zorros or Choros.† From this we are justified in inferring that the name of the joint tribe before the separation just named was Choros. But this name included another important element besides the Sungars and Derbets, namely, the Khoits. Pallas tells us that the mother of Ulinda budun was the wife of Yoboghon Mergen, the founder of the royal family of the Khoits, but that her son was born of the gods,‡ a story similar to those told of the founders of the Mongol and Manchu dynasties. The real meaning of the story doubtless is that the chiefs of the Khoits, the Sungars, and the Derbets all belonged to the same common stock, and in fact we are told that on his death Yoboghon Mergen divided his heritage into five portions, one of which constituted the Sungars and Derbets.§

Again, we are told by Pallas that the celebrated Kalmuk chief Amursana was a Khoit.‖ On turning to the Emperor Kienlung's narrative of the conquest of the Eleuths, we are told that Amursana sprang from the royal race of Tcholos (*i.e.*, of Choros).¶

I believe, therefore, that originally the Khoits, Sungars, and Derbets formed but one tribe, and that its collective name was the name I have put at the head of this chapter, namely, Choros. I do not pretend with the fragmentary materials that are at present accessible to give more than a tentative solution in such questions, but I believe this to be the [illegible]able inference from the evidence.

I [illegible] set out the legends about Yoboghon Mergen, &c., as told by Pallas. He tells us that the Kalmuk tradition makes Yoboghon live about three generations before Jingis Khan. By his valour and other qualities he brought a great number of people under his subjection. Yoboghon Mergen, he says, means a hero who goes on foot, and he derived his name from the fact that from his bulk and strength no horse could carry him, and when he had a waggon built for himself this also broke down, so that he was obliged to march a-foot. During his reign there was great confusion in China (other accounts say in Thibet), and in his extremity the legitimate ruler there, called in Yoboghon, with

* Pallas, op. cit., i. 35. † Pallas, i. 34. ‡ Pallas, op. cit., i. 33. § *Id.*, i. 32.
‖ *Id.*, i. 45. ¶ Mems. sur la Chine, i. 340.

whose assistance peace was speedily secured. The treacherous Chinese, however, saw that in these allies they also had terrible neighbours, and when they had loaded him and his chief warriors with presents they contrived to poison him. On his death the Uirads returned to their own land, and were divided into five sections or hordes.

On the return of this army it was noticed that one of the highest peaks of the Bogda Ula range had fallen down, which was considered as an omen connected with the death of the hero. As an offering to the mountain and as a souvenir from his faithful people, they erected a colossal statue of him on one of the ridges of the Bogda Ula. This was made of piled up rocks, and the attitude was that of a man lying down resting his head on one arm. Pallas says that according to old Sungars there were still in his time remains of this statue, which the Kalmuks went and visited.

Many years after Yoboghon's death his great-great-grandson Urluk Khoshutshi, on the occasion of a solemn "in memoriam" sacrifice which he made there, had a huge iron tripod with a gilt rim made, and had it erected on a peak adjoining that on which his ancestor's statue was placed. This festival was renewed annually among the Sungars, and so long as their empire flourished large annual pilgrimages were made to the mountain, on which occasions the chiefs made offerings of all kinds of cattle, which were duly consecrated by the priests and then allowed to go free. There were large numbers of these sacred and proscribed cattle grazing on the mountain, which no one might take except the priests, who were allowed to shoot them when they went there at the time of the festival. The Khoits retained, after the death of the founder of their power, the title of honour of Baatut (*i.e.*, the brave), given him by the Chinese, a title still borne by the few of the race who remain.

During the supremacy of Yoboghon we are told that there arose among the Eleuths, who then lived in the western part of Thibet and were governed by a number of petty chiefs or Noyons, a small chief celebrated for his knowledge of magic, which brought him great reputation. His real name is not recorded, but is renowned enough among the Mongols by the soubriquets of Boh Noyon or Lussim Khan (*i.e.*, the magician prince or dragon chief). By his skill and deceptions he acquired considerable influence over many other small princes, who at length elected him their overchief, and integrated into one whole a number of clans which in later times formed the tribes of the Sungars and Derbets.*

Boh Khan had no legitimate children, and it was a master stroke of his craft that he succeeded in getting appointed as his heir one who was probably his natural son, under the pretence that he was of a supernatural and mysterious origin. This happened, according to the Kalmuk chronicles, in this way:—"Yoboghon Mergen, when he was one day

* Pallas, op. cit., i. 33.

hunting, found a beautiful maiden, who was the product of a love intrigue of an angel (Tanggrin) who had been banished from heaven to earth.* She became his wife, but not content with a mere man for a husband she formed an illicit connection with the magician prince while her husband was absent on a long campaign. Before the latter's return she had a son, and when she heard of his arrival she exposed him under a tree. Boh Khan learnt (as the Kalmuks avow) through his magic, or as is the better opinion through a messenger from the mother, of the fate of the boy; sent for him and took him to his home. As he was found in misty weather (Budun) and a small horned owl (Uli Shabuun) was seen fluttering over him, he named him Ulinda Budun and appointed him his successor. While he was lying under the tree where he was found, a crooked broken branch hung over him, from which the sap trickled into his mouth and afforded him a scanty nourishment. This branch was shaped like the crooked tube which the Kalmuks attach to their stills when distilling brandy, and which they call Zorros, whence his descendants and his people were called Zorros. Boh Khan gave it out that the child was of supernatural origin."† Such is the fabulous story told about the origin of the royal family of Sungars; the only portion of it that is probably true is the existence of an ancestral chief named Ulinda Budun, from whom the tribes I am now describing received the name of Choros or Zorros. It is clear that if the connection of Yoboghon with the Bogda Ula mountains is to be depended upon that he must have lived long after the days of Jingis Khan, before whose reign the Kalmuks lived far to the east of this area. Pallas says some of the Kalmuk stories place Ulinda Budun at the beginning of the sixteenth century, which must be very much too late. He gives a table which seems much more reliable, and which was given him by an old Sungarian Lama and scholar; according to this Ulinda was succeeded by Chalman Taidshi, he by [illegible]oko, he by Boko Chilledu, and he again by Gukhai Dayu.‡ [illegible] name we meet with collateral evidence elsewhere.

[illegible] have shown, the dominant tribe among the Kalmuks at the [illegible] of Jingis was that of the Keraits, and this supremacy was [illegible] by them until after the expulsion of the Mongols from China, for we find that in 1339 Ugetshi Khaskhaga, of the Kergud (*i.e.*, of the Keraits), claimed to be the rightful overchief of the Durben Uirads.§

At this time there happened a curious intrigue at the Mongol court, the story of which I have already abstracted from Ssanang Setzen.‖ The Mongol Khan Elbek was persuaded by one of his dependants to make love to his sister-in-law Goa Beidshi, and afterwards to kill his brother and appropriate her. This dependant was named Chuchai or rather

* Pallas quotes the appropriate commentary—Datur hæc venia antiquitati, ut miscendo humano divinis, primordia angusstiora faciat. Liv.—Pallas, op. cit., i. 33. Note.

† Pallas, op. cit., i. 33, 34. ‡ Pallas, i. 35. § Ante, 559. ‖ Ante, 350.

Khukhai Dashu, and Ssanang Setzen tells us he belonged to the Jakha Minggan of the Uirads.* Minggan means thousand in Mongol, and, like Tumen, which means ten thousand, is used by Ssanang Setzen to denote a fragment or section. So that the Jakha Minggan means merely the Jakha division of the Uirads. This Khukhai Dadshu is clearly the same person as Schmidt has already suggested† as the Gukhai Dayu of the list of Pallas.

I have already described the issue of the intrigue; how the Khan had his brother murdered and then took his wife to himself, how she revenged herself especially upon Khukhai by persuading the Khan that he had taken liberties with her, and how in consequence the Khan had him put to death.‡ When the Khan learned the falsity of the story he was too much enamoured of his wife to be angry with her, but he turned to Batula, the son of Khukhai, and said, "I have killed thy father wrongfully." To make amends he gave him his daughter Samur Gundshi in marriage, raised him to the rank of Chingsang, and also appointed him chief over the four Uirads.§

In the list of Pallas Gukhai Dayu is succeeded by Arkhan Chingsen, and he in turn by Batulan Chingsen, who is unquestionably the same person as the Batula Chingsang of Ssanang Setzen. There is great difficulty in accepting Ssanang Setzen's statements about this chieftain without considerable reserve. He makes him the father of Bachamu or Machamu, and tells us that the latter's surname was Toghon. This Toghon was a well-known person to the Chinese, and they tell us that he was the son of Machamu and not the same person, and as they had diplomatic intercourse with both of them we can hardly doubt their statements. Further, no such name as Batula Chingsang occurs, so far as I know, either in De Mailla's or Delamarre's works; and on the other hand, no such name as Bachamu or Machamu occurs in Pallas's list. My solution of the difficulty is that Ssanang Setzen has made a slight mistake. He has made Toghon and Machamu synonyms of the same person, while Machamu was in fact a synonym for Batula Chingsang. Ching sang, as we know, is a Chinese title, and this being so, it is probable that Batula is also the Chinese form of the title Baatur, which we know was actually borne at a much later day by the Sungar chief Hotohochin, the father of Galdan, who was styled Baatur Taishi,‖ and that is the name by which he is generally known. We are also told that another Mongol chief named Chetchen ombo was confirmed by the Manchu Emperor in his titles of Batur and Tusietu Batur Tagsing, titles having reference to his warlike prowess.¶

When we remember that Batula is unlike in form to any Mongol name known to us, while it is the form that the title Baatur would take in

* Ssanang Setzen, 139. † Ssanang Setzen, 405. ‡ *Vide* ante, 350, 351.
§ Ssanang Setzen, 143. ‖ Mems. sur la Chine, i. 331. Note. ¶ *Id.*

Chinese, which has no letter r, I cannot help urging that this is an almost certain solution.

If we conclude, therefore, that Batula and Ching sang are merely titles, we have room for the conjecture that the real name of the person who bore them was Machamu, and this would *pro tanto* reconcile the Chinese narrative and that of Ssanang Setzen, since one makes Batula and the other makes Makhamu the father of Toghon Taishi.

We are told by Ssanang Setzen that Ugetshi Khaskhagha was very much annoyed at the promotion of Batula (whom he considered as one of his subjects) to be the chief of the four Uirads while he was still living, and that he expressed himself freely about it; the Khan Elbek upon this persuaded his son-in-law Batula (*i.e.*, Machamu) to try and kill him. He was, however, warned in time by one of Elbek's wives, and himself succeeded in killing the Khan and in appropriating his widow, the strong-minded Uldshei Khung Beidshi.*

This was according to Ssanang Setzen in 1399, and for awhile, as I have shown, the Mongols passed under the authority of Ugetshi, the Kulichi of the Chinese.† This usurpation was by no means universally popular, and when it received the sanction of the Chinese court in 1404 ‡ opposition was aroused, and we are told that Marhapa, Yesuntai and Halutai (*i.e.*, Adai), allying themselves with *Mahamu*, marched against the usurper and completely defeated him, after which Adai and Mahamu sent their homage to the Chinese Emperor, who concealed his displeasure and received it with seeming cordiality.§

In 1409 the Chinese Emperor sent envoys with presents for Adai and other chiefs, but instead of accepting them they killed one of the envoys and treated the other with contumely. The Emperor being much annoyed created Mahamu (who is called Mahom of Wala, *i.e.*, of the Uirads, by Delamarre) prince of Chun ning. Thaipin was created [illegible] n y, and Patupula prince of Gan lo.‖ Shortly after this, Adai [illegible] *égé* the Khan Peniacheli or Uldshei Timur were defeated [illegible] ds and crossed the river Lukhu.¶ In the latter part of [illegible] er arrived at the Imperial court with the news that Mahamu [illegible] d Peniacheli and put him to death, and had put Talipa or Delbek on the throne.** He shortly after, namely in 1413, so severely pressed Adai that he was forced to cross the desert and take shelter on the Chinese frontier, where he asked assistance from the Emperor. The latter appointed him prince of Honing (*i.e.*, of Karakorum) and sent him provisions.†† This displeased Mahamu, who withheld his tribute and collected an army on the river Inma. The Emperor upon this set out at the head of a large army to meet him. He arrived about the

* Ssanang Setzen, 143-145. Ante, 351, 352. † Ante, 560. ‡ De Mailla, x. 153.
§ De Mailla, x. 153. Ante, 353. ‖ Delamarre, 166. De Mailla, x. 167.
¶ Delamarre, 167. Ante, 354. ** De Mailla, x. 173. Delamarre, 180. †† De Mailla, x. 173.

middle of summer at Salihor, and after two days' march he learnt from the country people that Mahamu was only 100 li distant. As he did not come to him the Emperor was satisfied that his intentions were not friendly, and in fact Mahamu, accompanied by the Khan Delbek, Tai ping, and Polo, and at the head of 30,000 men, offered battle. I have already described this fight, and how the battle was in fact a drawn fight, Mahamu retaining his ground till nightfall, when he retired behind the Tula and went northwards.* The next year, *i.e.*, in 1416 (Delamarre says 1415), Mahamu sent some horses as tribute and excused himself for what he had done on the plea that he was afraid that the Emperor, at the instigation of Adai, his enemy, had marched into Tartary to exterminate him.† In 1417 (Delamarre says 1416) Adai sent word to the court that he had defeated Mahamu, and also sent the prisoners and horses which he had captured. A few days after Koaninnu buka, the envoy of Mahamu and of Tai ping also arrived to do homage in their name.‡ Mahamu died, according to De Mailla, in 1418, and was succeeded by his son Toghon.§ According to Ssanang Setzen Batula Chingsang was killed by Ugetshi Khaskhagha in 1415, but his dates at this period are very confused and unreliable. According to him the Uirads passed entirely for some years into the power of Ugetshi and his son Esseku, who also controlled all the Mongols except the small section governed by Adai Khan. He makes Esseku Khan marry the widow of Mahamu or Batula Chingsang, and die in 1425.

Mahamu had, as I have stated,‖ taken prisoner a chief of the Assod tribe named Ugudeleku, and had reduced him to slavery. From the basket he had to carry on his back Ugudeleku was styled Aroktai. When Ugetshi killed Mahamu, Aroktai fell into his hands. The legitimate Khan Adsai and his mother Uldsheitu Khung Beidshi were already prisoners in his house, and they remained so during the reign of his successor Esseku. On the latter's death in 1425, his widow Samur Gundshi, who was a daughter of the Mongol chief Elbek Khan, sent them home to their own people, and also sent word by them that Esseku Khakan was dead, that his people were without a head and in a state of confusion, and bade them march against them. This was very treacherous language on the part of the Queen, for besides being the daughter of Elbek Khan she had also been the wife of Mahamu, and was the mother of his son (who is styled Bachamu by Ssanang Setzen). This son overheard his mother's words, and reproached her for them. At that time Adai Khan was ruling over the section of the Mongols which still remained independent. It was to him that the three released prisoners repaired. Having married Uldsheitu Khung Beidshi, he Adsai and Aroktai placed themselves

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* *Vide* ante, 355. † De Mailla, x. 175. Delamarre, 184.
‡ De Mailla, x. 176. Delamarre, 186. § Op. cit., x. 178. ‖ Ante, 357.

at the head of an army and defeated the Uirads at the mountain. Jalman brought them under subjection, and captured the son of Mahamu already named.

I have already described how he was treated, and how he got the surname of Toghon.* We are told that whilst he was a slave in the house of Aroktai, the latter's wife, named Gerel Agha, touched by his forlorn condition, treated him well. While she was one day combing his hair, Mongkebai the Mongholtshin said to her, "Agha, while you comb his hair it would be easy to cut his throat," and then retired. Soon after this his mother, Samur Gundshi, begged for and obtained the release of her son, and took him home with her. When he arrived there he summoned the chiefs of the Uirads, and urged upon them that it was a favourable opportunity for them to break off the yoke, as confusion then reigned among the Mongols and they had no leader. They accordingly marched against and defeated them. Adai Khan took refuge in the sacred Ordu of the Mongol Imperial family, but was pursued there and killed. Toghon Taishi then rode round the enclosure of the ordu three times on his horse Mirsanu sain khongkhor, and said, thou art a fair dwelling for the body of Sutu. I am Toghon, the son of Sutai.† These words excited the indignation of the chiefs of the Forty and Four (*i.e.*, of the Mongols). They spoke to one another referring to Jingis Khan. "That Bogda lord was not only the chief of the Mongols, but had also conquered everybody, not only the five banners of his own people, but also the four foreign nations, and was a son of the Khormusda Tegri. This is a raving idiot." They then went to him and said, "Thy words and thy deeds are very perverse. It were more fitting if thou wert to bow thyself before the Bodga Lord in gratitude and to entreat his protection for thy life." Toghon Taishi heeded not their admonition, but replied, "From whom am I to expect the protection of my life if not from myself. Now [illegible] nation is subject to me I mean to adopt the title of Khan, [illegible] myself on the throne of the old Mongol sovereigns." He [illegible] offering to the Bogda Lord (? Jingis Khan). As he [illegible] to go away it was noticed by those who were looking at the gold chariot of the lord (*i.e.*, the carriage on which his image was borne) that the large arrow inside quivered and shook, upon which blood flowed from Toghon Taishi's mouth and nose, and he fell powerless to the ground. When he was undressed those present noticed a wound like that made by an arrow between his shoulder blades, and as they noticed that the point and notch of the middle arrow in the coach were soiled with blood the Forty and Four concluded that Toghon Taishi had been

* Ante, 360.

† *i.e.*, of the divine lineage of the Mongol Imperial family. Toghon could claim this in right of his mother, the daughter of Elbek Khan, and the descendant of Jingis Khan. Schmidt. Ssanang Setzen, 405.

punished by the Lord himself.* Such is the Saga told by the native Mongol historian about the usurpation of the throne of his ancestors by the stranger Toghon Taishi. I will now collect together such notices as I can find about him in the Chinese authors.

In 1424 Adai, having recovered from the severe defeat he had sustained at the hands of Mahamu, had himself proclaimed Khakan and threatened the Chinese frontier, upon which the Emperor marched against him. The latter heard when he arrived at the river Si yang that he had been entirely defeated by Toghon and that many of his subjects had gone over to his rival.†

We next hear of Toghon in 1434, when we are told that he slew Adai at the mountain Una, and that he sent one of his officers named Amké to announce the fact and to take presents to the Imperial court, and also to take the Jude seal of the deceased. He was well received by the Emperor, who gave him back the seal and told him to take care of it.‡

In 1438 a horse fair was established at Ta thong for purposes of trade with the Uirads.§

In 1442 the Uirads sent envoys to offer tribute to the Chinese court. We are told that originally the Uirad embassy consisted of but about thirty persons, but that, encouraged by the presents given by the Emperor, they went by thousands, and the cost to the town of Ta thong of maintaining them rose to over 300,000 taels; the officers who were responsible for this extravagance were imprisoned, and the Emperor fixed the number who were to go in future at 300. Nevertheless, they again came this year to the number of over 2,000. They were all received. They exchanged their horses for bows.‖ Before his death Toghon Taishi, according to Ssanang Setzen, summoned his son Essen to him and said, "Sutu can raise *his* people aloft, but Sutai cannot protect *hers*. While I have implored the goddess mother Sutai, I have been reduced to this condition by the Bogda lord himself (*i.e.*, has been shot through by his arrow); meanwhile, I have wholly cleared away the thorns from your path; nothing remains to be cleared away but Mongkebai, of the Mongholtshin tribe,"—upon which he died.¶ Schmidt observes that this passage means that Toghon Taishi had not succeeded in entirely extirpating the old royal race of the Mongols, and that something still remained for his son to do.** According to Ssanang Setzen Toghon Taidshi died in 1438,†† but the Chinese authorities are much more reliable on such a point, and we learn from De Mailla that the news of his death reached the Chinese court in the latter part of 1444, so that he doubtless died during that year. He appears in two of the Kalmuk genealogies given by

* Ssanang Setzen, 149 and 151. † De Mailla, x. 180. Delamarre, 199.
‡ Delamarre, 235. De Mailla, x. 196. § Delamarre, 245.
‖ Delamarre, 252. ¶ Ssanang Setzen, 151. ** Op. cit., 405. †† *Id.*, 153.

Pallas,* and his was doubtless one of the greatest names in Kalmuk history, and he was for the greater part of his reign master not only of the Uirads but also of the Mongols. He was succeeded by his son Essen, the Yassun of one of Pallas's lists,† and probably the Essama of another.‡ To the Chinese he was known as Yesien.

One of Essen's first acts was to put to death Mongkebai the Mongholtshin, as his father had advised him. He was now master of all Mongolia except the districts of Uriangkai.§ Having attacked the latter several times, he united himself to their chief in marriage. This chief was no doubt Totobuka, who is called leader of the Uleangra.‖ He then proceeded to molest the Chinese frontier posts of Cha chau, Che kin, &c.¶ An army of 200,000 men was sent against him, under Chu yong, but it did not dare to advance far, and returned without meeting Essen. The cynical author translated by De Mailla says its leaders were as liberally rewarded as if they had captured Essen.** This was in 1445.

We next read of Essen attacking China, and even carrying off the Emperor a prisoner to Mongolia. The cause of the war is differently assigned by De Mailla and Delamarre. The former says that Essen demanded an Imperial princess in marriage. His envoy was told by the Imperial favourite, who controlled his master, that his request would be granted. He accordingly sent a marriage present of a great number of horses, accompanied by 2,000 men, which number the guides raised to 3,000, in order that it might seem a greater honour.†† Delamarre says nothing about the Imperial princess, and merely says that the Kalmuks exaggerated the escort of their envoys in order to receive more presents.‡‡ The eunuch received the presents for himself, but when reminded that they were a wedding present and meant for the Emperor, the latter disavowed all knowledge of the transaction, and the eunuch thereupon repudiated his promise and sent the envoys home. Essen was naturally much enraged.§§ Delamarre says he was enraged that the envoys did not receive sufficient gratuities. He accordingly marched a large force towards China. Totobuka, his nominee as Khan, went at the head of the Uriangits against Liautung, Alachewan (? Alak chingsang) marched by way of Suenfu upon Thse chen, another general invaded Kan siu, while Essen himself advanced towards Ta thong.‖‖ Having defeated a contingent that marched against him, he threatened to march towards Peking, which was thrown into confusion. The eunuch Wang chin undertook to command the army, which, including camp followers, consisted of 500,000 men. He was a very incapable person, and the review of the army at Long hu tai was a scene of terrible confusion,

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* Saml. Hist. Nach., &c., i. 25 and 34. † Op. cit., i. 34. ‡ *Id.*, i. 35.
§ Called Uleangra by Delamarre, 260, and Woleangha by De Mailla, x. 206.
‖ Delamarre, 268. ¶ Delamarre, 260. ** Op. cit., x., 206.
†† De Mailla, x. 207. ‡‡ Op. cit., 268. §§ De Mailla, x. 208. ‖‖ Delamarre, 268.

neither was it sufficiently provided with food, while the rain fell in torrents. In vain the more capable officers presented their reports urging a halt. The eunuch was not to be moved, and when the astrologer Pen te thsin told him that the stars were not favourable, he replied that "if disaster came it would be by the decree of heaven."

The unwieldy army escorting the feeble Emperor at length arrived at Ta thong, where it was decided to retreat. Koleng, the commander of the garrison there, urged that in order to place the Emperor in safety the army should retreat by way of Tse king koan. The eunuch, on the other hand, wished him to traverse his native country of Wei chau, so that his brother might have the honour of entertaining him. Thus the army returned by way of Tu mu, and stayed there some time. As it was crossing the Ki min chan mountain news arrived that Essen was close at hand.* He attacked the rearguard of the army. U khet-chong, the count of Kong chuen, and his brother the lieutenant-general Kho khin opposed him, but were slaughtered with their men, upon which the force constituting the rearguard dispersed. Chu yong and Sue hoan marched to the rescue with 40,000 men, but all perished. At length, after two days' march, they encamped at Tu mu. There they dug some wells but found no water.† Essen learnt the condition of their army from a spy whom he sent out, and when it resumed its march attacked it on all sides, and it began to disperse. Essen ordered quarter to be given to all who did not resist, but the excited Tartars heeded not, and more than 100,000 Chinese were slaughtered, among whom were the generals Chang fu, Wang cho, the Ministers of State Hoang ye, Tsao nai, and Chang i, and a great number of other officers. The Emperor himself was captured. Seeing himself surrounded by enemies he descended from his horse, knelt with his face turned towards the south, and afterwards sat down on a cushion without showing any marks of excitement. This repose, which was probably due largely to imbecility, according to the Chinese account, greatly impressed the Tatars.‡ Their commander, Sai kan, went to tell his master, who hardly crediting the news sent two Chinese to confirm it. When he found it was true he turned to some of the leading Mongols and asked, "What should be done with him?" One of the chief of these replied, "There was no question what should be done. That as the family of Ming had destroyed that of Yuen it was necessary to kill him." But Peyen Timur interposed warmly and said he ought to be treated as a Noyan (*i.e.*, a lord), and he urged upon Essen that he would render his name immortal by releasing his prisoner and sending him home again. This was generally assented to, but Essen had other things in view. He confided him to Peyen Timur and ordered him to be well guarded and to be treated with honour. He then sent

* De Mailla, x. 210. † Delamarre, 270. ‡ De Mailla, x. 211.

word to Peking, where the news was received with consternation. The Queen dowager despatched the most precious objects in gold and precious stones which she possessed, which were placed on eight mules. The Emperor's wife also sent her jewels. But Essen was not to be thus bought.

Meanwhile, the prince Ching wang, younger brother of the Emperor, was appointed regent, and his son Chu kien chin, who was then two years old, was named heir-apparent. The eunuch Wang chin had perished at Tu mu, having been killed by one of his servants. His goods were now confiscated, and his creatures imprisoned or put to death. The mandarins who had charge of the confiscation reported that the late favourite had several houses as magnificent as the Emperor's palace, that he had for his table a service of ten gold plates a foot in diameter garnished with precious stones, sixty chests filled with gold and silver, one hundred pieces of jade, fifty trees of coral seven to eight feet high, and over 10,000 horses besides those he had taken with him on his expedition.*

Essen returned northwards by way of Ta thong, and in the hope that it would surrender he took the Emperor close to the walls. The latter, aware of his design, shouted to the governor in the ambiguous sentence, "Ko teng, you are allied to me. How then am I outside?" The answer was, "It is by your majesty's command that I defend this place." He sent some people out with presents of robes for the Emperor, who distributed them among Essen and his two brothers Peyen Timur and Ta tong. These people also brought out 10,000 taels of gold and as many of silver, which were offered as ransom, but were refused by Essen, who was piqued at having failed to acquire possession of the town. He tried in a similar way to obtain possession of Suen hoa fu, but was again foiled. Leaving China by Miao ul chuang, he arrived in twenty-eight days at his ordinary residence at He fong lin.

The Emperor was taken to his tent, where music and Tatar dances were performed for him by Essen's wife and concubines. Thence he went to the tent of Peyen Timur, where he was similarly entertained. The Chinese Emperor was named Ing tsong. He is called the Daiming Jingtai Khaghan by Ssanang Setzen, who tells us he entrusted him to the keeping of Alima Chingsang and told him to conduct him to the warm district of Jirghughan minggan† utshiyed daira. Essen was pressed by some about him to put his prisoner to death. De Mailla says that he consented, but that on the day fixed for the execution there was a terrible storm, in which his horse was killed by thunder, which frightened him.

Meanwhile it was determined to fill the vacant throne at Peking, and

* De Mailla, x. 214, 215. Delamarre, 273. † Jirghughan minggan means 6,000.

Ing tsong's brother Ching wang was elected Emperor with the title of King ti.* The absent Emperor received the title of superior Emperor (*i.e.*, ex Emperor).† On the first day of the ninth month Ing tsong arrived at Ipé in Tatary, and Essen sent word to the Chinese court that he demanded a ransom of 100 taels of gold, 200 taels of silver, and 200 pieces of the best silken goods.‡ As no heed was paid to this message Essen sent a defiant letter, and the new Emperor ordered the fortifications, &c., on the frontier to be put in order; stores were provided and the garrisons augmented. Essen approached the frontier with a large army, spreading the report that he was escorting the Emperor Ing tsong to Peking. He was accompanied by Totobuka, the titular Khan of the Mongols.§ He summoned Ta thong to surrender, but as its governor refused to do so he passed on and attacked the pass of Tse-king-koan; its commander Han tsing and the garrison perished. The Kalmuks now spread over the province of Peh cheh li, but the brave war minister Yu kien did not lose heart; he set fire to the forage that there was in the environs of Peking so that the enemy, whose force consisted entirely of cavalry, should be compelled to retire, and he summoned an army from Liautung.‖

Essen soon appeared before the capital and made several attacks upon it. In one of these, according to Delamarre, a body of 10,000 Kalmuks fell into an ambuscade, and Essen's brother Puilo, and Maonahai one of his generals, were killed by a blow from a stone.

This was at the gate Te chen. They were also defeated at the gates Chang-i and Thu-chen, the citizens showering down tiles upon them from the roofs of their houses.¶

Finding more resistance than he expected Essen sent into the city to treat. His advances were not met in a very cordial fashion. None of the higher mandarins would volunteer to be envoys to his camp, so two of lower rank named Wang fu and Chao yong were told off for the duty and were at the same time raised to the rank of grandees of the empire. Essen had taken the Emperor Ing tsong with him, and when the envoys arrived at the camp they were ushered into a Lama temple, where he was confined, and where they found him with Essen and his brother Peyen Timur, both armed cap-a-pie. They submitted their letters, which were written in Chinese for the Emperor and in Tatar (*i.e.*, Mongol) for Essen. The latter discovering that they were only mandarins of low rank sent them back and said he wished Wang ché, U yong, Yu kien, and Che heng to go themselves.**

Meanwhile the troops from Liau tung were approaching. De Mailla says they numbered 220,000 men. This succour raised the spirits of the besieged, who made sorties and attacked Essen on

* De Mailla, x. 216. † Delamarre, 274. ‡ De Mailla, x. 216.
§ Ante, 361. De Mailla, x. 217. ‖ De Mailla, x. 218. ¶ Delamarre, 276, 277.
** De Mailla, x. 218.

three sides, but were apparently very partially successful. Essen however did not deem it prudent to remain longer, but retired northwards, plundering the towns on his route.* The Chinese pursued the Kalmuks, who separated into several sections. Essen retired by way of Ku yong koan, Peyen Timur by Tsé king koan, while Totobuka sent to the Chinese court to protest that he would not again enter China.† Delamarre parenthetically observes that Essen had the main authority in the State, and that although Totobuka was nominally Khan, that he had fewer soldiers than the Kalmuk chief, while Ola or Ala, one of the latter's generals, had fewer still. The three, although united in their campaign against China, were by no means cordially disposed to one another. The Khakan Totobuka having sent an embassy with presents, it was determined to fan this feeling of jealousy, and it returned to its master with large presents.‡ After collecting together the various sections of his army Essen feasted the captive Emperor with a fat horse which he killed in his honour, and promised to release him. Totobuka also made offers of peace to him, but he counted more on the good offices of Peyen Timur, to whose wife he sent to ask to beg for his release. She said she had no power. Her husband on returning from hunting sent him a present of game and wine (? kumis), and philosophically told him not to despair.§

One of Ing tsong's eunuchs, who had gone over to the Kalmuks, seems to have acquired great influence over Essen. He now persuaded him to make an invasion into China by way of Ninghia and to capture the studs of horses there. This he did, and retired again after a month's pillaging, leaving several thousands of his men at Ho thao, whence they made raids upon the district of Ninghia. This was in 1449 or 1450. Next year the Kalmuks advanced into the district of Ta thong as far as Cha o, where they were defeated by the Chinese general Ten, who was created marquis of Tin chang. Some months later they were defeated by [illegible] a sharp struggle near Kia kia and near Suen fu.‖ The eunuch Hi-ning was no friend to his late master, but tried several times to persuade Essen to put him to death. Ing tsong was not ignorant of his intrigues, and he now had an opportunity of revenging himself. Having need of a messenger to carry a letter to Peking, Hi-ning, who wished very much to go there, volunteered to take it. The Emperor sent him, and at the same time sent orders to the governor of Suen hoa fu to imprison him and send him on to Peking. This was accordingly done, and he was put to death there in the open streets.¶

In the seventh month, Hala, prince of the Tatars, sent his tribute of horses to the Imperial court.** This was doubtless the Alak Chingsang of Ssanang Setzen.††

* De Mailla, x. 219. Delamarre, 277. † De Mailla, x. 220. ‡ Delamarre, 277, 278.
§ De Mailla, x. 220. ‖ Delamarre, 278-282. De Mailla, x. 221. ¶ De Mailla, x. 221.
** De Mailla, x. 222. †† Op. cit., 169, et seq.

Essen, who desired to come to terms with the Imperial court but was afraid that his previous conduct would hardly make his advances acceptable, addressed himself to Hala, who accepted the office of mediator and sent an envoy to the court with offers of peace. The grandees having deliberated determined to send the mandarins Hiu pin and Ma chin to make inquiries as to whether the news was reliable. They returned to Peking and reported favourably. Meanwhile the Chinese treated the envoy of Hala with special consideration, hoping by detaching his master from the interests of Essen to create a diversion in Tatary if it were found necessary. But the Kalmuk chief was quite sincere, and sent another embassy to demand peace. The difficulty now arose on the part of the new Emperor King ti, who seemed disinclined to vacate his throne again in favour of his captive brother. The grandees however agreed that he should not be prejudiced by his brother's return. He sent Liche the assessor of rites with a pacific letter to Totobuka the titular Khan of Tatary, who took with him seals of office as Khan for Essen and also for Hala.* Seventeen days after leaving Peking he arrived at Chepator, where Essen was encamped. Having delivered the seals and letters to him he went on to the tent of Peyen Timur, where he found the captive Emperor Ing tsong. Beside the tent was a cart drawn by oxen, which carried his baggage when he moved about. Liche was much distressed at the forlorn condition of the Emperor, and both wept at the audience; the Emperor saying that if he regained his liberty he should go and end his days by the tombs of his ancestors. Essen at a subsequent interview told Liche to return home and to tell his master to send a suitable cortège to accompany his brother home again. His brother Peyen Timur suggested to him that if a Chinese princess were sent to be married to Essen's son it would facilitate matters very much. Liche gave a prudent and diplomatic answer to this request. On his return home, having persuaded King ti with some difficulty that Essen was quite sincere, the latter sent a magnificent cortège headed by the Imperial censor Yang chen to take his brother home again. Yang chen had considerable tact, and having assured Essen that the Emperor would be escorted by 3,000 brave warriors, that there was no disturbance on the frontier which they need fear, and that it was not seemly to demand gold or silver as a ransom when he proposed to generously send the Emperor home, preparations were at once made for the departure. On the day after his interview with Yang chen Essen entertained the Emperor in his own tent and himself played before him on a kind of Tatar guitar while his wives offered him drink. Yang chen was desired to sit during the banquet, the same civility being extended to Essen's minister Amké, but the former

* De Mailla, x. 223, 224.

refused, saying, that although in the midst of the desert he was not going to be uncivil to his prince. Essen replied that they seemed to be very punctilious in China, among his people these things were not so much considered.* This feast was followed by another given him by Peyen Timur. Ing tsong at length set out on his return. Essen accompanied him for half a day's journey, and on taking leave of him presented him with his coat of mail, his bow, and his quiver full of arrows. Peyen Timur went on with him to the mountain Ye hu ling, where he again feasted him. The next day he paraded the troops in ranks, with their herds behind them, and they presented Ing tsong with a great number of cattle and sheep. Peyen Timur was much attached to the Emperor, and had shown him much kindness during his captivity. They both wept at parting. He sent on 500 Kalmuks to escort him to Peking. Soon after he had left him Amkó overtook him with a present of game from Essen.† Ing tsong travelled by way of Suen hoa fu, and at length arrived at Peking. His brother was greatly embarrassed by his arrival, which was by no means welcome, and he let it be known that a very cordial reception would not be pleasing to him. Ing tsong, seeing how matters stood, removed all difficulties by resigning the throne in his favour and going to live in the southern palace.‡ This was in 1450 or 1451.

I mentioned that Ssanang Setzen shortly describes Essen's campaign in China and his capture of the Emperor. He goes on to say that when he set out on his return he let it be known that whoever should forestal him in acquainting his mother with the good news should be put to death. When he reached his home he thus addressed her, "Mother, I feel as if I were born again." She replied, "My darling, does that mean you have taken the Emperor prisoner?" "Who told you?" he said. "Buke Sorson told me out of the delight of his heart," she replied. Upon which, without heeding his mother's protests, Essen had him put to death. This murder was very displeasing to the Mongols, who fell away from him in large numbers and sided with the Khakhan Taissong, the Totobuka of the Chinese authors.§ In conjunction with his brothers Akbardshi and Mandaghol he marched against the Uirads and encountered them in the country of Turufanu Kara (*i.e.*, Turfan).‖ To try the issue of the battle a champion was chosen on either side. Baghatur Shigussutai of the Oraghods represented the Mongols, and Baghatur Ghoilinchi the Uirad Buriads. When the two Baghaturs neared one another one of them asked the other his name and tribe, and then remembered that on that very spot when their people were at peace the former had thus spoken to the latter at a feast. "Suppose at some future time the Uirads and Mongols should go to war and we two should

* De Mailla, x. 226. † De Mailla, x. 227. ‡ Delamarre, 283-285. De Mailla, x. 228, 229.
§ Ssanang Setzen, 153. ‖ Ante, 361.

be chosen as champions and have to fight it out, what would you do to me? Ghoilinchi replied, I am a good archer, and if you were covered with armour as you are now I would shoot you through and through; and I, replied his friend, am a good swordsman, and would cleave you down from the crown to the girdle." Baghatur Shigussutai, who had remembered the conversation, had encased himself in double armour. Thus prepared he addressed his rival at some distance and said, "Far-shooting Archer, you have the precedence: shoot." Ghoilinchi thereupon shot an arrow which pierced the double harness of the other, wounded him slightly, and remained fixed in the hinder pommel of his saddle; after which the latter clove him to the ground.*

It was decided that the fight should commence at dawn on the following day. Both sides remained on guard during the night, but the Uirads, according to Ssanang Setzen, were in great fear and deliberated whether they should give in or what they should do. Upon this Abdulla Setzen of the Teilenguds remarked that the Mongol people were simple and short-sighted, and that he would go and see if he could not create discord among them. If it turned out well he should be rewarded, if he should perish they might then take his children. On his way he thought to himself—Taissong Khan is prudent and discerning, but Akbardshi Jinong is stupid and inconsiderate; I will try and deceive him. . . . When he arrived in the tent of the Jinong he said to him, "If you, Jinong, had the sole power we should not be enemies, we should assist one another in war, and meet death united. Essen Taishi has sent me to tell you this." He then continued, "We hear that the Khan your brother always speaks with contempt of you, and that he as the elder brother takes everything for himself and leaves nothing for you the younger." The Jinong replied, "Let us confer on this matter to-night." He then continued, "What Abdulla says is true. When the Khan my brother raised me to the rank of Jinong and gave me authority over the Baraghon Tumen he placed all he gave me on a blind black camel stallion, and in this very campaign he has taken away my servant Alakshid Tsaghan. How can I live with him as a brother? I will unite myself with the Four Uirads and drive him away." Upon this Akbardshi's son Kharghotsok remarked—"The proverb says: He who forsakes his family must go forward; he who quits his mother's womb must come outwards; he who forsakes his parents-in-law will be despised; he, however, who abandons his prince will be abhorred. Essen Taishi is certainly my father-in-law, but that does not concern you, and I speak thus that my father may not stain his name. Rather than trust to the words of a stranger it were better to treat him as an enemy and to cut him down." His father replied that his chatter was foolish, and allied himself with the Uirads, at

* Ssanang Setzen, 155.

whose head he advanced the following morning against his brother. Taissong was defeated and fled, and was put to death by a Mongol named Tsabdan who had a grudge against him.* Ssanang Setzen dates this in 1452. Delamarre tells us that Totobuka had married Essen's sister but had refused to make her son his heir, upon which he assassinated him and sent his wife and son to the Chinese. He also sent to do homage and to pay tribute. The Chinese minister Yu kien declared that although Essen had repented and had of his own free will sent to do homage, his crimes were so enormous that he did not deserve pardon. He thought that this strife between sovereign and subject was an opportunity sent by heaven to enable the Chinese to exact revenge from him, and asked to be put at the head of an army to march against them, but the Emperor did not permit it.†

The curious account of the reign of Akbardshi, the successor of Taissong Khan, who is unknown to the Chinese historians, but whose story is much mixed up with that of Essen Khan, I have already abstracted from Ssanang Setzen,‡ and shall not here repeat it. According to this story Essen was only styled Taishi and Jinong until after Akbardshi's death. Delamarre says that after killing the prince Totobuka Essen had himself proclaimed Thien chen Khan§ (*i.e.*, celestial and holy Khan).‖

Like the Eastern Mongols the Kalmuks were divided into two administrative sections, the Segor gar or right wing and the Baraghon gar or left wing; each of these was apparently controlled by a Chingsang. At this time these two officers were styled Alak Chingsang and Timur Chingsang. Offices of such trust among the Mongols were nearly always reserved for near relatives of the Khan, his sons or brothers. It is very probable that Timur Chingsang is to be identified with the Peyen Timur of the Chinese narratives, who is called a brother of Essen's, and was his companion in his wars. In regard to Alak, he is clearly the Alachewan of Delamarre, who is elsewhere called Ala by the same author.¶ He is called a general of Essen's, and was in all probability another of his brothers.

I have described how these two chiefs went one day to Essen to ask him to grant the title of Taishi; how he refused, saying he had already given that title to his son; how they then reproached him, marched an army against him and drove him away, and how in his flight he met with Bagho the son of Boke Sorsson whom he had put to death, and how he in turn was killed and his body hung upon a tree on the mountain Kugei Khan by the son of his former victim.**

In the Chinese account we are told that Ala asked for the post of "Grand Preceptor," the first post in the empire, for himself. Essen not only refused him but also killed his two sons, upon which he marched against him at the head of his people and killed him.†† Ssanang Setzen

* Ssanang Setzen, 155, &c. Ante, 361. † Delamarre, 289. De Mailla, x. 232.
‡ Ante, 362-365. § Op. cit., 299. ‖ Timkowski, ii. 213.
¶ Op. cit., 268 and 299. ** Ante, 366. Ssanang Setzen, 169. †† Delamarre, 259.

dates his death in 1452, Delamarre in 1454, and Timkowski in 1455. With Essen passed away the glorious epoch in the history of the Western Mongols. Under him the whole Mongol world was once more united, and in some measure revenged itself upon the Chinese by frequent victories over them and by capturing their sacred ruler; the latter was a stroke of fortune which has seldom fallen to a nomadic chief, and makes us surmise that with a little more vigour abroad and a little more unity at home he might have rivalled, at least in Asia, the rôle of Jingis Khan. With his death the supremacy of the Kalmuks seems to have vanished away very rapidly. We are unfortunately left in the dark about them by Ssanang Setzen, who for a while confines himself to the history of the Eastern Mongols, and the Chinese accounts of Mongolia also become exceedingly meagre.

We are told that soon after Essen's death the Tatar Puilai killed Ala, seized the mother and widow of Essen, and put Maeulh the son of Totobuka on the throne, and that after this Puilai and his officers Maolihai, &c., were the renowned chiefs among the Tatars who increased in power daily.* This Puilai is no doubt the Polai of De Mailla.† He is called Bulai by Timkowski.‡ The Maeulh of the above account is no doubt the Molon Khan and Maolihai the Molikhai of Ssanang Setzen.§ He does not name Puilai, who seems to have now become the chief of the Kalmuks.

In 1460‖ Puilai, Maolihai, and others invaded the Chinese frontier with three divisions. They marched by way of Ta thong and Wi Yuen. They pillaged the country in the neighbourhood of the pass of Yen Men and of the towns Tai chau, Su chau, and Si chau.¶ In 1461 Puilai sent a letter proposing an agreement, but he nevertheless continued his incursions.**

In the latter part of 1465 Maolihai at the head of a large army invaded the Chinese districts of Yen gan and Sui te in Shensi. The Emperor ordered Yang sin the commander of Ta thong, Li kâo commander of Ning hia, and Hiang chong governor of Shen si, to resist them. There was scarcely a year in which Puilai, the little-king, Maolihai or others did not make raids upon the districts of Yen gan and Sui te and carry off prisoners.†† It is to this period we must refer the passage in De Mailla where he says "The Tatars became formidable to China, especially after Maolihai, in the sixth year of Ing tsong, penetrated into the districts of Ku yuen, Leang chau, and King chau." We are told that being incited by Holochu and Mongkò, enemies of Pohai (? of Puilai), who was then in possession there, he had crossed the Yellow river and attacked and killed Pohai. Finding the country fertile the three confederates settled there and sent their homage to the Chinese court.‡‡

* Delamarre, 300. † Op. cit., x. 239. ‡ Op. cit., ii. 213. § *Vide* ante, 366.
‖ De Mailla says 1461. ¶ Delamarre, 318. De Mailla, x. 239. ** Delamarre, 322.
†† Delamarre, 333. ‡‡ De Mailla, x. 301. Ante, 368.

In 1468 Topo, prince of the Uirads, sent his chief minister Hoché Timur to take tribute to the Chinese.* In the Ming annals we read that in the early years of the reign of Hien tsong, who mounted the throne in 1465, Maolihai, Kiaokiaslan, Puilohu, and Mantlu successively pillaged the frontier. In 1473 the three former chiefs made a cruel raid into China, which I have already described.† In 1482 the Tatar Ismain invaded Yen sui, and was defeated at the mountain Thal by the colonel Liau nin; other detachments of them were beaten at Chong tsui, Mu kua yuen, San li tha, and Hcche yai, and suffered great losses.‡

We now reach a period when the Mongols, under Dayan Khan, were being welded together into a homogeneous power, while the Kalmuks were apparently being disintegrated and broken into fragments. They occupied the country north of the Tien Shan or Celestial range, and especially the neighbourhood of the Bogdo Ula mountain. Their capital was in the valley of the river Ili, and probably on the site of Kuldja. In the description of Ili, extracted from the Sin kiang chi lio by Stanislas Julien, it is said that under the Ming the territory of Ili belonged to the Wala (*i.e.*, the Uirads). The same account is given in the Thai Thsing i tong chi.§ It is to this country, and especially to the sacred mountain of Bogdo Ula, as I have shown, that the traditions of the Khoits revert. Lastly, De Mailla, in describing the revolutions that took place in the district of Khamil and Turfan in the middle ages, says that the mountains Tien shan separated the country of Khamil from that of the Wala or Uirads, and that when the Uirads were all powerful in the reign of their great Khan Toghon they captured Khamil.‖ This was about 1472. And we find Uirads meddling in its internal history more than twenty years later.¶ As I have said, they were gradually becoming disintegrated as the Mongols were gaining in strength. The latter were at length controlled by their great chief Altan Khan, of the Tumeds,** and we read that in 1552 he marched against the Four Uirads, and killed the prince of the Naiman Mingghan Khoit (*i.e.*, of the eight thousand Khoits), named Mani Mingghatu, on the mountain Kunggei Sabkhan, captured his wife Jigeken Agha, and his two sons Tokhai and Kokoter, and subdued the whole people. He also recovered Khoning (*i.e.*, Karakorum) from them.†† In 1562 his great nephew Khutuktai defeated the Torguts on the Irtish, as I have already related.‡‡ But a turn in Kalmuk fortune was at hand and was brought about by the Khoit chief Esselbei Kia, such is his name as given by Ssanang Setzen, and he was the son of the Mani Minghatu just named.§§ He is called Esilban Sain Ka (*i.e.*, the distinguished Esilban Ka) by Pallas. He says he was a prince of the Khoits, at first subject to the

* De Mailla, x. 243. † Delemarre, 357. Ante, 370, 371. ‡ Delamarre, 380, 381.
§ Journ. Asiat., 4th Ser., viii. 385. ‖ Op. cit., x. 247. ¶ *Id.*, x. 260, &c. ** Ante, 416, &c.
†† Ssanang Setzen, 209-211. ‡‡ Ante, 561. §§ Ssanang Setzen, 219.

Buirats but afterwards their conqueror.* Ssanang Setzen and Pallas give two different versions of his struggle with the Mongols, which I shall now abstract. According to the former, as Setzen Khungtaidshi of the Ordus tribe was returning in 1574 from an expedition against Togmak he learnt that Buyan Baghatur Khungtaidshi and his brothers, the sons of his suzerain the Jinong Noyandara, had set out on an expedition against the Uirads; he thereupon left his baggage at Bars Kul (*i.e.*, Barkul) and also set out against them. Baghatur Khungtaidshi had meanwhile attacked the Naiman Mingghan Khoit Tumed (*i.e.*, the eight thousand Khoit division), under Esselbei Kia, on the "morning side" (*i.e.*, the south) of the Khargai (? Kanghai chain) and had subdued them. Setzen Khungtaidshi thereupon marched against the Baghatud (*i.e.*, as I suppose, the joint Sungars and Derbets), whom he encountered and vanquished, under their chiefs Khamsu and Duritu, on the "evening side" (*i.e.*, the north) of the Jalman mountain. His son Uldshei Ilduchi pursued them for three months, although he and his men had finished all their provisions and were obliged to subsist on a kind of earth called Barkilda by the Mongols.† On the south side of the Tobakhan mountain he subdued the four clans of the Choros,‡ under their chief Bajira Shigetshin, after which the princes, father and son, set out on their return home. Meanwhile Setzen Khungtaidshi sent messengers from Bulungkir, where he then was, to Baghatur Khungtaidshi with the message, "Esselbei Kia is regarded by his own people as their eye, and is not the man to treat us treacherously; as we have decided to divide the Khoits and to break their power, we may as well leave the matter in his hands." Baghatur, who was then apparently in the Khoit country and had Esselbei Kia in his hands, was dissatisfied with this proposal and would not give the messengers an audience. Esselbei Kia, who was flattered by the good opinion of him Setzen Khungtaidshi had expressed, drew out of the kettle the best piece, namely, the four great ribs, and put them before the messengers, who thereupon set out on their return. When Baghatur learnt this he flew into a great rage and attacked Esselbei Kia with the words, "You have consumed the best half of a whole horse, the four ribs on either side next to the shoulder pieces. The proverb says, 'that he who dips his finger in another's milk will not scruple to capture another's herd.' So you have dipped your hand in my kettle, and acted the master against my will. You had better have the culprit finger eaten." Those of the four Uirads who were present, angry at this insult, plotted together, while Esselbei Kia stamped with his foot, threw down the rest of the flesh and said, "I have not eaten the

* Saml. Hist. Nach., i. 37.

† This is probably the so-called stone butter mentioned by Pallas in his Travels, ii. 88, 656, and 697; and iii. 258. Schmidt, Ssanang Setzen, 413.

‡ ? A section of the larger division of the same name.

four horse ribs, but the eight ribs of my father Sutai Minghatu will come, and are not far off." Upon which he collected an armed force, with whom he on the following night attacked Baghatur Khungtaidshi in his camp on the river Kerchissun, killed him, and then retired from that country. This was in 1575.*

Pallas says nothing of the reason for Esselbei's outbreak, but merely describes that event. He says he furtively collected a number of resolute men and gave some of the Uirad princes notice of his intention. He told them that they should feign that they wished to do homage to the Mongols in the ancient fashion. Following his advice, they prepared a rich train laden with presents, borne by caparisoned camels. He and the bravest warriors hid themselves in the dossels which camels carry on both sides so that each camel carried two men, armed with good sabres. When the convoy arrived in the Mongol court, where all the great men had assembled, and after the preliminary ceremonies the camels were unladen, the hidden warriors came out, fell upon the Mongols present, and caused a great slaughter. The Uirads then fell upon the Mongol army in its first consternation, and compelled it to abandon their land, and to give the Uirad princes their freedom and a just alliance. Esselbei now became the head of the Uirads, except only a few who, to escape submitting to him, fled to Bukharia. But whilst each of the Uirad princes willingly surrendered to him the headship, he proved himself unworthy of the position, and abandoned himself to drunkenness. At length there arose great hostility against him, and a certain Torgut called Abuda Budshi (*i.e.*, Abuda the shooter, because he was the first to use fire-arms), with the assistance of some other Kalmuk princes (among whom Shuker, an uncle of Galdan's, whose life Kia had once saved, is named), captured him and had him killed by a common Kalmuk named Ulan.

The Kalmuk chronicles report that in this war a whole army of Mongols, under Ushi Khungtaidshi, was surprised in the night and slaughtered. His horse Urruk Shorkhal alone survived, and conveyed the news of the death of their husbands to the widowed Mongol women. Upon which Deere Zazen Khatun, the wife of Ushi, who was then pregnant, collected an army of armed women and marched against the Kalmuks. She was, however, wounded by Abuda Budshi in the under lip with a bullet. The boy who was the offspring of this Amazon, says Pallas, was born without any thumb on his right hand, and was thence known as Mukhor Lusang (*i.e.*, the crippled Lusang).† The death of Esselbei probably occurred at the end of the sixteenth century, coincidently with the rise of the rival Kalmuk power of the Sungars, who for a while were predominant among the Western Mongols, and to whose history we will now turn.

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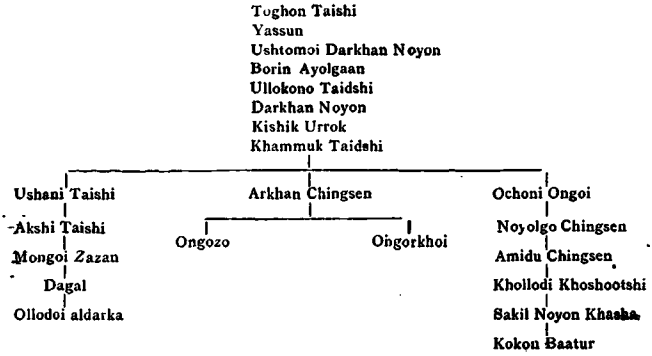
* Ssanang Setsen, 217 and 219. † Pallas, Saml. Hist. Nach., i. 37, 38.

The Sungarian royal house is traced up by the Kalmuks to the great chiefs of the Uirads who have occupied us largely already, Toghon Taishi and Essun. The table as given by Pallas is as follows :—



Ollodoi and Kokon were the last of their respective lines, so that the family of Arkhan Chingsen inherited the family patrimony. Arkhan Chingsen is made the father of Ongozo and Ongorkhoi, between whom the patrimony was divided.*

The two sections were respectively known as Sungars and Derbets. The latter I shall consider presently.

Ongozo was the stem-father of the Sungarian royal race, and was succeeded by his son Bulai, or Abuda Ablai Taidshi. Up to this point I have no means of checking this account, and merely repeat it from Pallas, who collected it from the native chroniclers.

Here however I find myself at issue with Pallas and those who have followed him. Bulai's son he calls Kharakhulla. This is a name not known to the Chinese authors, but it occurs in the Russian authorities consulted by Fischer and Müller,† and Pallas tells us it is a famous name among the Kalmuks. He derived it from having killed a wild beast of the species Kharakhulla,‡ and it was therefore merely an epithet, and is in fact so used by Pallas, who gives us his real name, namely, Khutugaitu.§ Pallas makes him be succeeded by his son Baatur Taidshi, who, he tells us, as early as 1616 left his father and settled on the Irtish, and he would have us believe that while the father was a wretched fugitive driven into Siberia by the Khalkhas, that the son was flourishing in the neighbourhood of the Saissan lake, and that the father survived till 1635, when Baatur at length secured the whole of his heritage. It is not the custom for the

* Pallas. Saml. Hist. Nach., i. 34, 35. † Sib. Gesch., 443. Saml. Russ. Gesch., viii, 280, &c.

‡ This animal Pallas says lives in the Altai, and the Volga Kalmuks who only know it from hearsay, describe it as very fierce and like a lion, with a thick hairy neck and of a dark brown colour.

§ Op. cit., i. 36.

Mongol Khans, to use a graphic Lancashire phrase, "to pull off their shirts until they go to bed" (*i.e.*, to divide their empires with their sons while still living), nor is it the custom of the Mongols to divide their allegiance in this way. I believe that Khutugaitu and Baatur Khungtaidshi were in fact the same person. Baatur and Khungtaidshi are both of them titles, and were given, as I believe, to Khutugaitu for important services he rendered the Dalai Lama. This view is made almost certain when we turn to the Chinese accounts, which tell us that the father of Galdan (who, in Pallas, is Baatur Khungtaidshi) was called Hotohochin, who took the title of Patur Taidji.* Hotohochin is merely the Chinese transcript of Khutugaitu, and we are here expressly told that he took the title of Patur (*i.e.*, Baatur). I believe, therefore, that Pallas has mistaken the two names of one chief for the names of father and son, and I shall treat the two as one person.

According to the Chinese, Khutugaitu settled north of the Altai (*i.e.*, of the Ektag Altai), whence he and his people were known as Northern Eleuths.† Pallas tells us that Baatur Taidshi (*i.e.*, the same person) settled on the Irtish, where he subdued several petty princes.‡ It was probably this migration to the north which led to his people being called Sungars. Sungar, or Segon gar as Ssanang Setzen has it, means right wing, and is used often by that author as the correlative of Baraghon gar, or left wing. The previous inhabitants of the Irtish valley were apparently the Torguts,§ and Baatur married a daughther of Urluk the Torgut chief. The two leaders are found sending envoys jointly to the Russians, as we shall see presently. As the Torgut migration took place during Baatur's reign over the Sungars, it is not improbable that the domestic quarrel previously referred to‖ which caused it was between Baatur and Urluk.

In the valley of the Black Irtish Baatur came in contact with both the Russians and the Altan Khans of the Khalkhas. The former had recently broken up the Khanate of Siberia and the country of the upper Ob, and Yenissei was very unsettled. The Sungars made claims to the allegiance of the Barabinski and other Turkish tribes in the neighbourhood of the Tara, who they said had been their subjects from time immemorial, and from whom they had the right to collect tribute. Accordingly they entered this district in 1606 to assert their claims. The Russians collected a force of Tatars and Cossacks from the towns of Tobolsk, Tumen, Turinsk, and Tara, and marched against them but failed to drive them away.¶ In the following year a small body of them were allied with the sons of the dispossessed Siberian Khan Kuchum in making a raid beyond the Tara upon the districts of Tobolsk, Tumen, &c.** After this, some of the Tatars of the Tara district having deserted to them,

* Mems. sur la Chine, i. 331. Note. De Mailla, xi. 79.
† Mems. sur la Chine, i. 331. De Mailla, xi. 79. ‡ Saml. Hist. Nach., i. 39.
§ Ssanang Setzen, 211. ‖ Ante, 561.
¶ Fischer, Sib. Gesch., 354. Müller, op. cit., viii. 66-69. ** Fischer, op. cit., 354.

they returned in their company about 200 strong and ravaged the neighbourhood of the city of Tara. The Voivode there, Ivan Mosalskoi, sent envoys to them to demand the return of the deserters, and to invite them to submit to the Russians, to pay tribute, and to go to Tara to do homage. This they declined to do, and alleged further that they knew nothing of the deserters.* The inhabitants of the Tara district had been accustomed to get their salt in the steppes of the Irtish, and thence supplied the whole country with that article, which was a monopoly in their hands. In 1610 and 1611 the Kalmuks asserted claims to these salt mines and refused permission to the Cossacks, &c., to take salt from them. A great scarcity of salt was the consequence, and in 1611 a large body of armed Tatars assembled at Tara determined to march and maintain their right; but the cause of strife was partially removed when, two years later, namely, in 1613, a fresh mine of salt was discovered in the salt lake of Yamish.

The Kalmuks having discovered that this policy was not wise, adopted another, and in 1615 envoys went to Tara from three of their Taishis, Bagatir (*i.e.*, Baatur), Turgen, and Urluk. After staying thirteen days they returned home. The following year Baatur and some other Taishis swore the oath of allegiance to the Russians before two Cossacks who had been sent to them from Tobolsk, but the whole matter was only nominal and a farce, and no doubt had some ulterior object.†

In 1618 the Russians defeated a body of Kalmuks in alliance with the Siberian princes on the steppe between the Irtish and the Tobol, and captured seventy camels. In one of their skirmishes they captured a Bakshi, an inferior grade of Lama or neophyte, and we are told the Kalmuks offered fifty horses as his ransom.‡

Meanwhile the Sungars were embroiled in a contest with their powerful neighbour in the east, the Altan Khan of the Khalkhas. About 1620 Kharakhulla seems to have captured his capital, which was on the Ubsa lake, and carried off much booty and many prisoners.§ He was at the head of 4,000 men. But the Mongols returned upon him so swiftly that he not only lost all he had won but had to fly with only one son and to leave his wife and children behind. He escaped to the Ob and fortified himself at the outlet of the river Chumish.‖ Others of the Sungars found refuge on the Irtish, Tobol, &c.¶

The Russians were uneasy at the arrival of these visitors, who were given to plunder and unstable. Although fugitives they seem to have offered their aid to the Siberian princes whom the Russians had dispossessed, and gave them other causes for apprehension. Not only the Sungars but the Derbets also, under their chiefs Dalai and Mergen,** were at this time refugees in Siberia. Fischer describes also the doings of a

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* Fischer, op. cit., 357. Müller, op. cit., viii. 81.

† Fischer, op. cit., 357-359. Müller, op. cit., viii. 87. ‡ Fischer, op. cit., 360. § Ante, 464.

‖ Pallas, op. cit., 37. Müller, op. cit., viii. 280. ¶ Fischer, 443. ** *Vide* infra.

Kalmuk Taishi whom he calls Sengul. He seems to have rebelled against the encroachments of Baatur upon the power of the petty princes, and he courted the friendship of the Russians, finding enough for his prowess in attacking the Mongols, Kirghiz Kazaks, and Nogays. The Bashkirs, the Barabinski, and others also felt his arm. In 1623 he sent some envoys to the Russians, but the latter did not consider it good policy to continue the intercourse, and as he felt himself slighted he ravaged the district of Tumen. Baatur seems to have extended his influence on all sides, and especially punished the Kerghiz Kazaks, many of whom he captured and sent on to Tumen to be exchanged against Kalmuk prisoners.* On the other hand he was unfortunate in his struggle with the Khalkhas, and was again defeated by them in 1623. But we now reach a period when the internal policy of the Mongol tribes, both the Eastern and Western Mongols, was greatly revolutionised. This was the effect of the introduction of Lamaism among them. It had been introduced among the Eastern Mongols about forty years before.† It had now spread also among the Kalmuks, among whom it was introduced by a Lama named Zagan Nomien Khan, and so deeply had it taken root that each of the three great chiefs, Kharakhulla of the Sungars, Dalai Taishi of the Derbets, and Urluk of the Torguts, had dedicated a son to the monastic life.‡ It is no doubt at this epoch that we must date the peace which was made between the Mongols and Kalmuks, through the intervention of the Lamas, and especially of the Mongol Khutuktu,§ and which no doubt led to a great increase in the power of Baatur. The Kalmuks appear almost annually in the Russian records, either as plundering the frontier, taking yassak or tribute from tribes subject to the Czar, or helping the Siberian princes in their expeditions.

It would seem they were now determined to prevent the Russians from getting their salt at the lake Yamish.‖ They accordingly in 1634 posted themselves 2,000 strong in its neighbourhood, and the Russians who had gone there took shelter at the nearest village on the Irtish. When they found they could not entice them out they determined to try and surprise Tara, and to cover their operations they spread the report that they intended to fight the Kirghiz Kazaks, but the deceit was soon discovered when the Taishi Kuisha with his sons Ombo and Yalsi entered the district of Tara and ravaged the whole land with great cruelty; they then laid siege to the town and pressed it hard, but troops at length arrived from Tobolsk, and in the engagement which was fought outside, the Kalmuks were beaten and had to surrender the booty they had captured.¶ Meanwhile another body, who were doubtless Derbets, made an attack on the district of Tumen under their leader

* Fischer, op cit., 448. † Ante, 514. ‡ Pallas, op. cit., i. 26. § *Id.*, 39.
‖ This lake is about half a day's journey from Semi Palatinsk. Müller, op. cit., viii. 88.
¶ Fischer, op. cit., 568-571.

Dalai Taishi, and retired with their plunder to their trysting-place on the river Ishim. The Russians of Tara and Tumen combined and marched against them there, but only overtook a small body, some of whom they captured at the wood Kosh-karagai. They then exchanged them for Russian prisoners.* Like the Indians of our day they left their women, children, and old folks in camp to look after the herds while the warriors marched off to plunder. Such a camp was passed through by a Cossack who went as an envoy to the Taishi Kuisha in 1637.† In 1638 the Cossacks, who went to get salt at the lake Yamish and who were led by Bogdan Arshinskoi, invited the Kalmuks in its neighbourhood to a conference, where peace was made. The Kalmuks promised not to molest the Russian settlements nor to attack the Russians who happened to be out hunting or fishing, and also gave them permission to get their salt there, and even furnished sumpter beasts to carry the salt to their boats.‡ These transactions and struggles on the Russian frontier were no doubt carried on with small detached clans or tribes, who although subject nominally to the head of the race had many small skirmishes on their own account. It is time we should once more turn to the main horde and its leader Baatur. This seems to have migrated once more to its old quarters on the Ili. In 1634 he made a successful raid upon the towns south of the Tien Shan mountains, and the following year received the patent of Khungtaidshi from the Dalai Lama and also the title of Erdeni Baatur.§

He now seems to have courted the friendship of the Russians. We find him ordering his viceroy north of the Altai, who was named Kula Taishi and who lived between the Ob and the Irtish, to restore some families of Tatars from Tara, whom he had carried off, and also sending back 100 families (who had deserted the Russians) with 1,000 horses.‖ The people of Tara upon this sent presents of cloth for him, his brothers, and Kula. This led to the exchange of messengers and the promise on the part of the Khungtaidshi to restrain his people from injuring the Russians and to assist them in the portage of their salt from Yamish.¶ Baatur sent envoys to ask for presents, and asking also that they themselves might be sent on to Moscow, but at this period orders had been issued that no Kalmuk messengers should be sent on there. Among the presents asked for were a suit of armour, a gun, and some lead (for shot), ten sows and two boars, a couple of game cocks, and ten small sporting dogs. Fischer tells us that at this time he was building some fixed dwellings for the Lamas, and wished to introduce agriculture among his people. The chief of these fixed settlements was called Kubak Sari. Pallas says he

* *Id.*, 570, 571. † *Id.*, 572. ‡ *Id.*, 573.

§ The title of Khungtaidshi, which answers in substance to Gur Khan and also to the Sultan of Sultans of the Turks, that is, puts its owner at the head of the hierarchy of princes, means the swanlike prince. See Pallas, Saml. Hist. Nach., i. 39.

‖ Fischer, 595, 596. ¶ *Id.*, 596. ** *Id.*, 602, 603.

spent most of his time in beautifying and cultivating his country, and was known as the Shepherd Prince.* In 1640 a present of 400 rubles' worth of silver work, silk, and cloth, was sent from Moscow for him and his deputy Kula.† Orders were also sent to buy the swine, dogs, and fowls in Siberia and to send them to Yamishewa, whence the Khungtaidshi could send for them. It was two years before this could be done, a good proof of the poverty of the Siberian settlements in such things.‡ This present aroused the envy of Shuker, Baatur's brother, who complained that he, who had shared in his brother's act in returning the deserters, &c. had been forgotten, while Kula, who was only a Koshutshi, had been remembered, and he accordingly sent envoys to Tobolsk to ask for presents.

The Kirghises who lived on the Abakan and its neighbourhood were the victims, as I have shown, of the Altan Khans on the one hand, and of the Russians on the other. To escape from this position they now began to migrate, and did so into Kalmuk territory, upon which the Kalmuks claimed the exclusive right of taxing them, but as the Russians still imposed yassak upon them, Baatur in 1641 made reprisals by claiming yassak from the Barabinski Tatars. A Cossack named Ilyin was sent with presents to his court to treat about this, but found him absent on an expedition against the Kirghiz Kazaks, and had an interview with his wife Dara Uba Saltsha, the daughter of Urluk Taishi, who detained him till her husband's return.

When this dispute was settled Baatur raised another question, and accused the Cossacks of Kusnetz of having attacked the small tribe of the Kersagalen (who lived on the upper Tom, and who were his subjects), of having killed some and captured others for whose ransom they asked an exorbitant sum. This also was explained as a mistake which had been made by the Cossack Ilyin, who fell on the Kersagalen when he ought to have attacked the Telenguts.§ I have said that when the Russian envoy Ilyin went to Baatur's camp the latter was away fighting with the Kirghiz Kazaks. He had been involved in war in 1635 with their great chief Ishim Khan (with whom Abulghazi had sought refuge in his distress), and had captured his son Yangir Sultan. The latter having escaped, persistently molested the Kalmuk settlements, and Baatur determined to crush him effectually. In 1643 he collected a force of 15,000 men, and was also joined by the Alat-Kirgisi (? the Kirghises of the Ala Tau) and the Tokmani with a force of 10,000 men. Yangir could only muster 600, with whom he ventured to oppose him. He planted one half of them in a fort in a defile, and the other half behind a mountain, and while the Kalmuks attacked the former he fell on their rear with the latter portion, and his firearms were so effectual that 10,000 (*sic*!!!) of the enemy remained

* Op. cit., i. 39. † Fischer, op. cit., 694. ‡ *Id.* § *Id.*, 608.

on the field. He was soon after joined by Yalantush, another Kazak prince, with 20,000 men, and Baatur was compelled to retire. He carried off, however, the prisoners he had captured in the war, which makes it look as if the account of the battle was a good deal coloured by hyperbole. In this war he was assisted by the two Khoshote chiefs Utshirtu and Ablai, whom I have previously named.*

At this time the chief camp of Baatur was at Kubak Sari, which was near the river Imil. When the Cossack Ilyin returned home he was accompanied by two envoys from Baatur, bearing a letter which was thus worded:—"To the Great Lord and Grand Prince, Baghatur Khungtaidshi sends greeting: We are well and would know how you are. You the Grand Prince and I the Khungtaidshi have hitherto lived in peace together. You are my father and I am your son. The most distant peoples have heard of our goodwill towards one another. If my people and your's trade together they will not plunder one another nor fight against each other, but there will be peace between them. Your people have attacked our subjects the Kersagalen on the river Tom and taken some of them prisoners. If this be known to you, great prince, if it was done by your orders, then return the prisoners without exacting ransom; if it was not, then let the culprits pay us a penalty. They demand a ransom of 400 sable skins for each prisoner, even though only a boy of ten years old. If you will not be so gracious as to order their release without ransom, our old friendship will be at stake. We send you as presents two panther skins, six rutshi (*i.e.*, thick leather used for arm braces in archery), and two horses; and I ask in return for a suit of armour, a gun, four game cocks, and eight game hens. If you want anything from us, great lord, state it in a letter. Permit my envoys to go to Moscow. They take the horses with them."†

At this time there were many Kalmuk fugitives in the Baraba steppe, who had taken refuge there on account of famine. It is said they subsisted on fish which they caught in lake Saissan, which received its present name of Saissan nur (*i.e.*, noble lake) on this occasion from the grateful people. It was previously known as Kisalpu nur.‡

The envoys did not go on to Moscow, and further intercourse between the two nations, including another letter from Baghatur, is described by Fischer.§ The chief grievance between them being the allegiance of the border people, the Kirghises, Kersagalen, and the Tatars of Baraba. At length the Khungtaidshi seems to have grown weary of diplomacy, and in 1649 his deputy Sakil, the son of Kula Taishi, made a raid into the district of Tomsk and laid waste the village of Shagarska. The following year the Russians sent Volodomir Klapikof, a captain of Strelizes, to complain. He found the Khungtaidshi at Kubak sari, where

* Ante, 501. † Fischer, 613, 614. ‡ *Id.*, 615. § Fischer, 615.

he was busy building a stone town; a discussion ensued which showed that Sakil's attack had been provoked by a Russian attack on a Kalmuk settlement, and an offer was made on the part of Baatur to release any Russian subjects he had as prisoners when the Russians had similarly released his people the Kirghises: Klapikof was accompanied home again by some envoys from the Kalmuk chief, who asked for presents. Besides those already named he asked for two carpenters, two masons, two smiths, two gun smiths, a cannon, some gold tinsel, twenty swine, five boars, five game cocks, ten game hens, and a bell. This demand shows how bucolic and agricultural the nomade chief had become, and we now reach the term of his career. Fischer says he died in or before 1660.* Pallas says in 1665.† He may well claim an honourable place in Asiatic history. Not only did he consolidate the scattered Kalmuks into a strong empire, not only did he make his arm felt among all his neighbours, but he had also the talent, so seldom met with among nomades, of inducing his people to adopt more settled habits. This revolution in their customs was doubtless largely due to the Lamas, who now settled in large numbers in Sungaria, and built temples in many places there. Baatur was a prominent figure in the history of the Yellow Lamas, and largely assisted Guushi, the Khoshote chief, in his campaign in Thibet in 1643.‡ By his nine wives he left twelve sons and two daughters. The latter were married to the two Khoshote chiefs Utshirtu and Ablai.§

Pallas tells us that the Kalmuk accounts concur in making Baatur be succeeded by his son Senghé.‖ This is also the testimony of the Chinese authors.¶ Du Halde has a different story, and makes him be succeeded by a son Ontchon, and he again by Senghé.** I can only reconcile these statements by supposing that Du Halde was mistaken in making Ontchon a son of Baatur's, and in fact a Sungar at all, and I would venture to offer a tentative solution of the difficulty. Pallas calls Onchon, Otshotbu Baatur, quoting apparently some passage of Du Halde unknown to me. I also find among my notes that Ontchon was otherwise known as *Otsho* bushotbu Baatur and Bushetu Khan. Unfortunately I have mislaid my reference in this case. On turning to the genealogical table of the Khoshote royal family, which at this time almost rivalled in importance that of the Sungars, we find that the youngest son of Khana Noyon Khongor, the youngest in fact of the Five Tigers,†† was called *Buyan Otchun Baatur*.

Pallas tells us nothing of him beside his name, but that name is so very like the one that we are discussing, that there is very great probability of its representing in fact the same person. This is increased

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* *Id.*, 624. † Op. cit., i. 39. ‡ Ante, 517. § Pallas, op. cit., i. 39.
‖ Saml. Hist. Nach., i. 40. ¶ Mems. sur la Chine, i. 331. Note. ** Du Halde, iv. 154.
†† *Vide* ante, 501.

when we turn to the Chinese accounts and find it there stated that after Utshirtu Khan and Abatai Khan (*i.e.*, the two Khoshote chiefs already named)* Chetchen *Ombu* having won a great victory over those who wore white caps, was given the titles Baatur and Tusietu Baatur Tagtsing by the Emperor. The same account makes him, and not Guushi, the father of Dalai Khan, the Khoshote chief of Koko nur. The comparison of these names, and the fact that the Khoshote chiefs were so nearly connected in marriage at this time with the Sungars, makes it far from improbable, therefore, that the Ontchon of Du Halde was no other than the youngest of the Five Tigers, and so I shall treat him. I will now transcribe the curious Saga about him told by Du Halde. He says that "during a war with the Kazaks he happened to fall ill of small-pox in his camp, and was abandoned by his followers according to their custom. He was found in his tent by the enemy, who took care of him. He did not discover who he was, and was kept by them as a common slave, during which time Senghé, who did not doubt that he was dead, married his wife. But at the end of three years, Ontchon having disclosed who he was to the Kazaks, and having promised them that if they restored him his liberty and gave him a guard of 100 men as an escort, that he would never renew the war against them, they restored him to his liberty. Having arrived on the frontier, he sent a courier to Senghé to apprise him of his adventure and return, who, surprised at this unexpected news, immediately went to Ontchon's wife, who was now become his own, to ask her what she would determine in such a conjecture. The woman, who had acted with honour, replied that she had only married him in the persuasion that her first husband was dead, and that therefore since he was living she was indispensably obliged to return to him again. But Senghé, who was equally enamoured with her and her fortune, as he had got possession, was resolved to keep it. Wherefore, under pretence of complimenting the prince on his return, he despatched certain persons whom he could trust with secret orders to murder him and all his retinue, which being executed accordingly, he gave out that he had defeated a body of the Buruts." This naïve account I have abstracted from Gerbillon's account in Du Halde, altering it only so as to make it consistent with the above correction.

It would seem that Senghé in fact succeeded his father Baatur. In 1657 he fought against Lobdzang Khan on the Yenissei and the same year laid siege to Krasnoyarsk.† Senghé was own brother to Galdan. His father Baatur had two sons by another wife, who where named Setzen and Baatur. They were jealous of Senghé, as they deemed their portions too small; they accordingly attacked him several times and eventually killed him.‡ They thought to seize upon the succession

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* Ante, 502. † Pallas, op. cit., i. 40. ‡ Mems. sur la Chine, i. 332. Note.

but were prevented by the Saissans, who at the instigation of his widow had them killed.* The Chinese accounts make them the victims of their brother Galdan. The latter had been placed when young in the service of the Grand Lama, and was himself a Lama. He resigned all his rights to the succession to his brother Senghé. On the murder of Senghé, Galdan, who was always of a warlike and turbulent disposition, unlike what a Lama should be, got dispensation from the Grand Lama to renew his rights, attacked his brothers, killed them, and caused himself to be declared Taidji.† Galdan was born in 1645. Pallas says that at the beginning of his reign he was assisted with the advice of his brother's widow Ana Dara, a daughter of the Khoshote Utshirtu, whom he seems to have married. His first war was against his uncle Shuker, a very turbulent person, whose raids upon Thibet I have mentioned elsewhere.‡ In his first encounter with Shuker Galdan was defeated, and in 1673 he took refuge with his father-in-law Utshirtu, with whom he quarrelled, for Pallas goes on to say that in 1676 he at the same time surprised his father-in-law and also Shuker, the latter of whom he imprisoned and killed his son Baga Mandshi, while his grandson Khardu Taidshi, who was then thirteen years old, was lucky enough to escape to Thibet and afterwards to put himself under Chinese protection. Gerbillon says the battle was fought near a great lake called Kizil pu (*i.e.*, lake Saissan).§ Unkowski gives us some details about it. He tells us that at Galdan's accession Setzen Khan‖ lived on the Saissan lake. Galdan quarrelled with him. The quarrel, having smouldered for five years, at length broke out. Setzen Khan advanced by the Sout kol or White sea (*i.e.*, the lake Sairam),¶ and intended to cross the Talki mountains and fall upon Galdan in the valley of the Ili unawares. Galdan, however, was informed of his plans, forestalled him, and attacked and defeated his forces in the mountain passes. He then fled towards the Saissan lake, where he was pursued. He was captured there and decapitated. Many of his people were also slaughtered, while 15,000 prisoners were captured. The Kalmuks have still a legend that after this fight the Saissan lake was tinged with blood for a distance of six days' journey, that its water was afterwards considered unwholesome. Müller puts by the side of the legend the somewhat Philistine commentary that Unkowski had told him that when he passed that way he had used the water both for drinking and cooking.** Galdan acquired great reputation among the Kalmuks from his profession as Lama and from his close relations with the Dalai Lama, and seems to have rapidly won for himself a supreme authority in Sungaria, where he subdued not only his own special people the Sungars, but also the Derbets and

* Müller, op. cit., i. 124. † Mems. sur la Chine, i. 332. ‡ Ante, 517.
§ Du Halde, iv. 157. Ante. ‖ This was Utshirtai Khan's title. Pallas, op. cit., i. 28.
¶ Bretschneider, op. cit., ** Müller, op. cit., i. 125, 126.

Khoshotes. In 1676 he took the title of Khungtaidshi. Fugitives from his attacks began to arrive in China. Thus we read that in 1677 a Jinong of the Eleuths having been beaten by him took refuge there.* Shortly after the people of Kokonur fled in large numbers to the Chinese frontier. One party, several thousands strong, led by the Taishi Merghen holanai tortsi, went with their tents and baggage as if to make a permanent settlement. This was followed by a second migration of 10,000 Tatars, led by the Tsinong Putipatur the Chosba of Lopotsan (?), the Hochetsi of Erdeni,† the Upaché of Sifan (?), and the Upaché of Patai mamu (?). These fugitives arrived in sad plight, and the Emperor Kanghi allowed them to settle on the frontier and ordered them to be supplied with cattle; he also took the precaution of stationing some troops there as guards.‡

About this time an opportunity was afforded Galdan of extending his influence to the south of the Tien Shan range. The Hodjas or saintly families of Kashgar were divided into two rival factions known as the Black Mountaineers and White Mountaineers, who struggled fiercely for power. The Kashgar Khan Ismail, a zealous supporter of the Montenegrin or Black Mountaineer party, drove Appak Hodja, the head of the rival party, from his native country. He retired to Cashmere, whence he proceeded to Thibet, where he so ingratiated himself with the Dalai Lama that the latter dispatched him with a letter to Galdan requesting the latter to re-establish the authority of Appak in Kashgar and Yarkend. Galdan seized this opportunity, conquered the so-called Little Bukharia in 1678, and appointed Appak his viceroy with Yarkend for his capital. The family of the Kashgar Khan was carried by Galdan into captivity to the Ili region and settled in the Mussulman town of Kuldja. From this time until its conquest by the Chinese Little Bukharia was ruled by the Sungarians, who did not interfere with the internal administration of the country but limited themselves to receiving a tribute of 400,000 tiangas per month.§ At this time Galdan's residence was at the mountain Kin chan, two months' journey from Kia yu koan, in the country anciently called Ta wan. In 1679 he sent to ask for an interpreter from the Chinese who knew Chinese, Mongol, and Manchu, and sent to the mandarin on the frontier three horses and a complete suit of sable as a present to the Emperor, in order that he might not oppose his projects in the direction of Sihai or Kokonur the cradle of his race. The presents were accepted and an interpreter sent as desired. The messenger who accompanied him described Galdan on his return as about thirty-six years old, with a severe countenance and as being addicted to drink.

About this time, having conquered Turfan and Khamil and killed the Torgut chief Nasa Mamut, he took the title of Bushtu Khan, till then,

* De Mailla, xi. 82. † *i.e.*, the Khoshotes of Erdeni. *Vide* ante, 502. ‡ De Mailla, xi. 84.
§ Valikhanof's Narrative, translated by Michell, 169.

according to Timkowski,* only used by the descendants of Jingis Khan. On this occasion he sent a present to the Chinese Emperor of certain cuirasses styled sosekia, and much valued; guns, horses, camels, and sable skins. The Emperor in return conferred upon him a state seal of the same authority as that used by the Khalka princes.† This was in 1679. It was at this time that the feud began to arise among the Khalka princes, one of whom, the Tushiyetu Khan, endeavoured to appropriate some of the tribes of the Jassaktu Khan, as I have described.‡ The latter appealed to Galdan, who was very ready to interfere, especially as he resented the presumption of a Lama, the brother of the Tushiyetu Khan, who raised pretensions to rivalry with the Grand Lama of Thibet.

In 1682 the Emperor sent envoys with magnificent presents to the various Khalkha chiefs, and also to Galdan. They went in reality to learn how matters stood in Mongolia. Those who were sent to Galdan consisted of two grandees of the first class, a prince of the Imperial family named Sunko, and others. Their journey is described at some length by De Mailla. The chief envoy reported that having arrived at the frontier of Galdan's dominions, he sent messengers to acquaint him with their journey. They met Galdan at Sarpateou. When he first heard of their journey he expressed surprise, but afterwards congratulated himself that the Chinese, who had not previously sent envoys to his people, should have done him this honour, and stating that he regarded this as the most glorious event of his reign. At Mao li keou the envoys were met by a Saissan or nobleman, who furnished each of the party with a horse, and also thirty horses and ten camels as sumpter beasts, and a large number of sheep for their consumption. At Tsitsiha, one day's journey from the Court, they were met by another Saissan, who again suggested that there must be some occult reason for the embassy. The envoys replied that the empire being at peace their master wished to show his good feeling for the Khan, and had therefore sent them. They also sent to ask how he proposed to receive them. The 28th of the moon was chosen as a lucky day for the audience. Galdan was seated on a mat, his feet crossed in the Tatar fashion. He raised himself from his seat and stooped when he received the Imperial missive, while his grandees on each side received the other presents. The envoys being seated, Galdan referred to the several years' war, by which he had reduced his turbulent subjects, and inquired the motive of the Emperor in sending eight of his young people to study in Tangut (*i.e.*, Thibet, where he wished to retain exclusive influence). They answered in courtly fashion that acquiring new knowledge is like eating a grand feast, it causes joy and contentment to the heart. The following day the envoys were spectators of the Mongol games and the Lama

* Op. cit., i. 144. Pallas, op. cit., i. 40. † De Mailla, op. cit., xi. 87, 88. ‡ Ante, 471.

dances, and the day after, being the new moon, they were invited to hear the exposition of the sacred books. After which they were feasted until the 9th of the month. These festivals, which were held every new year, being concluded, the envoys called attention to the fact that many of Galdan's subjects went to China without passports. Galdan replied that all who went as his envoys or to do homage always went with properly sealed papers, but that many who lived far away from his court, such as the Derbets, Torguts, and Khoshotes, had to go to China so frequently for purposes of commerce, &c., that it was not always convenient to give them papers; but it was at length agreed that unless so furnished they were in future to be stopped at the frontier. The envoys were again feasted before leaving, and Galdan in his turn sent back presents for the Emperor, consisting of 400 picked horses, sixty camels, 300 sable skins, 500 ermine skins, three skins of the chelisun (?), 100 fox skins spotted with white and yellow, twenty yellow fox skins, five pieces of gilt leather, a live eagle of the species called tiao by the Chinese, and four guns.*

For a long period jealousy and other causes had led to a coolness between Galdan and the chiefs of the Khalkhas. I have described at some length the incidents of the quarrel, and how the Tushiyetu Khan of the Khalkhas, by his unfair treatment of the Jassaktu Khan and by encouraging the pretensions of his brother the Khutuktu, at length brought matters to a crisis.†

In the earlier part of 1688‡ Galdan, whose ambitious views were in this instance at least assisted by a plausible pretext, marched at the head of 30,000 men against the Tushiyetu Khan of the Khalkas. The latter and his brother summoned the other Khalka princes to their assistance, and a large army was accordingly assembled to resist the invasion. "The king of the Eleuths saw very well that it would be rashness to come to an engagement with an army so superior to his own; wherefore he only sought to post his troops to advantage, flattering himself that divisions would soon arise in the army of the Khalkas, which accordingly happened. The chief of one of the most numerous standards decamped first in the night with all his forces, Tchetching han (*i.e.*, the Setzen Khan of the Khalkhas) a little after followed his example, and, in short, all the rest made their retreat, leaving Tushiyetu Khan and the Lama his brother with none but the forces of their own standard."§

Galdan continued his advance, and on arriving at Temur (*i.e.*, the river Tamir, a tributary of the Orkhon) he sharply attacked Kaltan the son of Tushiyetu, and of several thousand men whom he had with him hardly a hundred remained. Another body, under the three chiefs Tantsin wen pu, Tantsila, and Tukarharabdan, captured Erdeni tchao and burnt

* De Mailla, xi. 102-106. † Ante, 476, &c. ‡ De Mailla, xi. 114. § Du Halde, iv. 171.

it.* The Khalkhas were panic-stricken, the wife and children of Tushiyetu Khan fled in the night in custody of 300 men, while his subjects deserted their tents and flocks and hurried away, and the Chinese envoy, writing in 1688, describes them as a scattered body of fugitives. Galdan put to death all the Mongols he met with of the family of Tushiyetu Khan, penetrated even to his camp and the ordinary residence of the Lama his brother, burned whatever he could not carry away, and entirely destroyed two fine temples which the Lama had built at great expense. After which he sent some of his troops to scour the country, ordering them to put to the sword all the Khalkhas they met with. They fled on every side.† Many of these fugitives were met by Gerbillon and the embassy which went that year to settle the boundary question with the Russians. Tushiyetu Khan and his brother retired to the southern extremities of the desert, and agreed to submit to the Emperor and to become his vassals. The latter thereupon sent envoys to Galdan acknowledging that he had a just cause for his aggression, but he represented to him that he ought to be satisfied with the humiliation and ruin he had brought upon his enemies.‡ Galdan was inexorable; he replied respectfully that he had undertaken the war to revenge the death of his brother, that he thought no prince would give refuge to so wicked a person as the Khalkha Lama, who had been the author of so many barbarities, and that therefore he was resolved to pursue him wherever he retreated; that the Emperor was also interested in his punishment since he had notoriously violated the promises made to his majesty's ambassadors in the assembly of the states, and shown so little deference to his mediation.§ To the envoys of the Dalai Lama, who seem to have urged him to clemency, he replied, Who will revenge my brother's death if I make peace with the Tushiyetu Khan? Know that I am resolved to continue the war with all my forces for five or six years. I mean to destroy the Khalkas, and shall not be content until I have seen at my feet Chepsuntanpa (*i.e.*, the Tushiyetu's brother) humbled and loaded with chains.‖

He had to postpone his vengeance however, for a while in consequence of troubles nearer home. His elder brother Senghé, to whom he had succeeded, had left several sons, among whom the eldest was Tse wang Arabtan. They were no doubt the legitimate heirs to the Kalmuk throne on the death of Galdan, and as the latter probably had ulterior views in favour of his own family, he seems to have determined to exterminate them. Tse wang Arabtan was betrothed to Hohai, daughter of the Setzen Khan of the Khalkhas. Galdan carried her off. In 1688 Solom Arabtan, brother of Tse wang, who was with Galdan at his camp at Op, died suddenly, and it was suspected that Galdan had killed him. With

* De Mailla, xi. 116. Ante, 477.
† Gerbillon, in Du Halde, op. cit., iv. 171, 172.
‡ De Mailla, op. cit., xi. 125.
§ Du Halde, iv. 172.
‖ De Mailla, xi. 120.

these grievances to revenge, Tse wang Arabtan marched against his uncle, defeated him in the country of Puktakrin habichar, and having recovered his betrothed and revenged his brother's death, he returned homewards.* This happened about 1689, when Horni, an envoy from the Manchu Emperor, was at Galdan's camp. On his return the latter reported that he had been well received. Galdan made inquiries about the Chinese grandees who had been the previous year to the Selinga with a large escort, and was told that it was merely a commission sent to define the limits between the Chinese and the Russian empires.† Horni further explained that the reason why the embassy went by way of the Selinga and not through the country of the Khalkhas was because of the unsettled condition of the latter.‡ Galdan, at a subsequent audience, reciprocated the expressions of goodwill made by the Emperor, against whom he avowed he had no illwill, but he desired vengeance against the Tushiyetu Khan and his brother.§ While Horni was with Galdan envoys also went to the latter from the Dalai Lama with the object of securing peace, but received a similar evasive answer.

Horni on his return home reported that Galdan's people had suffered so much in the recent fight with Tse wang Arabtan that some of them were obliged to eat human flesh for food.‖ He was now sent to the frontier of the Khalkhas country (*i.e.*, to the karong or limits where they were then encamped). News arrived sometime after that Galdan was preparing for a fresh campaign against the Khalkhas, so the Emperor ordered a large army to be in readiness to protect the frontier. It was divided into several divisions, one of which under the orders of Horni was ordered to march to the Kerulon. Soon after a Lama who passed by way of Kia hiu koan reported that he had lately left Galdan encamped at Hopto (*i.e.*, Kobdo), that he had several thousand infantry with him but only few cavalry, and that after resting where he was awhile he proposed to invade the Khalkhas country.¶ Shortly after further news arrived that he had crossed the river Urtcha at the head of 30,000 men, and that he had asked assistance from the Russians, from whom he hoped to get considerable aid. The Manchu Emperor inquired about this from the Russians Kilikuli (?) and Ifanistsi (?), who were then at his court. They could only say that the rumour was without foundation.** Fresh news arrived some days after that Galdan was short of provisions and had killed many of his cattle. In regard to these negotiations with Russia we learn from the narrative of Nicholas Witsen that while Galdan was driving out the Khalkhas he was on very friendly terms with the Russians, whose traders went regularly to Sungaria. In 1688 he sent an envoy named Darkhan Saissan to Irkutsk with a letter

* De Mailla, xi. 224.

† The embassy which had aroused his suspicions was in fact the one which was accompanied by Gerbillon, and of which he has left us an account.

‡ De Mailla, xi. 133. § *Id.*, 134. ‖ *Id.*, 135. ¶ *Id.*, 137. ** *Id.*, 138.

and a present of white cloth with red stripes which was made in his country. In the letter he mentioned the war he had been waging against the Khalkhas, and seems to have asked for an alliance with the Russians.* Galdan was then encamped at a place called Kholdu, not far from Selinginsk.† The Russians were not disposed to embroil themselves in this quarrel, and accordingly replied that if the Mongols attacked him (Galdan) in his own country they would not fail to send troops to his assistance from Selinginsk, Udinsk, and Nerchinsk; but that to assist him in an invasion of the Mongol territory would cause much confusion, nor would it be possible on account of the distance. He was also requested not to molest the Mongol Taishis who had put themselves under Russian protection at Selinginsk and Udinsk.‡ On the return of the envoy a present of straw-coloured and red English cloth (*i.e.*, doubtless yellow and red baize) was sent for Galdan, while some red Hamburgh cloth, brandy, beer, and beef were given him for his own use.§ This was not the only message he sent the Russians. On another occasion he told them that if they would let him have 2,000 or 3,000 good Cossacks, with some cannons, that he would ravage all the borders of China outside the Great Wall.‖ We must now revert to Galdan's struggles with the empire.

The Emperor was quite satisfied that he meant war, and he accordingly told Sunu, an Imperial prince who commanded the Bannermen, to hold himself in readiness. Galdan it would seem did now enter the Khalkhas country, and for convenience of forage followed the course of the Kerulon.¶ Great preparations for a campaign were made at the Manchu court. The Forty-nine Banners of the Mongols, the Eight Banners of the Manchus, and a Chinese Banner were assembled. Before marching the Emperor wrote a letter to Galdan recalling him to the fact that he had invaded the borders of the empire contrary to his promise; that it was his (the Emperor's) duty to protect the weak against the strong, and threatening him with vengeance unless he sent envoys with his submission. He also reproached him with having retained some envoys whom he had sent to him, namely, the Khutuktu, Ilakuefan, and others.** A few days later the Emperor heard from Horni that he had attacked a body of 20,000 Eleuths encamped on the river Hurhoei. These Eleuths had made a raid upon the country of Utchun-kutsin, and had captured a large number of prisoners and much booty. The Imperial forces were at first successful, but became demoralised, and instead of pursuing the Eleuths began to appropriate the booty, the latter turned upon and seem to have completely routed them.†† This defeat caused considerable chagrin at the Imperial court, more especially as it was brought on by the aggressiveness of the

* Müller, op. cit., i. 425, 426. † *Id.*, 427. ‡ *Id.*, 428. § *Id.*, 429. ‖ *Id.*, 434.
¶ Du Halde, iv. 174. ** De Mailla, xi. 141, &c. †† De Mailla, xi. 145.

Imperial forces. The Emperor at once prepared another army. "He at first designed to have commanded it in person, and had sent me orders to follow him, but at the instance of the council and the grandees of the empire he altered his resolution and gave the command to his eldest brother (Hoché yu tsing wang), whom he created generalissimo, with whom he also sent his eldest son (In-ti) and the principal of his council. Galdan, who was apprised of their march, attended them with great resolution about eighty leagues from Peking.* This prince was very advantageously posted, and though he wanted artillery, with which the Imperial army was well provided, and had but few troops, yet notwithstanding the inequality he accepted the offer of battle. At first his vanguard suffered very much from the enemy's cannon, which obliged him to change his order of battle, but as he was posted behind a great marsh, where the Emperor's army could not surround him, he defended himself with great bravery till night, when each party retired to their camp. The grand master of the artillery, who was also uncle to the Emperor by the mother's side, was killed about the end of this action by a musket shot, as he was giving orders for withdrawing the cannon." This is the account of the battle by Gerbillon, who was a neutral witness, and it qualifies considerably the account given by the Chinese annals translated by De Mailla, which, after claiming a victory, proceed to recount the punishment of the generals for not having made it complete. But to continue Gerbillon's account:—"The following days were spent in mutual negotiations, the result of which was that the king of the Eleuths should retire with the remainder of his forces, but first take an oath before his Fo never to return into the territories of the Emperor or those of any of his allies. In his retreat a great part of his army perished by want."† Galdan refers to this arrangement in a letter to the Russian court, and makes out it was a truce for a year that was agreed upon.‡

Tse wang Arabtan had quarrelled with his uncle, as I have said, and the Manchus sent envoys to gain him over to them. Meanwhile Galdan continued his policy of aggrandisement, and the various tribes from the river Kerulon to the Koko nur lake felt the weight of his hand, and he seems to have effectively subdued the Khalkha country and also that of the Kirghises or Buruts. Meanwhile he intrigued in various directions. Ambition, say the Chinese annals, became his only god. He pretended to be a devotee of Islam to please the Kazaks and Turks, while he sowed dissension among the Mongols by taking up keenly the cause of the Dalai Lama against his rival the brother of the Tushiyetu Khan.§ News reached the Imperial court that his couriers were constantly going to Thibet and to the Mongol princes. Gerbillon reports that he thus addressed the chief of the Korchin Mongols, the most powerful tribe of

* De Mailla names the place Ulan putong, xi. 147.
† Gerbillon in Du Halde, op. cit., iv. 175. ‡ Müller, op. cit., i. 429. § De Mailla, xi. 174.

the Forty-nine Banners, which had been particularly faithful to the Manchu cause: "What can be more unworthy than our becoming slaves to those whom we have commanded? We are Mongols, and united under one law, wherefore let us join our forces and regain an empire which belongs to us and was the inheritance of our ancestors. I shall share with pleasure the glory and fruits of my conquests with such as will share the peril; but if there should be any of the Mongol princes, as I persuade myself there are none, so base as to desire to remain slaves to the Manchus, our common enemies, they may depend on being the first objects of our revenge, and their ruin shall be the prelude to the conquest of China."* The Korchin chief, with praiseworthy fidelity, passed this letter on to his suzereign. The latter began to prepare to punish him. He forbade the Dalai Lama and the Mongol princes to receive couriers unless furnished with letters of authority sealed by the princes who sent them, and he also ordered the garrison of Kue-hoa-ching to arrest all those who had no passports, and wrote a minatory despatch to Galdan, in which he charged him with duplicity, and threatened him with the consequences.† He also began preparations on a large scale for the campaign, and endeavoured to inspire increased zeal by promising to reinstate in their positions degraded mandarins who should prove themselves zealous in that war. Among other preparations, we are told he ordered a great number of quilted cotton cuirasses for the troops.‡ He appointed a grand festival for the first month in 1696, to which he invited the various officers who were destined to command in the expedition. The ceremony was characterised by great pomp, the Emperor sitting on his throne and the various grandees on magnificently decorated seats; on the right were the mandarins who were to command the troops, and on the left those charged with the duties of the commissariat, and the various inferior officers ranged according to their rank. A grand symphony opened the festival. The Emperor having summoned Pé Féyanko, who had been appointed generalissimo, to approach, presented him with the wine cup. The latter received it on his knees, then rising descended the steps of the throne, again went down on his knees, emptied it, and stooped with his forehead to the ground. The other generals were similarly honoured. The Emperor then ordered his body guards to present wine to the inferior officers, who advanced in sections of ten to the foot of the throne and went through the same performance. After the ceremony, which lasted nearly two hours, the grand steward of the household distributed silken pieces to the greater officers.

A few days after it was announced that two armies would march against Galdan; one commanded by Féyanko, the other by the Emperor

* Gerbillon in Du Halde, op. cit., iv. 177. † De Mailla, xi. 175-177.
‡ De Mailla, op. cit., 178.

in person.* A third army was also organised under the orders of the general Sapsu.† Shortly before this time Hömhulan and some other officers of Galdan deserted to the Manchus. They reported that he had passed the spring of 1695 near Kobdo, that he afterwards encamped at the sources of the Kerulon, where he had been joined by the Taishis Ho rabdan, Tantsila, and Tantsin gomup, with some 3,000 men, and that, having followed the course of the Kerulon, he was then (*i.e.*, in the autumn of 1695) at Payen ulan with 6,000 men. His nephew Tse wang Arabtan, who was not friendly with him, was at Keluna-pira. The first division of the Imperial army consisted of 35,600 men, partly Chinese and partly Mongols of the Forty-nine Banners, and Manchus. The second of 37,700 men, chiefly from the garrison of Peking and the province of Pecheli, and probably the flower of the whole force. The third consisted of 35,430. Every body of 10,000 fighting men had from 40,000 to 50,000 retainers, &c., attached to it, so that the whole force was probably little short of a million. The commander-in-chief, Féyanko, made a report on the practical routes leading from Kué hoa ching to Karong (*i.e.*, the limits), beyond which Galdan was supposed to be, and orders were given to dig wells where necessary. Before setting out the Emperor offered a grand sacrifice to heaven; then he went to the hall of his ancestors to acquaint them with his approaching departure. He left the palace by the street Ngan-ting-men, and the gate in the rampart enclosing that part of the city to the camp, attended by the eight banners, his own picked Manchu soldiers. The Manchu canoniers went first, then the Chinese canoniers of the Banners, and lastly the Chinese soldiers. His arrival was signalled by three volleys of artillery. When he reached the camp his officers and soldiers saluted him without dismounting by a profound inclination of the head, and then commenced to march. The princes and people, who were merely spectators and not going forward, formed an avenue on their knees, between which the *cortège* marched. The army was divided into sixteen brigades, two to each banner, and the details of their commands are stated in De Mailla's annals.‡ After again sacrificing and imploring the favour of heaven for his expedition, he set out on the 1st of April, 1696. He was accompanied by the Jesuit fathers Thomas Pereira and Gerbillon, the last of whom has written an account of the expedition. The vast procession of baggage waggons caused much inconvenience, although the season was favourable, the marshy places being frozen hard. Regulations were drawn up for crossing the enemy's country. The baggage was ordered to start at daybreak, no fire was to be lighted before that time, and only one meal was to be made each day. The Emperor and his sons shared in these restraints as an example. The itinerary of the march is interesting when we consider the paucity

* De Mailla, xi. 180. † De Mailla, xi. 183. ‡ Op. cit., xi. 184-186.

of information about the desert of Mongolia. On the 1st day of the third month the Emperor was at Nan keou,* on the 2nd at Yu i,† there he rested. On the 4th day he slept at Cheho, on the 5th at Ching u, where he rested three days. On the 9th day he encamped at Mao eulh ku, and the 10th at Tu che chin,‡ on the 11th at Tsilun,§ on the 12th at Nohai hojo, near the little river of Shantu. On the 13th at Poro Khotun, where the Emperor and his sons and the Khalkha chiefs amused themselves with archery. Having delayed there a day on account of bad weather he encamped on the 15th at the lakes of Kon-nur. There the army was assailed by snow and wind, and we are told the Emperor refused shelter till his soldiers were provided. This bad weather cleared away on the following day, and on the 17th the Tushiyetu Khan of the Khalkhas and his brother the Lama went to pay him their respects. The army now entered a broken hilly country still for the most part covered with snow. On the 18th it encamped at Keizu bulak, near the lake Poyoktei; the 19th and 20th was spent in hunting and resting. On the 21st it encamped at Holbo, between two lakes. The route still lay over sandy downs, and on the 22nd the camp was fixed at Aghirtu; on the 23rd at Uchimuk, near the nitrous lake of the same name, and situated north of a great plain. There they met with very bad weather, snow and wind. They rested on the 25th and 26th at Kaltu, where they again suffered a good deal from the severe weather. The bad roads and weather began now to tell on the sumpter beasts. On the 27th they encamped at Kon-nur; on the 28th at the Chaghan nur or White Lake, where they amused themselves with fishing. The 29th and following day were spent at Hulustai. They now approached a better country, and on the 2nd of May reached the rich pastures of Suritu.

There the regulation about eating only one meal a day was put in force. On the 4th they encamped at Habirghan, on the 5th at Horho, in the country of Karong (*i.e.*, at the limits), on the 6th at Keterku, on the 7th at Targhit, close to a great lake. Those who had gone forward "to prospect" reported that Galdan was encamped on the Tula, eighteen days' march from the Karong. At Targhit the Emperor was joined by the envoys whom he had sent to Galdan and who had been kept prisoners for three months and been meanwhile badly treated. They were sent back with only scant provisions for the journey, consisting chiefly of lean camels and camels' foals, dogs and colts.‖ Having rested for a day the Imperial forces again advanced on the 9th and encamped at Senzen,¶ on the 10th at Kodo, where they stayed till the 12th.

The grandees pressed upon the Emperor the risks that attended him in such a journey, and begged him to return and to leave his troops

* See Timkowski's Map.
† The Yu lin of Gerbillon.
‡ The Tuche tieon of De Mailla's Map.
§ The Chilon Palhatu of Gerbillon.
‖ De Mailla, xi. 193. Note.
¶ The Penze of Gerbillon.

under the orders of their generals. He replied with energy and dignity "that he would do nothing of the kind. Had he not informed his ancestors in solemn fashion of his intentions? Did not every soldier know what he meant to do when he set out? Had not his ancestors won their thrones by encountering danger and difficulty? How could he, sprung from mighty heroes, fly like a woman at the shadow of danger? How could he meet his ancestors after such craven conduct?" Upon this his advisers fell on their knees and asked pardon. On the 13th day of the fourth moon he encamped at Sudetu, on the further borders of the country of Karong. Near there there was an engraved boundary stone of the empire, for the Karu or limiting line passed through the place. This is the northern frontier of the country of the Forty-nine Banners. The cold now began to increase, and the beard was frozen before sunrise. Messengers brought word that Galdan, who had been for some time encamped on the Tula, had retired along the Kerulon, and was when they left encamped at Tarhan. The next day after leaving Sudetu they reached Hulosutai chaka nur, where a stone was found with an inscription recording that Yong lo, the third Emperor of the Ming dynasty, had passed by this route, and doubtless in the same fashion, when pursuing the Mongols, who had been driven from China by his father Hong vu.

On the 16th the Mongol army encamped at Kara manhi-hapirhan, where there arrived a person who had been sent to Galdan by one of the Mongol princes subject to the Manchus with a pretended alliance. He reported that he had been gladly received by Galdan, who said that 60,000 Russians were allied with him, and promised that if his master would join him they would together march upon Peking after they had defeated the Imperial troops, and that the conquered country should be divided between them. The Emperor rewarded this Mongol messenger with a present of 100 taels.*

On the 17th there was a halt; an advance guard of 3,000 Chinese foot soldiers and all the musketeers of the eight banners, to the number of 2,000, with 800 Chinese body guards and 800 Mongol cavalry, and the greater part of the artillery was sent on. They were commanded by the Emperor's eldest son and by Sosan laoye. The troops of the three first standards formed the main army under the Emperor, while the remaining five standards formed the rear guard.†

On the 18th they encamped at Ongon elezu, where they rested the following day. On the 20th they arrived at Sibartai. Meanwhile Feyanku, who commanded the western army that was marching towards the Tula, to cut off Galdan's retreat in that direction, had met with great difficulties, and sent word that he should not arrive there as soon as

* Gerbillon in De Mailla's Note, xi. 198. † *Id.*, 198, 199. Notes.

expected. On the 24th the main army encamped at Chaban pulak, where a halt of several days was made. On the 30th they reached Toring chéri.

The march had latterly become very trying. Once fairly in the desert it was found impossible to proceed with the baggage cattle on account of the yielding sand and the impedimenta; rice and other food was removed to the backs of 40,000 camels; but these also began to give way, especially as Galdan had ordered the grass on the route to be burnt. Meanwhile the Emperor heard worse news of his other two armies. Feyanku had first to make a three months' march, then a great detour towards the west to find water. He was obliged to leave many of his men behind, and arrived on the Kerulon with only 10,000. The third army was in still worse plight, and eventually its commander, leaving the rest behind, went with 2,000 men only, to join Feyanku. The Emperor was naturally very much depressed at this news. He suggested that terms should be made with Galdan, and sent an embassy to him with a proposal including the gift of an Imperial princess for a wife, but the embassy was waylaid and plundered by robbers. The Emperor had written to apprise Galdan of his approach, to tell him he had come to settle the differences that had long divided the Khalkhas and Eleuths, and that it would be prudent for him to submit. The envoys were told they would not be admitted, and that they were at liberty to return with their letters and presents.

On the 4th of June the army encamped at Idu-chilu-aru-pulak, twenty lis from Talan pulak, and the next day at Rukuchel. On the 6th it reached Yentu puritu, and the next day the Kerulon, where it encamped at a place called Erdenitolohak kerlon pulong.

It would seem that Galdan had continued to hope that the Emperor would be frightened by the terrible march across the desert and would never reach him. Now that he found he was mistaken, and not knowing the pressure on the Imperial resources, he thought it prudent to retire towards Sungaria, and when the Manchu army reached the Kerulon it found only his deserted camps (which had been fired), with the debris resulting from a hasty withdrawal. But this retreat had been foreseen, and it was to cut it off that Feyanku had been sent with the second army to the Tula. This army, says Gerbillon, had penetrated by roads hitherto deemed impracticable. As this was the worst part of the desert, being almost naked and badly supplied with water, and containing neither forage nor inhabitants, almost the whole force, even the officers, was reduced to march on foot, while the horses had to be led. Provisions ran short, and for eleven days they had marched without other food than some fragments of horse and camel flesh, and many had died of misery.* They had now reached and were

* De Mailla, xi. 207. Note.

encamped at a place called Chao modo, fixed by the Father Jartoux at 8.40 long. W. of Peking, and 47.42 N.L.* Meanwhile the main army under the Emperor marched westwards along the Kerulon, and Gerbillon, who describes the progress of the cavalcade, tells us that the various colours of the quilted silken doublets of the soldiers, mingled with the gold upon their cuirasses and their gay standards, formed a magnificent spectacle. The Emperor advanced westwards as far as Tono and Suilhitu, when as provisions and forage were running short he turned aside to the more fertile district of Toirin, while he sent a detachment of 5,000 or 6,000 men in pursuit of Galdan. It did not overtake him. He was however waylaid by Feyanku, who, having heard from one of his generals that he was encamped at the outfall of the Terelchi (? a tributary of the Tula), sent his general Chétai with a portion of the army with orders to try and bring on an engagement. Finding the enemy too strong Chétai contented himself with a discharge of musketry and then retired, pursued by Galdan. Feyanku, who was still encamped at Chao modo, dismounted his troops, posted them on a hill, and awaited the onslaught of Galdan. It was a critical position for either army, as retreat was almost impossible. The sustained fire of the Imperial artillery and musketeers, and the vigorous charges which they made, at length broke the ranks of the Kalmuks; they began to retreat. Feyanku now remounted his soldiers, descended from the mountain and pursued the enemy for upwards of thirty li, as far as the outfall of the Terelchi. Two thousand of the Sungars were put *hors-de-combat*, their army was dispersed, their baggage, arms, and herds, with a large part of their women and children, fell into the hands of the victors. Galdan's wife was slain by a musket ball in the confusion; he himself, with his son, daughter, and a few retainers fled westwards, while crowds of his subjects surrendered to the Imperial general. Well might the gratitude of the Emperor overflow towards his victorious troops, for his position had become very critical, and their food had been nearly all consumed.

The captured booty, comprising 6,000 oxen, about 70,000 sheep, 5,000 horses, and as many camels, was a grand boon to the victors, and the Emperor, we are told, did not fail to return thanks to heaven for the victory. A table like an altar was erected on the open space in front of his tent, and upon it was placed a chafingdish, in which were burnt sweet smelling pastiles, and two lighted candles; in front of this the Emperor stood alone, with his face turned towards the south; the grandees were all around on their knees; taking a small glass of spirits, he raised it aloft several times, then emptied it on the ground, stooping low while he did so. Afterwards he received the congratulations of his

* Plath's Mandchurey, 345. Note.

chief officers, each of whom made three genuflexions, and touched the ground nine times with his head, in the fashion prescribed in the ceremonial of the court. The Emperor gave orders that the prisoners who had been captured and the Sungars who had voluntarily submitted should have lands assigned to them outside the gate Chang-kia-keou, one of the gates of the Great Wall, and ordered them to be supplied with cattle, food, &c. He then began his march home again. On the way he amused himself with hunting Mongol antelopes, while the various Khalkha and Mongol princes through whose territory he passed went to compliment him on his success, and received presents. At Holho or Holosutai he was met by the Tushiyetu Khan and his brother the Lama, the real originators of the war. They offered him a present of several horses, and in return received some silk, &c.

Among the officers of Galdan who submitted to Feyanku were the Muhammedan Aptush Khan, the Taishis Chereng or Zeren Chap, Baatur, Kuru merghen, and Hantu; the Saissans Mei, Mamukoin, Erinchin, Hasha, and many others. Ho rabdan, a brave commander, who had fought with considerable skill in the late battle, and had received two wounds there, disappeared after the fight. Galdan himself fled with only a handful of followers.* So great was his fame and so various his resources that the Emperor was far from satisfied that the terrible defeat he had sustained would crush him. He had married the daughter of a powerful chief of Tsinghai or Kokonur named Bushtu Tsinong, and it was feared that he might get active assistance there if he managed to escape so far. The Emperor accordingly wrote to the Kokonur chiefs, as I have already described,† and he also sent expeditions in various directions to try and capture or kill him.‡ He also wrote very pressing letters to him recounting his many offences, yet promising him pardon and even rewards if he would submit.§

In the latter part of 1696 one of the Manchu generals named Tsu leang pu was surprised in the country of Honkin by 2,000 men, who turned out to be Kalmuks.‖ On the 5th of December one of Galdan's chief officers named Tushiyetu-nabur, with eighty followers, surrendered to Feyanku, and was by him sent on to the Imperial camp. He reported that his master had intended to retire towards Hami (*i.e.*, Khamil), until he heard that his retreat there was cut off, that he was now in the country of Saisu churi, and that he still had about 4,000 people with him, most of them women and children, 1,000 only being warriors, who were in the greatest distress.¶ A few days later the Manchu general Honanta captured a party of travellers who were on their way to Thibet. They turned out to be Tarhan ompu an envoy from the Dalai Lama to Galdan, the Saissan Hortao, sent by his son-in-law Bushtu, prince of

* De Mailla, xi. 215. † Ante, 524. ‡ De Mailla, xi. 222. § *Id.*, 233.
‖ *Id.*, 235, 236. ¶ *Id.*, 247, 248. Note.

Tsinghai, and Hochetsi (? a Koshote), sent by Ponchu, another chief of Tsinghai. They were returning home with Galdan's answer, escorting the Tortsi Kumon, who was sent by him as an envoy, his own grandson, and others to the number of eighty. They had left Galdan, who was then encamped at Kurembertsir, on the 5th of the previous month. They announced that he was on the point of retiring towards Pekerchakan with over a thousand men, who still remained faithful to him, that Ho. rabdan was at Chapka kuenchen with an equal number, but that Tantsin ompu had quarrelled with him and retired to the country of Tamir. They reported also that Galdan and his followers had suffered terribly since their great defeat, having neither clothes nor cattle sufficient, and that Galdan was much broken down by his misfortunes. A few days later an envoy from him went to the camp of Feyanku offering submission. He was sent on to the Imperial camp. The Emperor received him seated on a platform, under a splendid canopy or tent. He recounted to him the ill-conduct which had brought his master to this pass. "Speak," he said in conclusion, "if you have aught to say in palliation." "Our misfortunes," said the envoy, "have opened our eyes to wisdom and prudence; we only ask to be accepted as his majesty's faithful subjects. We confess that we have done ill, that our sole object in fighting with the Khalkhas was to plunder them; but repentance ought to command pardon, and I don't doubt that shortly my master will, like the Khalkhas, repose peaceably under the shadow of the Imperial throne."* The Emperor dismissed the envoy with a letter promising that Galdan and his people should share in the riches which China offers those who are faithful subjects, and be forgiven if he would attend the court in person; promising further, that for eighty days the Imperial armies would halt and cease from pursuing him, but that if he failed to return by that time he should be hunted without ceasing. A few days later the victorious general Feyanku was received by the Emperor in his camp at Sar kuto with great distinction. He received his honours with becoming modesty, attributing his victory to the exactitude with which he had followed out the Imperial instructions. Kanghi re-entered his capital on the 19th day of the twelfth moon by the north gate, and sought a much-needed repose in his palace. Early in the following year Galdan's son was captured by the chief of Khamil, and sent as a prisoner to the court. The festivals of the new year were celebrated with unusual rejoicings, and this capture added some lustre to them. He was called Septen Parchur, or rather Sebten Baljur (*i.e.*, long and very happy life), a name given to him by the Dalai Lama. Gerbillon, who was in attendance on the Emperor, describes him as a boy of fourteen, good-looking, dressed in a cloth coat with a fox-skin cap. He had an unhappy

* De Mailla, xi. 251, 252.

embarrassed air. At the audience he fell on his knees before the Emperor, who questioned him about his father, and learnt from him that he was not more than twenty-six days' march from Pulukir, where they then were. The Emperor judged that the garrison of 3,000 men he had at Pulukir would amply suffice for the pursuit of the fugitive. The young prince was sent as a prisoner to Peking.

I have mentioned that Kanghi sent a letter to Galdan, giving him eighty days' grace. The envoys which took it now returned. They reported that only one of them named Pochi was allowed an audience. He had to wait for a long time. At length Galdan appeared. He was seated on a heap of stones in the open plain, and did not permit Pochi to approach him. He thanked the Emperor for his benevolent intentions, and to prove his gratitude he promised to send one of his officers to acquaint him with his real sentiments. After which short audience he mounted his horse and rode away. In all this we see the suspicious, guarded behaviour of a desert chief accustomed to surprises and treacheries. Galdan probably suspected that the envoys were assassins, or at least sent to circumvent him in some way. Two Sungars were afterwards sent by the Emperor. They were also received in audience, and reported the strength of the empire and how those who had been made prisoners, &c., had found a comfortable asylum in China. All this was doubtless wormwood and gall to the proud chief, and we are told he broke off the audience without saying a word to them.* It was evident that his spirit was by no means crushed. So the Emperor hastened on the preparation of the armies which were to further punish him. Feyanku once more advanced at the head of a large force, which numbered 20,000 to 25,000 Manchus and Chinese, besides Mongol and Khalkha auxiliaries, raising it to about 150,000 men. This marched across the great desert. A second army was sent from Liau tung, under Sap su, and marched through a better country towards the Kerulon. Galdan learnt of these preparations, and retired by forced marches to Assaktu hala hotsirhan. Again the Emperor sent an envoy to him, and chose for the purpose the son of Galdan's nurse, that is probably his foster brother, asking him to submit. He also wrote to Tse wang Arabdan. But the drama was nearing its end, and on the 5th of June Kanghi received news from Feyanku that the great Sungar chief was no more. He had died six weeks before at a place called Hochaho mutatai. He had fallen ill at daybreak, and died the same night, and his body had been burnt. The Emperor Kien Lung says he poisoned himself.† Some of his followers surrendered themselves to Feyanku; the rest went westwards to join Tse wang rabdan.‡

The news was very grateful to the Emperor and his forces; the latter were now ordered home again. Deeming that the death of Galdan was

* De Mailla, xi. 267. † Mems. sur la Chine, i. 33. ‡ De Mailla, xi. 279.

the work of heaven, he began by returning thanks to it. In the open plain a table was dressed as an altar, and upon it were placed odours and perfumes. Accompanied by his eldest son, the military mandarins, and the literati, he made the triple genuflexion and saluted the ground with his forehead, and afterwards received the congratulations of the court in his tent. He then ordered the ashes of Galdan to be sent for and despatched to Peking, in order that they might be scattered to the winds as had been done with those of the rebel U-san-kuei; and he also ordered, what seems a cruel and heartless proceeding, that Galdan's young son Septen Parchur should be beheaded and his head exposed on a stake, but he afterwards revoked this sentence. After the death of Galdan his chief general Tantsila, with a few hundred men, wandered about the desert and attempted, it would seem, to reach Thibet. He was attacked by some of the troops of Tse wang Arabtan and his people scattered. Among the captives were the daughter and mother of Galdan, and also the ashes of the latter. After a long correspondence Tse wang Arabtan at length agreed to surrender them to the Emperor. The Draconic code of China condemns all the relatives of a rebel taken in arms to death, but the Emperor exercised his clemency on the present occasion, and both the daughter and son of Galdan were treated with generosity.* His ashes were apparently scattered (having been first reduced to dust) in the presence of the Manchu, Mongol, Sungar, Khalkha, and Chinese soldiers, on the great parade ground outside the city walls.†

Thus ended the career of one of the ablest of the desert chiefs. His achievements may be shortly recited from one of the Emperor Kanghi's own letters. "Galdan was a formidable enemy. Samarkand, Bokhara, Pulut (*i.e.*, Burut), Urghendj, Kashgar, Suirmen (?), Turfan, Khamil, were taken from the Muhammedans, and the capture of more than 1,200 towns prove to what a length he had carried his arms. The Khalkhas in vain assembled their seven Banners, numbering 100,000 men, to oppose him. One year sufficed for their dispersion." Nor can we deny the intrepidity and indomitable courage he displayed in opposing the very superior forces of China, even after he had been robbed of all the resources which can keep together an army in such a wild inhospitable region as Sungaria. In order to understand the influence he possessed among the Kalmuks, which survived so many misfortunes, we must remember that he was a Lama before he became the chief of the Sungars, and was therefore a very considerable person entirely outside his position as Khan, and that the Tipa or secular ruler of Thibet was an attached friend of his. He was a worthy successor of his father and a worthy predecessor of that chief of Kashgar who at this moment is raising a protest against the absorption of everything vigorous in Central

* De Mailla, xi. 305. † *Id.*, 298.

Asia by the Philistinism of China. If his days had been cast at a different period than that of the palmy days of Manchu supremacy, he would doubtless have imitated the Chinese rôle of many other Tatar chiefs of whom Jingis was the type.

Senghé, the elder brother of Galdan, left several sons, the eldest of whom was Tse wang Arabtan, who was born in 1665;* the others were Solom Araptan, Dandshin Ombo, Dugar Arabtan, and Chereng Donduk. Tse wang Arabtan and his two next brothers took part in Galdan's campaign against Utshirtu Khan, and the great reputation they then acquired aroused their uncle's jealousy, for they had the right to the succession. By the advice of an old Lama he put Solom Araptan to death.† Dugar Arabtan fled to the Chinese. He afterwards collected a body of Kalmuks on the upper Yenissei, and was slain by the Khalkha chief Lobzan Khan in 1689.‡ Tse wang Arabtan escaped (having been warned by the Lamas) to the Balkhash Sea,§ where he at first wandered with but seven followers.‖ He seems to have returned and to have gradually acquired a considerable influence among the Kalmuks north of the Tien shan mountains, and to have opposed his uncle on equal terms. The cause of their struggle, according to De Mailla, was that Galdan had appropriated a Khalkha princess to whom he was betrothed. He also charged him with his brother's death. In the fight which followed Galdan was defeated.¶ Tse wang Arabtan was then apparently encamped in the beautiful valley of Borotalas, near the Sairam lake. This was in the year following the fight with the Khalkhas (*i.e.*, in 1689). Galdan seems to have returned home for a while, and was seen at the end of that year by an envoy of the Dalai Lama at Hopto (*i.e.*, Kobdo) with several thousand men. It was then reported that the Khatun Honu and Tse wang Arabtan were marching against him.** They do not seem to have come to blows, however, and we merely hear of Tse wang Arabtan's corresponding with the Imperial court against his uncle. Some fugitives who deserted Galdan in 1695 reported that Tse wang Arabtan was then encamped at the Kéluna pira, that he had no communications with Galdan, and that many of the latter's people were passing over to him.†† In 1696 an envoy from him went to the court with presents for the Emperor, and to complain that only 200 of his subjects were allowed to trade with the empire. Kanghi referred the matter to the tribunal of foreign affairs, who advised that the number should be augmented to 300. The envoys were sent back with a present consisting of twenty pieces of silk, two tea services (one of silver, the other of rare wood), a

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* Pallas, Saml. Hist. Nach., &c., i. 42. † Müller, Saml. Russ. Hist., i. 127.

‡ Pallas, op. cit., 42, and Genealogical Table.

§ Du Halde says that Galdan had hired assassins to put him to death, who, missing their blow, only struck out one of his eyes. Op. cit., iv. 158.

‖ Müller, op. cit., i. 127. ¶ De Mailla, xi. 136. ** De Mailla, xi., 137.

†† De Mailla, xi. 178.

state robe made of doubled fox skin, a sable cap, a girdle ornamented with precious stones, leather boots, and socks made of brocade.* During Galdan's campaign against the Khalkhas he seems to have been superseded by his nephew in his authority over Western Sungaria, and also to some extent in the towns on the flanks of the Tien shan mountains, for we read that in 1696 he had a garrison of 500 men at Turfan.† The town of Khamil and its district was then ruled by its own immediate chief, a Muhammedan named Ebtula tarhanbek or Tarkammebegh.‡ Early in 1697 he appealed to the Manchu Emperor for aid against Tse wang Arabtan, who had threatened him. Arabtan accused him of having crossed the Kalmuk frontiers, of having invaded Galdan's country, and there captured Septen Baljur, the son of Galdan, and some other Sungars. He had also detained some envoys whom Tse vang Rabdan had sent to him; the latter now sent him a minatory letter demanding the return of his envoy, that Galdan's son should be shown to his messenger, and that the other prisoners should be sent to him to Turfan. The prince of Khamil replied that the prisoners had all been sent to China, that he had not invaded Galdan's territory, and that he now considered himself the subject of the Manchus, who had beaten his former master Galdan. Tse wang Arabtan was enraged at this news, and imprisoned seventy persons whom the prince of Khamil had sent to appease his wrath.§ It is clear that however much Tse wang Arabtan was aggrieved at his uncle and determined to punish him, he was not prepared to allow the dependant princes to invade the rights of the Sungarian empire, of which the death of Galdan in 1697 had left him master, and several of the petty chiefs who had followed Galdan now joined him. One of them named Tantsila had apparently some reason for not doing so;‖ perhaps he wished to enrol himself under the Imperial banner. However this was, he was attacked near Khamil by the troops of Tse wang Arabtan and his people were dispersed. In this fight the ashes of Galdan, and also one of his sons and his daughter Chonsi hai fell into the hands of the victor.¶

Pallas makes Galdan put Dandshin Ombo, the brother of Tse wang Arabtan, to death, but this is a mistake. He is clearly the same person as the Tantsin Ompu of De Mailla, who was one of his chief supporters. He had quarrelled and left him after the battle of Chao modo.** When Tantsila was defeated he fled to Khamil; many of his people joined Tse wang Arabtan, and others went to Dandshin Ombo.†† The Emperor wrote the latter a letter in 1697, asking him to submit, and later in the year the general Feyanku, who was encamped at the country of Keker of the Khanghai, came across the envoys whom he had sent with his answer; they told him they were commissioned to submit in their master's name

* De Mailla, xi. 181. † De Mailla, xi. 227. ‡ De Mailla, xi. 257. § De Mailla, xi. 268. ‖ De Mailla, xi. 287. ¶ De Mailla, xi. 288. ** De Mailla, xi. 249. †† *Id.*, 288.

to the orders of the Emperor. They said further, that he was encamped at Hotong kormotu, and Tse wang Arabtan at Polo tara (*i.e.*, Boro talas), twelve days' march from each other, while Ho rabdan, who is perhaps to be identified with Dugar Arabtan, their brother, was at Kara itsis (*i.e.*, the Kara Irtish), six or seven days' journey from Dandshin Ombo, and twelve or thirteen days' journey from Tse wang Arabtan. They reported further, that the country of Hotong kormoto was very cold and that their master had doubtless then left it and gone to *join his brother* Tse wang Arabtan. The Emperor, who was probably afraid of the Sungars coalescing into too strong a power, sent them back with a letter advising their master to submit to him rather than to his brother. He also wrote to Tse wang Arabtan demanding the surrender of the trophies of his victory. The Sungar chief replied to the envoys, "that the war being now ended injuries ought to be forgotten. We ought to have pity for the vanquished; it would be barbarous to think of annihilating them. It is the first law of humanity, and that which custom has always consecrated among the Eleuths."* Tse wang Arabtan sent them a messenger describing the details of the defeat of Tantsila and taking with him Cheren Sanlup, a son of Galdan, and also his mother Pulin. As for the daughter, he said it was not usual for the Eleuths to exact vengeance from the daughters of their enemies, while the ashes of Galdan would not add to the Emperor's triumph. The envoys replied to this "that it was a constant maxim with the Chinese to extirpate the families of rebels taken openhanded." They afterwards had an audience with him himself and urged similar arguments, but in vain, and it was not until after several pressing embassies that he at last reluctantly surrendered the ashes of his uncle and the person of his cousin, Galdan's daughter. The Emperor behaved magnanimously, pardoned her and her brother, and gave them positions of dignity at the court.† About this time Tantsila submitted to the Manchus.‡

Like Galdan, Tse wang Arabtan had to carry on a fierce war with his western neighbours the Kirghiz Kazaks. In a letter which he wrote to the Emperor in 1698 he explained the causes of this war. How Galdan had captured the son of Tuké (? Tevkel), the Khan of the Kazaks, and sent him to the Dalai Lama. How at the earnest request of Tuké he had sent back his son, escorted by 500 men; and how with base ingratitude the latter had put all the latter to death and then made an incursion into the country of Hulijanhan, which belonged to him, and carried off more than 100 families. How his father-in-law Ayuka had sent him his daughter (his own wife) escorted by her brother Santsit chapu, and Tuké had attempted to waylay them; and how he had pillaged a caravan that the previous autumn was returning from the Russians.§ As a result

* De Mailla, *id.*, 292. † De Mailla, xi. 305. ‡ *Id.*, xi 299. § De Mailla, *id.*, 294.

of this war he seems to have subdued a large portion of the Middle Horde of the Kirghiz Kazaks.*

He also subdued the Buruts or Black Kirghises who lived about the Issikul lake, called Tuskel by Müller. They consisted of 5,000 families, and supplied the Kalmuks with a contingent of 3,000 soldiers.†

I have described how Sandship, a son of Ayuka Khan, left his father with the intention of fighting the Sungars.‡ Pallas says he went with 15,000 tents,§ and Müller with 30,000 men. The latter author says he marched through the land of the Bashkirs and Kazaks towards the Irtish. When he arrived at the salt lake of Yamish he turned aside towards the Imil; he intended to take up his winter quarters there. The Khungtaidshi, treating him as his brother-in-law, sent him an invitation to go and see him. Sandship evaded seeing him, and sent an envoy to ask for a free passage through the Sungarian empire to the Dalai Lama. Something having aroused suspicion, they searched and found in the envoy's collar a letter sent by Sandship to the Dalai Lama asking the latter's permission to kill the Khungtaidshi. Tse wang Arabtan now marched himself with a large army, which surrounded Sandship and his followers and captured them. Sandship and his wife and a few others were sent back to Ayuka, while his people were amalgamated with the Sungars and increased their strength very considerably.‖

As I have said, the Tipa of Thibet was a protégé of Galdan's. He had been attacked and driven out by Latsan Khan, the chief of the Thibetan Khoshotes.¶ This revolution meant the displacement of the influence and authority of the Sungars in Thibet, and as Latsan Khan was very friendly with the Manchus, and was in fact little more than their tool, Tse wang Khan was much irritated, and having allied himself with the Khoshotes of Kokonur he sent two armies, one against Si ning fu, where the Dalai Lama was then kept in durance,** and the other across the great desert, against Putala. The former expedition seems to have miscarried.†† The latter was very successful; it was commanded by Zeren or Chereng Donduk, who having successfully passed the desert appeared before Lhassa, which he captured. Latsan Khan took refuge at Putala, but was shortly after captured and put to death.‡‡ The country of Lhassa was ravaged, the towns taken as soon as besieged, and the temples plundered; even that of the grand Lama did not escape. In the latter, great riches, which had been accumulating many years, were captured. "All the Lamas which could be met with were put into bags and laid upon camels in order to transport them to Tartary."§§ The Lamas who constructed the Thibetan portion of the great map of the Chinese empire, which was reproduced by D'Anville, narrowly escaped capture.‖‖

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* De Mailla, xi. 294. Pallas, Hist., &c., 42. † Müller, i. 130. ‡ Ante, 567.
§ Op. cit., i. 69. ‖ Müller, op. cit., i. 131, 132. ¶ Ante, 522. ** Ante, 522.
†† Koeppen, ii. 194. ‡‡ Koeppen, ii. 194. §§ Du Halde, iv. 451. ‖‖ *Id.*

Koeppen has apparently followed Georgi in dating the capture of Lhassa in November, 1717, but Unkowski, the Russian envoy, who was at Tse wang Arabtan's court in 1722, and has left us some details of Sungarian history at this period, dates it in 1709 and 1710, and he could hardly be mistaken. The Thibetans seem to have appealed for succour to the Manchu court, and in 1712 or 1713 a strong army of Mongols and Chinese marched against him. It had already passed his border town of Khamil when the Khungtaidshi heard of it. A considerable army was assembled under Chereng Donduk and other Saissans, which marched against the enemy as far as Turfan. The Manchus had to pass a mountain, at whose foot the Kalmuks lay concealed. The latter suddenly attacked them at daybreak and scattered their army. A portion of them took refuge at Khamil, but were apparently pursued there, and Khamil itself was captured and levelled with the ground.* This event is no doubt that referred to in the narrative translated by Hyacinthe in Timkowski's travels, where we read that the Thibetans having sought aid from China "the court of Peking sent an army commanded by General Olunda. The troops of the rebel were going to retreat to the north, but being seduced by the black Lamas they returned and *ventured to oppose the Chinese battalions*."† Such is the diplomatic language under which the defeat is concealed. To continue Unkowski's story. He says that two years after, a great army, numbering 100,000 men, marched from China against the Kalmuks. This rebuilt the city of Khamil, and having made the road to Turfan easily passable by building some small towns on the way (the Kalmuks were away), succeeded in capturing Turfan. It was fortified, and remained afterwards subject to the Chinese.‡ They do not seem on this occasion to have advanced further into the Kalmuk country, but turned aside into Thibet, which they effectually subdued, as I have described.§

In 1717 the Chinese advanced as far as the river Kharashan (? Kharashar), to the town of Tzalish, where they were repulsed by the Kalmuk garrison. In 1719 another Chinese army marched over the Mongolian desert (*i.e.*, probably through northern Sungaria) and approached the Saissan lake, where the most northern subjects of the Khungtaidshi lived. As the attack was unexpected the Chinese succeeded in carrying off a considerable booty in cattle and prisoners and nearly captured Galdan Chereng, the heir to the Kalmuk throne. The strife with the Chinese continued until the Emperor Kanghis's death, and almost every year there was a struggle between them.‖

This is amply confirmed by the Chinese accounts, which speak, however, from a different point of view. They state that after the withdrawal of the Imperial forces Tse wang Arabtan attacked his neighbours and

* Unkowski, Müller, Saml. Russ. Gesch., i. 135. † Timkowski, i. 452.
‡ Müller, Saml., &c., i. 136. § Ante, 532. Note 2. ‖ Müller, op. cit., i. 136.

increased his power, and more than once ravaged Si tsang (*i.e.*, the tribes of the Thibetan frontier).* He also attacked the Mongol tribes under Chinese protection. As he knew the country well he evaded the troops sent against him by Kanghi, and when beaten in one place reappeared in another.† "Like wolves, who at the sight of the huntsmen scatter to their dens, and at the withdrawal of danger assemble again round the prey they have abandoned with regret. Such was the policy of these desert robbers."‡ Yong cheng, the successor of Kanghi, withdrew the Imperial forces from China, and allowed the desert tribes to fight it out among themselves; he merely supplied the Mongols on the frontier with men, pay, and provisions. Tse wang Arabtan made a show of deference to these preparations, but he strengthened himself elsewhere.

The Kalmuk hold upon the towns of the so-called Little Bukharia remained firmly fixed during the greater part of the reign of Tse wang Arabtan. It would seem that at his accession they attempted to withhold their tribute, but he attacked the Khan of Yarkend and carried him off, with many other chiefs with him, to the valley of Ili.§ It is probably this struggle which is referred to by Captain Valikhanof: he says that the Hodja Appak, having lost some credit among the Mussulmans (probably by his alliance with Galdan),‖ proclaimed his brother Khan Ismail Muhammed Emil, from Ush Turfan, Khan, and then prevailed upon him to attack the Sungarians. The latter fell on the Kalmuk camps and returned with 30,000 prisoners of both sexes, and a great quantity of cattle and booty; but was afterwards so frightened at his own intrepidity that he fled to the mountains, where he was killed by one of his own guides.¶ The strife continued there between the Black Mountaineer party, of which Hodja Daniel was the moving spirit, and the White Mountaineers, of which Ahmed Hodja was chief. Some time after the above raid, we are told that "the Kalmuks, who until then had not been able to resent the inroad of the Kashgarians, arrived at Yarkend with a large force. Daniel, with the view of gaining the favour of the Sungarians, joined their troops with all his Yarkendians, and the united forces forthwith marched upon Kashgar. After several encounters the Kashgarians were obliged to open their gates. The Kalmuks appointed a Hakimbeg, chosen by the people, and led away the Kashgar Hodja Ahmed, their own ally Daniel Hodja, and the families of both prisoners to Ili. In 1720 Tse wang Arabtan restored Daniel to his native country, and made him ruler over the six towns. On his arrival at Yarkend the Hodja appointed governors over the towns entrusted to him, and fixed his own revenue at the modest rate of 100,000 tiangas, that of Appak having been 1,000 tiangas for every hundred of his subjects. His eldest

* Mems. sur la Chine, i. 333. Note. † De Mailla, xi. 540.
‡ Mems. sur la Chine, i. 330. § Müller, op. cit., i. 130. ‖ *Vide* ante, 623.
¶ Michell's Russians in Central Asia, 170.

son Djagan, who was a hostage with the Sungarian Khans, and Daniel himself paid occasional visits to Ili."*

Tse wang Arabtan was probably the most powerful sovereign of the Sungarian dynasty, and was much esteemed by his subjects, whom he ruled over like a father. He could put from 40,000 to 60,000 men in the field, and he received from the Dalai Lama the title of Erdeni Suriktu Baatur Khungtaidshi.† We will now turn shortly to his intercourse with Russia.

Like most other countries Russia has had its romantic El Dorado, a land outside its borders where it was fancied wealth and ease might be bought easily by washing gold out of a river, and which led to some adventurous journeys. This El Dorado was the country of Little Bukharia, and especially the neighbourhood of Yarkend, reported to be rich in gold deposits. In 1714 prince Gagarin, the governor of Siberia, presented a report in which he suggested that it would be possible to appropriate this country, which was then subject to the Khungtaidshi, and he suggested that a series of forts should be pushed along from the Irtish as far as Yarkend to form a protection to the route through the Kalmuk country. With the note he sent specimens of the gold dust which had been taken to Tobolsk for sale.‡ In consequence of this letter Ivan Bukholz was ordered by the Emperor to repair to Siberia, and having collected a force of 2,000 or 3,000 men, to proceed to build a fort near the lake Yamish, and thence, if possible, to make his way to Yarkend. He arrived at Tobolsk in November, 1714.§ Having collected two regiments of infantry, 700 dragoons, a small body of artillery, and seventy handicraftsmen, the whole numbering about 2,932 men, he set out in July, 1715, and marching by way of Tara he reached the Irtish, and at length the lake of Yamish,‖ which I have already referred to as the place whence the Cossacks and others got their supplies of salt. It is situated about six and a half versts from the Irtish. Between this lake and the Irtish is another small lake called Priasnoe osero (*i.e.*, the fresh water lake), out of which there runs a small stream called the Priasnukha, which falls into the Irtish. It was on a height close to the mouth of this stream that Bukholz proceeded to build a small fortress, with an earthen rampart.¶ It was called Yamishewa. This was naturally viewed as an invasion of their country by the Kalmuks. At this time Tse wang Arabtan's brother Chereng Donduk** had his camping ground in the neighbourhood of the river Imil and lake Saissan, and was almost as powerful as his brother. In conjunction with the latter he collected a force of 10,000 men, which he commanded in person, with which he attempted to surprise the Russians. Having failed in this they proceeded to beleaguer them in the fortress. Chereng

* *Id.*, 172. † Pallas, op. cit., i. 42. ‡ Müller, op. cit., iv. 187-189.
§ *Id.*, 213. ‖ *Id.*, 214. ¶ *Id.*, 217. ** Müller calls him his cousin. *Id.*, 222.

Donduk addressed a letter to its commander, in which he threatened that if he did not retire with his people that he (Chereng Donduk) would blockade him not only during the winter but also during the whole of the next year until he compelled his surrender.* Bukholz replied that he had been commissioned by the Emperor to build not only this fortress but also others, and that they were not meant as a menace to the Kalmuks; that he was plentifully supplied with provisions, and that assistance would shortly come to him from Tobolsk. The siege in consequence proceeded, and the Kalmuks waylaid a large caravan of 700 persons which had been sent to provision the new settlement and to trade with the Kalmuks. A large sum of money, the pay of the Cossacks there, was also appropriated. This caravan had been waylaid at a place in the Irtish steppe called Koriakof Yar, and after a struggle had been obliged to submit to numbers.† Meanwhile a pestilence broke out among the garrison, and was so bad that twenty to thirty men died daily. Under these circumstances, and as no help seemed forthcoming, it was at length determined to abandon the fortress and to retire. The fortress was accordingly dismantled and the buildings pulled down, and the garrison, which had been reduced to 700 men, most of whom were ill, retired northwards.‡ They settled near the mouth of the Om, where they built a fort which was called Omskaia Krepost and was situated about 277 versts from Tara. Soon after Bukholz was re-called, and in the summer of the same year, namely, in 1716, another expedition, under the command of an officer of dragoons named Marigorof, was sent to reoccupy the lost ground at Yamishewa. A letter was sent at the same time to the Khungtaidshi, complaining of the recent conduct of Chereng Donduk, and asking for a return of the prisoners and army chest which the Kalmuks had captured.§ This was accompanied by a letter from the Emperor, in which he asked the Khungtaidshi to give assistance to his people when they should go to Little Bukharia, &c.‖

Peter the Great was much interested in the progress of the gold-exploring schemes of his deputy Gagarin, and he urged him on to continue his efforts. Another expedition was accordingly got ready, the command of it was given to an officer named Stupin. This expedition set out in 1717. When he arrived at Yamishewa he built a regular fort there.¶

In the spring of 1718 Wilianof, who had been sent with the above-named letters to the Khungtaidshi, returned, and reported that he had found him in his summer camp on the river Kharkir, close to the Mustag chain (*i.e.*, probably on one of the feeders of the river Tekes). Tse wang Arabtan complained that the inhabitants of the Siberian towns took tribute from his people. He also complained about the fortresses

* *Id.*, 225. † *Id.*, 228. ‡ *Id.*, 231. § *Id.*, 239.
‖ *Id.*, 240-242. ¶ *Id.*, 244.

which the Russians were building on the Irtish, and he mingled his complaints with threats of what he would do if they were not dismantled. He took leave of him on the 2nd of March. He was then in his winter quarters on the Korgos, a feeder of the Ili.* Meanwhile Stupin continued his task. In the autumn of 1718 he built a fresh fortress on the Irtish, 228 versts from Yamishewa, to which he gave the name of Semi Palatinsk, or the seven palaces. It was so called from its being near the ruins of a Lama monastery, probably founded in the preceding century, like that of Ablai kit, &c. In these ruins several Thibetan MSS. were found, which were apparently the first that reached Europe.†

The Emperor seems to have grown impatient at the slow progress of his design, ignorant no doubt of the enormous geographical difficulties in the way of its accomplishment. Early in 1719 he appointed general Likharef, in whom he put great trust, to superintend the proceedings. He took with him a large number of officers, and reached Tobolsk in May, 1720. Having arrived at Semi Palatinsk, he proceeded towards lake Saissan; he had 440 men with him, who travelled in thirty-four boats. The Kalmuks, either afraid of or resenting this invasion, now assembled a large army, consisting of 20,000 men, under Galdan Chereng, Tse wang Arabtan's son and heir. The 1st of August, the day on which, according to the Greek ritual, the water is blessed, a ceremony that Likharef had determined should be carried out on the upper Irtish, was chosen by the Kalmuks for their attack. The forces were very disproportionate, but the Russians carried firearms and had several small cannons, while the Kalmuks had only bows, arrows, &c. The former also had the advantage of position. The fight continued for three days, during which the Russians lost only one grenadier, while three other soldiers were wounded. The Kalmuks seem to have lost severely, nor dare they leave the high ground and join issue with the Russians down below. At length the discipline and superior weapons of their enemy demoralised them, and they suggested a parley, where it was agreed that the Russians should desist from their advance and retire once more down the Irtish. They gladly agreed to this. At the point where the high ground that surrounds lake Saissan fades away into the plain Likharef laid the foundations of a new fortress, named Ustkamenogorskaia (*i.e.*, "the town situated at the beginning of the range"). It is situated 181 versts from Semi Palatinsk, and is not far from Ablai kit.‡ This was apparently the last attempt made by the Russians to reach the gold country of Yarkend. In 1722 their envoy, Unkowski, went to the Khungtaidshi's court, and his narrative has been abstracted by Müller. He reported that among the Kalmuks the highest rank, next to the chief, was

* *Id.*, 251-253. † *Id.*, 256. ‡ *Id.*, 273.

that of Saissan, and that at this time the first of the Saissans was Chereng Donduk. He had his camp on the rivers Lepshi and Karatar, towards Siberia, and had nearly as many subjects as the Khungtaidshi himself.* The Khungtaidshi was assisted in the government by a council of Saissans, named Sarga, and at the time of Unkowski's visit these Saissans were named Sanduk Baatur, Shara Dandshin, Sankzi Bunkzuk, Sodbo, Batumasi, Zimbii, San, Zak, Basun, Bakzigir, the councillor Namishka Darkhan Zaruktu, and the Khungtaidshi's secretary Solom Darksa. He reported that during the previous thirty years (*i.e.*, since the reign of Baatur Kungtaidshi) agriculture had made great progress among the Kalmuks. It was chiefly introduced, no doubt, from the prosperous towns beyond the Tien Shan mountains. Wheat, barley, millet, and rice were their chief serials. They also grew beautiful fruits, such as red, green, and white melons; large pumpkins, red and white grapes, plums, and apples, which seemed to thrive in the saline soil. The richest products in this way came apparently from Yarkend. Among their domestic animals he reports horses, camels, oxen, large sheep, goats, mules, &c. They traded with Russia, China, Thibet, and even India, and the articles they got from Russia were cloth of various colours, otter skins, black and red leather or Yuften, black fox skins, needles, scissors, looking-glasses, &c. For these they exchanged all kinds of cotton and silken goods, which were chiefly made at Yarkend, and also various kinds of furs. The Kalmuks had for some years made cloth and leather, and worked iron.†

Tse wang Arabtan's campaign against Thibet had apparently aroused the hatred of the Lamas, and, according to Pallas, it was with their connivance that he was murdered. This was in 1727.

Tse wang Arabtan was married twice. By his first wife Tzungu Arabtan, the daughter of a Derbet chief named Kuisha, he had two sons, Galdan Chereng and Lusang Shunu. The latter distinguished himself in his father's war with the Kirghiz Kazaks in 1723, and thereby gained the envy of his brother, from whose vengeance he escaped to the Volga, where he married, and died in 1732. Tse wang Arabtan's second wife was Sedershap, a daughter of the Torgut chief Ayuki. By her he had three sons and four daughters. She was charged by Galdan Chereng with his father's death, and on mounting the throne he put her to death with all her children. He continued the hereditary war of his people against the Mongols, under Chinese protection, and with success, but this was terminated in 1734 by the intervention of the Dalai Lama.‡

The Emperor Kien Lung says that Galdan sent envoys to him to ask him to number him among his subjects, and sent tribute and his homage accordingly. They were graciously received. He was

* Müller, op. cit., i. 138. † Müller, op. cit., i. 138-140. ‡ Pallas, op. cit., i. 43.

faithful to his promise, and remained in peace with the empire for the rest of his days.*

In regard to the Sungarian dependencies south of the Tien shan Captain Valikhanof says that "Galdan Chereng, on succeeding to the throne, confirmed the Hodja Daniel in the enjoyment of his former privileges, the immediate sway over Little Bukharia was therefore, as the next result of these changes, transferred to the descendants or Hodja Isaac, or, in other words, the Black Mountaineer party. After the death of Daniel, Galdan Chereng, with the view of dividing the government of Little Bukharia, issued sealed patents to his children, apportioning Yarkend to the eldest, Hodja Djagan; Kashgar to the second, Yusuf; Aksu to the third, Ayub; and Khotan to the youngest, Abdullah. The most celebrated of these was Yusuf, ruler of Kashgar, whose mother was the daughter of a Kalmuk Noyon, with whom Yusuf spent his childhood in Sungaria, and thereby acquired a thorough mastery over the Kalmuk language, which he spoke and wrote with much facility.† Galdan Chereng died in 1745, and with him passed away the glorious period of Sungarian history.‡

According to Pallas he was also twice married. By his first wife, whom he divorced, he had two daughters, and by his second wife two sons, named Bayan or Bizigan and Zebek Dordshi. The former was born in 1733, and succeeded his father; the latter was only five years old when Galdan Chereng died. Bayan was styled Adshan Khan. There seems to be some confusion in the story at this point; neither the Chinese account nor that of the Abbé Chappe d'Auteroche know anything of the younger brother, while the name they give to the successor of Galdan Chereng seems compounded of those of the two brothers. Thus in the note to Kien Lung's account of the war against the Eleuths we are told the successor of Galdan was called Tse wang torgui Namuchar, and that Atchan was a kind of nursery name which continued to be used by his people from contempt.§ Chappe d'Auderoche calls him Tsebek Dorju.‖ He was only fifteen years old on his father's death, and was a promising boy, but as he grew up he gave himself up to wantonness and defied the Sarga or supreme court of the Kalmuks, and also the Lamas.¶ He is called the perfidious Atchan in Kien Lung's narrative, which says he ran through the career of crime with great strides, and committed all kinds of wickedness.** He became very unpopular, and the different chiefs conspired against him. Among these we are told the most crafty was his own half-brother, the son of Galdan Chereng by a concubine,†† and therefore disqualified for the succession. He was a Lama, and his name was Dardsha, and he had been given an appanage on the borders of

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* Mems. sur la Chine, i. 339. † Michell, op. cit., 172. ‡ Pallas, op. cit., i. 43.
§ Memoires sur la Chine, i. 339. Note. ‖ Voyage to Siberia. Preface, viii.
¶ Pallas, i. 44. ** Mems. sur la Chine, i. 339. †† *Id.*, i. 339.

Little Bukharia and the Kirghises by his father. He marched against his brother, captured him, had his eyes put out, and imprisoned him in a Bukharian town. He was joined by the greater portion of the Sungars, and especially by the Saissans or princes and the Lamas, and was acknowledged also by the Dalai Lama, who gave him the title of Erdeni Lama Baatur Khungtaidshi. He then proceeded to put to death such of the reigning family as he could lay his hands upon.*

The usurpation of the Lama, who was also a bastard, was not acquiesced in by a large portion of the Sungars. Although the legitimate male descendants of Tse wang Arabtan were extinct, there still remained the family of his brother Chereng Donduk, who had led the army in the wars in Thibet, &c. He seems to be the Ta Chereng of the Chinese authors. We are told by the editor of Kien Lung's narrative that he was the most important of the chiefs of Si tsang, and that with the assistance of Chinese auxiliaries and his own people he subdued the surrounding tribes, and even made Tse wang Arabtan afraid of him. He was not long, we are told, before he rebelled, abandoned the country where he lived, put to death the greater portion of the Imperial troops which were with him, and then retired to the desert.† He probably went northwards, for we read that Chereng Donduk encamped to the north of Tse wang Arabtan, and that his ulus was as important as his brother's.‡ According to Pallas he had a son named Dagba, and he again a son named Ta wa tsi. The Chinese author already named, calls Ta wa tsi a grandson of Ta Chereng. On the rebellion of Tse wang Arabtan's descendants Ta wa tsi was heir to the Sungarian throne, and his claims were supported by Amursana, who belonged to the tribe of the Khoits, and was probably descended from Esselbei Kia. The Lama Dardsha however was so powerful that they both escaped to the Kirghiz Kazaks. Ta wa tsi had a large party among the Kalmuks, and with their assistance and that of the Kazaks he returned once more to Sungaria, surprised the Lama in the night, defeated his army, and supplanted him. The Lama was killed in the struggle.§ Meanwhile Amursana, who had so assisted Ta wa tsi, had formed plans of his own. He lived it would seem in the heart of the Kalmuk country on the banks of the Ili, where he planted the royal standard in front of his tent, dispensed justice, and acted like a sovereign.‖ Ta wa tsi was naturally jealous and marched against him and his dependants and defeated them.¶ Amursana took refuge in China, as did other Kalmuk chiefs, notably the three Cherengs, namely, Chereng the Derbet, Chereng Ubashi, and Chereng Muko.**

Ta wa tsi now became for a short time the overchief of the Kalmuks, and lord paramount over the local chiefs of Little Bukharia. I have men-

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* Pallas, op. cit., i. 44. † Mems. sur la Chine, i. 335, 336. Note. ‡ *Vide* ante, 646.
§ Chappe Dauteroche, op. cit., ix. ‖ Mems. sur la Chine, i. 341.
¶ Chappe Dauteroche, op. cit., ix. ** Mems. sur la Chine, i. 342. Note.

tioned that Galdan Chereng appointed Yusuf to be ruler of Kashgar. Yusuf was compelled by Ta wa tsi to live in the province of Ili. In the then disturbed state of Sungaria he thought it a good opportunity to free his people from the Sungar domination. "Under the pretence that Kashgar was being threatened by the Buruts he obtained leave from Ta wa tsi to return home. When there he fortified the town and raised an army. This was in 1754, when Amursana had applied to the Chinese for assistance against his rival.* The Kalmuks had latterly appointed Hakim Begs, on whose fidelity they could rely, and who were bound to them by the tie of common ambition. Two of these, Abdul Vakhab of Aksu and Khodja Sibek of Ush Turfan, acquainted the Kalmuks with the real cause of the warlike preparations at Kashgar. They also incited Hudoyar Beg *ish kaga* of Kashgar and Absatar Beg of Artosh to fall upon the Hodja and put him to death while at his devotions in the Meehet, but this plot was discovered, and its chief instrument, Hudoyar Beg, executed. Absatar and the son of Hudoyar escaped to Ili and reported to Ta wa tsi that the inhabitants of Kashgar and Yarkend had thrown off the Sungarian yoke and that the Hodja had put the Ish kaga to death for his fidelity to the Sungarians." Ta wa tsi, who had not then a force at his disposal, sent an emissary to report.† Yusuf escaped, but the Hodja Djagan who ruled at Yarkend was captured by the Kalmuks, assisted by the Hakim Hazi Beg, into whose house they enticed him. Yusuf now assembled the people of Kashgar and urged upon them that the time was come for breaking their yoke. His appeal was eagerly responded to. "Timbrels were sounded over the gates of the town, and the Kasgarians swore to remain true to their determination of re-conquering the lost liberties of their country. The Hodja Yusuf, as an ardent Mussulman, proposed to the people that they should convert 300 Kalmuk merchants, who lay encamped in the vicinity of the town, to Islamism, and ordered them to be slaughtered in case they refused to adopt it. A small number of Eleuths, who acted as police-officers or 'Kasakans' in the towns of Little Bukharia, were sent back to their country to acquaint the Khan of Sungaria with what had occurred. Yusuf then despatched 1,000 men to Burchuk to attack the Kalmuk envoy in case he should attempt to carry off the Hodja Djagan to Ili, and also made preparations for sending a large army to Yarkend. Hodja Sadik, son of Djagan, who had eluded capture, gathered together 7,000 men in two days at Khotan, and joined by a body of Kirghises (Buruts) marched against Yarkend. He carried with him the family of Hazi Beg in chains, intending to put them all to torture and death if harm befel his father. Hazi Beg, in his perplexity, determined to ask pardon of Hodja Djagan, an extremely kind and weak man. With tears in his

* *Vide* next page. † Valikhanof in Michell's Russians in Central Asia, 173, 174.

eyes and the Koran on his head he appeared before him and easily obtained forgiveness. Hazi then informed Djagan of the events that had transpired at Kashgar, and asked permission to kill the Sungarian envoy and his retinue and to raise the standard of Islam. The Hodja answered that an unbeliever could only be killed in battle, and ordered the Kalmuks to be escorted out of the town under a strong guard, warning them never to visit the country again. Yusuf in the meanwhile sent ambassadors to Kokand and Bokhara to acquaint those cities with his emancipation from the Sungarian yoke and to request assistance. He likewise appealed to the Andijan Kirghises, at the head of whom was Kibat Mirza."*

Let us now revert once more to Ta wa tsi. Amursana was received with considerable deference by the Chinese Emperor, who questioned him as to the claims he set up to the throne, and he says he was tolerably satisfied with his answers.† Whether he was so or not, it was clearly a piece of good fortune for the Emperor to have in his hands a person with decent claims to the throne of Sungaria. He gave him the title of Choang tsin wang (*i.e.*, prince of the first rank, with two titles), and he assigned him lands in the country of the Khalkhas.‡ After a while the Emperor Kien Lung, who seems to have been ambitious to rival the great deeds of his grandfather Kanghi, determined to displace Ta wa tsi. The pretext for attacking him was that the latter in a letter he had sent him had treated him as an equal. "Full of stupid pride," says the Emperor, "he presumes to address me as an equal. It is clear he is a barbarian and ignorant of the very elements of Divine law, which prescribes a due subordination."§

He appointed Amursana lieutenant-general, sent him a seal of office, and supplied him with troops and other necessaries, and sent with him a Chinese general named Panti as chief counsellor, but in effect the latter had the actual authority, and Amursana could do nothing without consulting him.‖ He also sent more valuable help in the person of the Ché or Imperial guards, consisting chiefly of Manchu and Solon soldiers.¶ The army set out in 1755. "They broke cheerfully," says the Emperor, "through all obstacles. Hardly had they bent a bow or drawn an arrow before there was submission everywhere." Ta wa tsi, unable to offer effectual resistance, fled with 300 men through the Muzart pass to Ush Turfan. The governor of that town, Hadjem Beg, delivered him up to the Chinese, for which service he was created a prince,** and the Uirads asked that the Emperor would give them a chief. He accordingly appointed Amursana, to whom they did homage. Five months sufficed for the work. Ta wa tsi was sent as a prisoner to Peking.

* *Id.*, 175-177. † Kien Lung's Narrative, Mems. sur la Chine, i. 343. ‡ *Id.*, i. 343.
§ Memoires sur la Chine, i. 344. Note. ‖ Memoires sur la Chine, i. 345. Note.
¶ Memoires sur la Chine, i. 346. ** Valikanof, op. cit., 177.

Amursana expected the Emperor would have had him executed, but he, on the contrary, received him with the same condescension as if he had come freely to do homage, and gave him a palace at Peking for a residence, and the title Tsin wang (*i.e.*, prince of the first rank). He gave him retainers suitable to his rank, and allowed him the privilege of a daily audience. This behaviour was dictated by a desire to have some one to play off against Amursana if he should prove treacherous. The captive prince did not flourish in exile, he pined away and soon after died, leaving an only son, an infant, who did not long survive his father.* With his death the descendants of Baatur Khungtaidshi, the founder of the Sungarian empire, seem to have come to an end.

Amursana was now nominated as chief of Sungaria by the Manchus. His was however a very different position from the chiefs whose history we have considered. They were acknowledged as the legitimate rulers by the various tribes of the country. Amursana was a very secondary chief in his antecedents. He had no claims to be Lord Paramount, and probably received the willing allegiance only of his own people, the Khoits. We are told by Pallas that the Koshotes attempted to regain for their leader the position of Khan or overchief.† A number of other chiefs retained their allegiance for the imprisoned Ta wa tsi, whom they considered as their legitimate sovereign.‡ The position of Amursana was therefore by no means a strong one. He nevertheless attempted to recover possession of the towns of Little Bukharia, which had become independent, as I have described. Not being able to send a large body of troops against them it was suggested to him by Abdul Vahab of Aksu and Hodja Sibek of Ush Turfan that the children of Ahmed Hodja, who were then at Ili, might be utilised for the purpose, and that if he offered to make one of them governor there, that the revolted towns would return to their allegiance. With the consent of the Chinese general Panti, two of them named Burhaneddin and Khan Hodja were accordingly summoned to Kuldja from Iren Habargan, where they lived in exile. The former marched with an army of Eleuths, Turkestani, and a small number of Chinese upon Aksu, while his brother remained as a hostage at Ili. Burhaneddin marched from Aksu to Ush Turfan, where he was well received. Meanwhile the Black Mountaineer Hodjas prepared to defend themselves. The invaders only mustered 5,000 Mussulmans from Kucha, Aksu, Turfan, and Dolon, 1,000 Sungarians commanded by the Saissan Dan chin, and 400 Chinese headed by Turuntai Dayen, and they were not strong enough to cope with the enemy. Meanwhile the people of Yarkend, contrary to the advice of Yusuf, determined to march upon Aksu and to nip the invasion in the bud. They were led by Hodja Ahi, the eldest son of Djagan Huda Berdy, as also Shanegi of Yarkend, and the

* Memoires sur la Chine, i. 347. Note. † Op. cit., i. 45.
‡ Chappe Dauteroche, op. cit. Preface, x. Mems. sur la Chine, i. 358. Note.

Kargalik ruler Mirgen Beg. They consisted of contingents from Khotan and Yarkend and some Kirghises, &c., and laid siege to Ush Turfan. They sent messages into the town calling upon their rivals there, the White Mountaineers, to forget their mutual animosities and to march together upon Ili, and offered to yield Kashgar, Aksu, and Turfan to Burhaneddin. They found the latter surrounded by Chinese Kalmuks and Begs, whom native writers have stigmatised as impious men. He told the deputies to advise the Black Mountaineer Hodjas to go to Ili and seek forgiveness from the viceroy of China and from Amursana.

There were many of the White Mountaineer party in the besieger's ranks; the latter were also deserted by the Kirghises in the first engagement, and were soon after joined by the majority of the Begs with the troops under their command. The leaders of the expedition now with difficulty found shelter at Kashgar, where they were pursued. Burhaneddin was met outside by crowds of people, who refused to obey the Montenegrin Hodjas, while a body of Andijan Kirghises who were in their service also declared they would not fight against him. They thereupon retired to Yarkend, while their partisan, Hosh Kaifiak, who was Hakim Beg of Kashgar, migrated to Kokand. Burhaneddin now advanced upon Yarkend. He sent a deputation to the town composed of several Begs, a Chinese Mandarin, and a Kalmuk Saissan. They were presented to the Hodja Djagan, having been first obliged to go through the degrading ceremony of licking the threshold of the palace. To Burhaneddin's summons in the name of the Bogdo Khan and that of Amursana to surrender and place himself under the protection of China, he answered, "that, as an independent Mussulman prince, he would listen to no terms, but would wage against them—a 'Hazat' or religious war." The letter which conveyed the terms of Burhaneddin he ordered to be torn and thrown into the fire. The town was bravely defended for some time, but there were traitors busy inside, and after a while the Black Hodjas abandoned it, its gates were thrown open, and Burhaneddin entered it in triumph.* Thus Little Bukharia fell again into the hands of a dependant of the rulers of Sungaria. Let us turn once more to Amursana. I have described how a large section of the Kalmuks were impatient of his control. His position was probably rendered more difficult and embarrassing by his being a nominee of the Manchu Emperor. When the main army retired Panti with 500 Manchus remained behind to act as a kind of garrison.

The Chinese method of treating dependants does not secure very hearty allegiance. Although he had the title of ruler, the Emperor's deputies had in fact the power. They thwarted him and acted as spies upon his doings. Lastly, Kien Lung, under pretence of doing him

* Valikhanof. Michell's Russians in Central Asia, 178-185.

honour, summoned him to the court. Amursana grew weary of this dependance, and to assure himself of the support of the Kalmuks he spread the report that the Emperor intended to subjugate them as he had already done the Mongols.* The neutral witness Amiot could see plainly that human endurance was more than tried by the constant espionage. The Emperor's point of view was different. Amursana he describes as "a wolf who, having satisfied his hunger, is still given to prowling in search of fresh carnage."† Amursana in fact took up arms, speedily dispersed the small garrison the Manchus kept in the country of Ili, and killed the two generals Panti and Aiongan, destroyed the forts the Emperor had constructed at various points to defend the country, and the depôts of provisions for the troops and the couriers, and advanced as far as Palikun on the river Ili, which then seems to have held an Imperial garrison. In this rebellion many Manchus perished.

The advisers of the Emperor urged upon him that it would be prudent "to abandon Palikun and its dependencies and to put a stop to a useless war." Kien Lung, instead of this, appointed fresh generals and fresh troops, with orders that they must either capture the rebel or perish in the attempt. When the news spread that fresh armies were on the way the Kalmuks scattered in various directions, and Amursana himself was constrained to fly too. The two Imperial generals who commanded the new levies were named Chereng and Yu pao (the former from his name was doubtless a Mongol), and were jealous of one another. Amursana had been cornered in a small fort where it was almost impossible for him to escape, when they relaxed their efforts and he escaped. He fled apparently to his old friends the Kazaks. The two generals were recalled with the intention that they should be executed, but being only meagrely escorted they were waylaid *en route* by the Eleuths and killed. Two other generals were nominated in their place, who were named Taltanga and Yarhashan. The Kazaks, though nominally subject to the empire, secretly favoured Amursana, and supplied him with provisions and assistance. They craftily sent envoys to the Imperial generals asking them to spare their country, and assuring them that their chief Ablai would in a few days be able to seize their common enemy and send him to them. Taltanga listened favourably to this proposal and thereby disgusted some of his allies who knew the policy of the desert robbers better. Instead of capturing Amursana, Ablai in fact furnished him with post horses, camels, and other requisites for flight, and then wrote to excuse himself, saying that he had escaped him and found refuge with the Russians.

The Emperor was naturally greatly enraged and recalled his generals. The following brief, which I have somewhat shortened and paraphrased,

* Amiot's Note, Memoires sur la Chine, i. 348, 349. † *Id.*, i. 348.

was addressed by him to the principal grandees and shown to the officers of the Eight Banners. It gives a good idea, as Amiot says, of the state of affairs. "The first time that Amursana escaped from Ili, Chereng and Yu pao had the command of the troops I sent into the west. Instead of pursuing the rebel they remained idle in their camp, and did not take precautions for preventing his escape. Informed of their conduct I recalled them, but being intercepted on the way by a number of brigands, they were miserably massacred. One of their lieutenant-generals whom I had also recalled escaped and confessed freely his fault and that of the others. Chalafunga (that was his name) said: We knew Amursana was not far off. . . . Yu pao first knew it. He took little notice, and merely remarked that Chereng ought to be told, so that they could take joint measures. Chereng was as little eager to march as his companion, alleging that he had not sufficient horses. After consultation it was decided that Yu pao should advance first to Tursun, where Amursana was, and that Chereng should follow him if his assistance should be required. Meanwhile time was lost and Amursana fled, and as they had only provisions for four days and were short of horses, they determined to return to Ili to complete the other commissions the Emperor had entrusted them with. Such was the inexcusable conduct of my generals. If they were short of horses, why did they not let me know; if these horses were so weak and few, how came it that Taltanga was afterwards able with them to reach the Kazak country? If they had no food, how did they exist in their month's march to Ili in a country suffering from want? If this excuse had been true, why did they not use more zeal to capture food from the enemy? Chalafunga and Ulden were no less to blame. They also had armies entrusted to them sufficient for their purpose if they had had more zeal. Ulden told me, says the Emperor, that Chereng had given him some troops with which to march against the rebel, but that it was then too late. I heard, he says, en route that Amursana had fled and was already a long way off, of which I informed Chereng. Soon after I heard that the Muhammedans, who live not far from Ili, had pillaged the badly escorted baggage of Amursana, and that he had retraced his steps and recaptured his lost goods. Of this I informed Chereng, and asked him for a reinforcement of 500 men with which to join the Muhammedans and pursue the rebel. Yu pao had already marched after him, and was returning fruitless when he met my couriers; they read him my despatches which aroused his anger. He accused me of having some sinister ambition. He then returned my letter to the courier and told him to take it to Chereng. The latter also suspected me, deprived me of my command, and bade me go to Yu pao, who would find me suitable employment. I went to him and repeated my request, upon which in scorn he gave me fifty men. With these I set off, and got as far as Kurmeton, but we were so reduced by fatigue and

hunger, that we had great difficulty in surviving. In default of horses we rode on camels, which we had to kill for meat. Of fifty men only twenty-five remained. At Kurmeton we heard that Amursana had again fled. What motive, says the Emperor, was there for this ill conduct? Some of my generals allow the rebel to escape, others will not give themselves the trouble to pursue. Some aroused the hatred of the Mongol princes upon whom they were dependant for great assistance, others allow themselves to be duped by the Kazaks. Was it that they wished the culprit to escape or that they should die of want in the desert? No. I see their device; they wish to prove to me that the campaign is Quixotic, and its end impossible, and thus to force me to put an end to it." Amiot adds that, with the exception of Panti, Aiongan, Hoki, and a few others, whose names and tablets are placed in the Kung chen Tsée Tang (*i.e.*, hall of the great men who have deserved well of the empire), almost all the other general officers who served in the first two campaigns perished miserably, either by the sword or the enemy, the treason of their allies, their punishment as criminals in Peking, or by suicide.* The friendly chiefs Nima, Payar, Sila, Mangalik, &c., who disapproved of Taltanga's easy faith in Kazak promises, having tried by entreaty, then by raillery, and lastly by indignant tones to alter his decision, but in vain, abandoned him. Feeling that it would be most imprudent to expose the few Manchu soldiers he had with him to the dangers of this land of treachery and suspicion, he determined to return, but this only increased his difficulties. Nima, Payar, Sila, Mangalik, and other chiefs of hordes who had formerly been his allies, some of them as enemies of Amursana, and others as friends of Ta wa tsi, not only deserted him but committed atrocities in doing so. The first to abandon him was Payar, and in retiring he massacred all those whom he could capture.

Taltanga sent Hoki, the intrepid Hoki as the Emperor calls him, in pursuit. Hoki asked Mani (another auxiliary chief who had been well treated by the Emperor and given the title of Wang) to assist him; he refused to accompany him or to supply him with troops, and offered him only his counsel, which was that he should first summon Payar to an audience so that he might satisfy himself whether he was a rebel or no. Hoki replied that as he would not assist him he would himself march at the head of his soldiers and root the rebel out in his own camp, and would afterwards hold Mani responsible for any bloodshed that might happen. Again the latter counselled him not to compel Payar's rebellion by attacking him, but to go to him with an escort of some thirty men and to reason with him. He accordingly went, but as soon as he appeared within shot he and his escort were met by a shower of weapons. He retired fighting desperately. He fell wounded by an arrow. His

* Memoires sur la Chine, i. 351-356.

soldiers went to help him, but he would not have them stay, but taking the peacock's feather from his hat he said, I have received great favour from the Emperor, he made me a general. As I cannot beat the enemy I can at least die under their blows. Let him know how I died. Take this to the Tsongtu of Barkul. Such was the news the latter received from two Solon soldiers, the survivors of Hoki's band, and which he had sent on to the Court. The Imperial forces were in fact almost driven out. Their sole remaining strong garrison in the country of the Kalmuks was apparently Barkul, whose governor fortified it and collected there the scattered soldiers he could find, and even this was apparently beleaguered by the Kalmuks.* This news was very distressing to the Emperor, who hardly knew what to do, when affairs took a brighter turn. Chao hoei, an able general, who had with him only a few troops, collected the debris of Hoki's army, attacked the various bands of Kalmuks he met, spread the news that the Emperor was sending formidable forces to punish the wrongdoers, and at length marched towards Ili. He sent to the Emperor a well digested scheme which determined him instead of abandoning the war, as he was rather disposed to do, to prosecute it vigorously. He appointed Chao hoei generalissimo and sent him some fresh troops, and in 1757 two new armies set out, one marching by the northern route the other by the southern. The Kalmuks, instead of being welded together by the continued disasters of their formidable enemy, were torn in pieces by internal quarrels and jealousies.† Amursana had heard of this and thought it a favourable opportunity for him to return. He marched towards Ili, his army increasing as he went along. He was greatly surprised on reaching there to find Chao hoei at the head of a new force. He deemed it wise to retire, and once more by forced marches retreated to the country of the Kazaks. Chao hoei sent Fu té, one of his subordinates, in pursuit, while he busied himself in restoring order to the disintegrated tribes of Sungaria. Fu té pursued Amursana with energy at the head of his army. He arrived in the country of the Kazaks about the same time as Amursana. The Kazaks submitted and asked to be numbered among the subjects of the empire, and asked also that some of their chiefs might be sent on to Peking to do homage. They gave him a free pass into their country and offered him supplies. Amursana now saw that he must escape further away, and he fled to the vast regions of Locha (*i.e.*, Siberia).‡

Once more did the grandees of the court, many of whom had lost relatives in the dreary war, urge upon the Emperor that he might now end it and cease the pursuit of the rebel; many others urged him to abandon altogether the province of Ili. "It is too far off for us to govern it long, let those have it who choose to take it," they said. The Emperor

* Amiot in Mems. sur la Chine, i. 359-362. † *Vide* Mems. sur la Chine, 363.
‡ Mems. sur la Chine, i. 363-366.

was not in a mood now to listen to these sentiments, and he renewed his instructions to Chao hoei and Fu té to prosecute the war vigorously. "Meanwhile," he says in his memoir, "insulted heaven had fixed the hour of vengeance. A dreadful disease was the instrument it used to equate the balance of justice against the reprobate who had provoked it. It reached him when he thought himself beyond the reach of pursuit. It severed the black thread of his days just as he seemed in prospect of enjoying life at least in liberty. Thus perished in the flower of his age he whose perfidy had caused so much disorder and cost so much blood. Abandoned by his people, who feared to catch his disease, scarce could he in this strange land find any one to render the funeral honours to his body."* He in fact died of the smallpox in Siberia. The Emperor wrote several times to the Russians to demand his body, in order as he said to make of the rebel ashes an example of terror. The Russians refused to surrender it, although they showed it to the Chinese commissioners. "Each nation," they said, "has customs which it holds sacred. A custom deemed sacred with us is not to expose the cold fragments of an unfortunate who has sought refuge among us to ignominy. Your enemy is dead, we have shown you the body, that ought to suffice."† Chappe Dauteroche tells us Amursana, before he found refuge in Russia, had been joined by his wife Bitei, a daughter of Galdan Chereng. She afterwards went on to St. Petersburg, where she was seen in 1761. Her first husband was Ichidanjin, an elder brother of Amursana's, by whom she had a son named Puntsuk. He adds further, that Amursana made a considerable stay at Tobolsk, where he was confined for some time in the Archbishop's country house.‡

When the Manchus drove Amursana away from Sungaria, they determined apparently to do away with the supreme authority of the Over Khan, which had been exercised more or less since the time of Esselbei Kia, and to reconstitute the four Uirad divisions in their old condition. Thus breaking up the formidable power which the Kalmuks wielded when united. The Emperor says that before the time of Galdan Chereng (? the older Galdan) they were divided into four sections, each governed by its own prince, styled La té, and these larger divisions comprised among them twenty-one separate hordes or tribes, whose chiefs were styled Nganki. He claims to have revived this old form of government under a different name. He nominated four chiefs over the four main divisions, to each of whom he gave the title of Han, while he appointed smaller chiefs of various grades over the twenty-one tribes. He decreed that the dignity of Han should be hereditary, while the appointment of the lesser chiefs he retained in his own hands as the reward of meritorious service, and he appointed one of them to be their head and the channel by which

* Mems. sur la Chine, i. 368, 369. † Mems. sur la Chine, i. 369. Note.
‡ Journey to Siberia. Preface, xi., xii.

he communicated with them. He distributed money, &c., among them, and he sent them agricultural implements and other necessaries to induce them to lead a more settled life. The four main divisions of the Kalmuks so constituted were the Cholos or Choros (*i.e.*, the Sungars proper), the Khonote (? the Khoits), the Huntéhé (? the Khoshotes), and the Derbets. They all proved, from the Emperor's point of view, intractable and rebellious, and he determined to exterminate them. He had named Ta wa tsi to be the Khan of Choros, but his speedy death prevented the arrangement from being completely carried out.* This was probably in 1755. Another chief now became the head of the Choros tribe. I don't know his name, and we are merely told that he was assassinated by his nephew Chana Karpu, who seized the inheritance. He in his turn was killed by Galdan Torgui.† The Emperor says he chose the latter himself to govern the Cholos, and gave him the title of Han and its prerogatives; "becoming a monster, I was constrained," says the Emperor, "to purge the earth of him." This means that he rebelled.‡ We are told elsewhere that it was the Taidji Tawa who captured him, cut off his head, and sent it to the Emperor, who caused it to be exposed as a warning to rebels.§ "I uprooted his race," says Kien Lung, "I changed into a desert the unhappy country where the perfidious Cholos formerly dwelt."‖ Payar or Bayar was nominated to the headship of the Huntéhé.¶ He was the first to break away from the Manchu yoke,** and I have described the intercourse which Taltanga, the Manchu general, had with him. "He ended a life, of which he had so often made himself unworthy," says the Emperor, "in the midst of tortures." His dispersed subjects, reduced to slavery or killed, have left behind only the memory of their former condition in the name Huntéhé.††

The chief whom the Emperor nominated over the Khonoté was Chakturman. He was also suspected of conspiracy against the Emperor. The Manchu general Yarhashan marched against him, and was so well satisfied of his intentions that he did not wait for further orders from Peking. He attacked him, took him prisoner, and had him executed outside the gates of Palikun (? Kuldja), and gave up to the fury of his soldiers all the Chonoté who did not escape by flight.‡‡ This last cruel and abominable massacre was apparently made with very small excuse.§§ Of the four chiefs the only one who escaped was the leader of the Derbets, of whom I shall speak again presently. The twenty-one Nganki or chieftains of the lesser hordes seem nearly all to have perished, some by the sword, others by the hand of the executioner. A few escaped northwards towards Russia, while the rest were reduced to slavery.‖‖ Thus was Sungaria fairly trodden under, and very shortly its dependencies on

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* Memoires sur la Chine, i. 372. Note. † *Id.*, 363. ‡ *Id.*, 374. § *Id.*, 363. ‖ *Id.*, 374. ¶ *Id.*, 374. ** *Id.*, 359. †† *Id.*, 374. ‡‡ *Id.*, 375. §§ *Id.*, 375. Note. ‖‖ *Id.*, 376, 377.

the south of the Tien shan mountains were also incorporated with the Manchu empire.

It is not without reason that the Emperor enlarges in his memoir upon the terrible punishment inflicted upon this province, a punishment which converted a tolerably populous and thriving empire into almost a desert. The Manchu soldiers seem to have destroyed the Kalmuks mercilessly, and their provocation was very slight. Their campaign against them was a similar chapter in the annals of human butchery to those against the Miautze of Suchuan, and against the Mussulmans o Yunnan at a later date. The beautiful valley of Ili, which was such a busy and prosperous region in the glorious days of Sungar supremacy, became a Chinese penal settlement. "Sungaria," says Captain Valikhanof, "having been depopulated by the massacre of half a million of Eleuths, was settled by China from the province of Kan su, and to increase the population was converted into a place of exile for criminals. For the protection of the country Manchu soldiers of the green banner were also transferred thither, and colonies of Sibos and Solons and Daurs were established in the Ili district. Seven thousand Mussulman families were forcibly converted into agriculturists, and the remnant of the extirpated Sungarians were allotted a certain extent of country to roam in. The government of the country was confided to a Tzian Tziun, with three lieutenants, the residence of one being at Tarbagatai, and that of another in Little Bukharia. The Chinese showed great caution in the treatment of the country, as its population had fought with great determination in the attempt to assert their independence. The internal government was left on the same footing, and it was only for maiptaining the peace of the country that Chinese garrisons were stationed in the most important towns; pickets were also posted in such localities as were best suited to guard the frontier, and stations were established for insuring rapidity in travelling. This successful subjugation of Sungaria and Little Bukharia infused into the Chinese a military spirit and a thirst for conquest. During the government of Kien Lung they apparently desired to re-enact the scenes of the Sung dynasty. In the years 1756, 1758, and 1760 bodies of Chinese troops entered the territories of the Middle Horde. The fall of Sungaria, once so powerful as to be a perpetual menace to every country adjacent, and the conquest of Little Bukharia caused a panic throughout the whole of Asia, and strengthened a curious Mussulman superstition that the Chinese would one day conquer the whole globe, when there would be an end to the world. The immediate result of the general uneasiness was that Ablai, the head of the Middle Horde, Nurali, of the Little Horde, and the Burut chiefs hastened to negotiate with the celestial conqueror. Ablai in 1766 acknowledged himself a vassal of the Bogdo Khan, and received the title of prince. Nurali sent an embassy to Peking, the ruler of Kokand, Edenia Bi, in 1758, and after

him in succession Narbuta Bi likewise recognised the protectorate of the Son of Heaven."* In the description of Sungaria translated by Stanislas Julien from Chinese sources, and previously cited, we are told that the Khoits subject to prince Tanguté had their pastures in the country of Boro Burgasu, twenty leagues north-east of Ili (*i.e.*, of Kuldja), (? at Boro Talas); the Sungars, Eleuths, and Khorbos had their pastures about Kungghes, forty-four leagues south-east of Ili; while Yulduz, south-east of Kungghes, was the ancient pasture ground of the Sungars and Keliyets.† At Yamlek, &c., north of Ili, were the ancient pastures of the Sungars and Erkets.‡ Other Sungars and the Bukus nomadised about Kurtu, south of the Ili; while Gurban Alimatu, east of Kurtu, was the residence of the chiefs of the Eleuths and Noyats. West of Salkitu are Chamchi, Achi buri, and Khorgon. This part of the country was formerly occupied by several Sungar chiefs, named Namé Khondsirgar, Batur Ubashi, and Khotung Mergen. Other Sungars and some Derbets pastured in the district of Talas, west of the Ili (*i.e.*, the country south of the river Chu).§ Such is the meagre account which alone I can meet with as to the fragments and shreds of the old Sungar nation which remained after the great massacre. The valley of the Ili, as I have said, was made a penal Chinese settlement, and is largely occupied now by Chinese and Turks, while the Kirghises and Telenguts have occupied large portions of Northern Sungaria. A large number of Kalmuks seem to have escaped to Russia, others fled towards China; and there, there are still found certain Kalmuk tribes still known as "the Eleuths of Choros." They inhabit the country situated north of the mountains Ho lan shan and Lung chau shan, bounded on the east by Ninghia, on the west by Kan chau, on the south by Liang chau, and on the north by the Gobi desert and the country of the Khalkhas.‖ In the narrative translated by Timkowski we are told that among the fugitives from Galdan were Tsirung, Baatur, Erke, and Arabtan, who were grandsons of Utshirtu Khan. They were probably children or descendants of his daughter, who married Senghé, the eldest son of Baatur Khungtaidshi. Arabtan is to be identified with Dugar Arabtan, son of Senghé, and Erke perhaps with Erke Baarang, son of Tse wang Arabtan.¶ We are told that they requested the Emperor to assign them an abode, and that he granted them the lands situated beyond the frontiers of Ninghia and Kan chau, in the countries of Kaldjan Burgut, Kongor olong, and Bayan nuru; and in the Sandy desert Ablai Galbai Gobi, from the mountains of Alashan westwards as far as the banks of the Edsinei, on condition that they should keep at a distance of sixty li from the frontier of China. A line of demarcation was drawn in consequence. In 1697 the Eleuths petitioned

* Valikhanof in Michell's Russians in Central Asia, 187, 188. † *Vide* ante, 580.
‡ *Vide* ante, 581. § Journ. Asiat., 4th Ser., viii. 385. ‖ Timkowski, ii. 277.
¶ Pallas, op. cit., Genealogical Table of the Sungars.

the Emperor to organise them in divisions like the Forty-nine Mongol Banners, and to appoint heads of tribes with hereditary dignities. They were accordingly divided into three banners.* These Kalmuks are those known to Huc and recent Russian travellers as the Mongols of Alashan. Let us now complete our survey of the Choros by examining the history of the Derbets.

As I have already said,† the Sungars and Derbets formed, at a not very remote period, but one nation, subject to the chiefs of the family of Choros. The two sections broke asunder under two brothers named Ongozo and Onghorkoi. Onghorkoi was the stem father of the Derbet princes. His successor, according to Pallas, was Manghan Taidshi. Manghan's successor was Toghon Taidshi, otherwise called Milmolsokho, whose successor was Yannis Taidshi. Yannis had three sons, named Erke Yeldeng, Dalai Taidshi, and Yeldeng Ubasha Taidshi. Erke Yeldeng had a son named Mergen.

Until the disastrous war which the Sungars waged with the Khalkhas in the early part of the seventeenth century the Derbets lived in close alliance with the former in the eastern part of Sungaria.‡ In that war they suffered severely, and in 1621, when Kharakhulla took refuge in Russia, he was accompanied by Dalai and Mergen, the abovenamed chiefs of the Derbets.§ They seem to have settled with their people in the steppes of the Ob, and in alliance with the Sungar chief Shuker and another named Sain Taishi.‖ The following year Dalai Taishi was encamped on the river Serednei Yurtak, four days' journey from Tumen.¶ Early in 1623 the Russians sent an envoy to him, and then found him encamped in the country of the Kirghiz Kazaks, at a mountain named Penyi gori.**

In 1628 a quarrel arose between the three Kalmuk chiefs, Shuker of the Sungars, Dalai of the Derbets, and Urluk of the Torguts, which led to Shuker retiring from the valleys of the Irtish and the Ishim towards the Tobol.†† In 1631 the Russians exchanged messages with Erke Yeldeng, Dalai's elder brother, who encamped on the Irtish, and who promised to restore some fugitives from Tara and also that he and his brother would not in future molest the Kirghiz Kazaks.‡‡ In 1631 we find Dalai supplying the pretender to the Siberian crown (Ablai) with a contingent of 150 men, who assisted him in a raid upon Russian territory but were defeated.§§ In 1634 the Siberian prince was again assisted by a number of Kalmuks, subjects of Dalai Taishi.‖‖ Dalai Taishi died in 1637. He had two wives, one was called Aakhai, the other was a daughter of the Torgut chief Khu Urluk. He had nine

* Timkowski, op. cit., ii. 278. † Ante, 613. ‡ Pallas, op. cit., i. 47.
§ Müller, op. cit., viii. 281. ‖ *Id.*, 283. ¶ *Id.*, 287.
** Müller suggests Pegie gori, a mountain of the Kazak country called Alak ula by the Kalmuks. Op. cit., viii. 289. Note.
†† *Id.*, 305. ‡‡ *Id.*, 314. §§ *Id.*, 315. Fischer, 460. ‖‖ Müller, viii. 336. Fischer, 570.

sons, among whom he distributed his subjects during his lifetime. Daitshing Khoshutshi and Solom Chereng (the youngest son by the second wife) were the most amply provided for.* On the death of his father, Daitshing (who already had one wife called Dara Eke) married his stepmother, according to Mongol fashion, and sought in conjunction with his brother Gumba to deprive his eldest living brother of the headship of the family.† When they made peace with one another they seem to have courted the friendship of the Russians, and returned some prisoners of theirs in their hands. The Russians reciprocated this goodwill and sent presents back for Daitshing and Gumba.‡ Fresh courtesies were exchanged in 1642.§ Daitshing was killed in 1644, apparently by Khu Urluk the Torgut chief and father of his stepmother.‖ On his death his wife, who had previously been his stepmother, went with her son Solom Chereng, who was then seven years old, to live with her father, Khu Urluk, on the Volga; with them went a considerable number of Derbets. I shall revert to them presently.

Müller frequently mentions at this period a chief named Kuisha, whom he in one place called an Eleuth.¶ Pallas tells us he was a Derbet,** and as he is generally mentioned in company with Dalai Taishi, he was probably his brother. He lived on the Yamin river†† (? a tributary of the Irtish). In 1634 he threatened the Russians who were getting salt at lake Yamish.‡‡ In 1637 his sons Ombo and Yalsi attacked Tara,§§ and embassies were afterwards exchanged between them. He fought with Daitshing, the son of Urluk, the chief of the Torguts, and was defeated and captured.‖‖ This is the last we hear of him.

With Kuisha is sometimes associated a chief named Baibagish,¶¶ who gave his name to the so-called Baibagatshef ulus.*** He also was probably a Derbet. These various small chiefs were doubtless all dependant on Kula, who acted as the deputy of the Khungtaidshi north of the mountains. But to resume our story.

Daitshing, as I have said, was to some extent a usurper, having pushed aside his elder brother Toin Taidshi, who was the eldest living member of the family. On his death, Eshkep, Toin's son, became the supreme chief of the Derbets. He is wrongly made a son of Daitshing's by Müller. In 1643 he sent an envoy to Tara.††† On the death of Dartshing the latter's brothers and relatives were determined to revenge themselves upon his murderer Urluk. We are told that the Khungtaidshi interposed with his authority and summoned the princes to a meeting, but that Gumba had already set out.‡‡‡ What the result of his expedition was we are not told, but Urluk is soon after found with his people in the neighbourhood of Astrakhan, where he was killed, as I have described.§§§

* Pallas, op. cit., i. 48. † Pallas, op. cit., i. 48, Müller, viii. 349.
‡ Müller, viii. 350. § *Id.*, 355. ‖ *Id.*, 412. Pallas, i. 48.
¶ Op. cit., iv. 285. Note. ** Op. cit., i. 43. †† Müller, viii. 385. ‡‡ *Id.*, 332.
§§ *Id.*, 335. ‖‖ *Id.*, i. 343. ¶¶ *Id.*, 369. *** *Id.*, 372.
††† Müller, viii. 356. ‡‡‡ Müller, viii. 412. §§§ Ante, 562.

In 1645 an embassy arrived at Tumen from Gumba Taishi and his mother Akhai and from Eshkep and his mother Dari ika.* Similar embassies went to Tumen in 1647 and 1648.† Eshkep had lived for some years on very friendly terms with the Russians. In 1650 the Siberian princes made a raid upon the Russian settlements and burnt the monastery at Dolmatof, on the river Izet. The people of Tara sent some troops in pursuit of the plunderers. They did not meet with them but fell upon a small camp of twenty yurts belonging to Eshkep and his brother Dalai Ubashi and plundered it. They carried off seventy prisoners, forty camels, 300 horses, and 500 head of cattle. A messenger was sent to Tobolsk to demand the return of these, but the people of Tara refused to part with them, alleging that they recognised among the horses some which had been stolen from them, and that they had seen among the Kalmuks whom they had plundered Russian clothes which probably belonged to some of their countrymen who had been carried off.‡ This unprovoked attack converted Eshkep into an enemy of the Russians, and he seems to have allied himself with the Siberian princes and supplied them with troops with which they in 1659 made a raid into the Barabinski steppe.§ This assistance was apparently given covertly, for in the very same year Eshkep and other Kalmuk princes sent some of their people to trade at Tumen, who disposed of 1,150 horses, 234 head of cattle, and 1,000 sheep.‖ Eshkep seems to have been succeeded by his son Dshal, who we are told built a stone temple, which still existed (temp. Müller; the Kalmuks called it Dshalin-Obo after him, while the Russians gave it the name of Kalbassunskaya bashna) on the left bank of the Irtish, in the Podspusknoi Stanitz. In 1702 he was driven by the Bashkirs to take shelter with the Sungarian Khungtaidshi, by whom he was settled on the river Chu, where he died in 1729 at the age of ninety.¶

The Eastern Derbets remained apparently under subjection to the Sungar princes, and I have little information about them. When Amursana was driven away, the Chinese, as I have said, divided the Kalmuks once more into four tribes, and among these the Derbets are specially named. They alone were spared when the three other sections of the Eastern Kalmuks were annihilated. Their Khan, according to the Emperor, had alone remained faithful, and in consequence his people were spared and continued to till their soil and to look after their herds in peace.** Other fragments of the Derbets joined the Torguts in Russia, others again retired towards China and the Kokonur country.††

Let us now turn to Solom Chereng and the Derbets of the Volga. We

* Müller, op. cit., viii. 358. † *Id.*, 362-365. ‡ *Id.*, 441. Fischer, op. cit., 584.
§ Müller, op. cit., viii. 451. Fischer, 588. ‖ Müller, op. cit., viii. 451.
¶ Müller, viii. 447. Pallas, i. 48.
** Mems. sur la Chine, i. 376. †† Pallas, op. cit., i. 49.

have already said that he went to the Volga in 1644. In 1673 he joined the Torgut horde with his son Menkotimur and about 5,000 families. Ayuka was then Khan of the Torguts. In company with the latter and also on another occasion separately he swore the oath of fealty to Russia. In 1701, when Ayuka and his son Chakdurdshap were at variance, Solom Chereng was no longer alive. His son Menkotimur fought first with one and then with the other, and eventually fled with his Derbets to the Don. On the reconciliation of father and son, Ayuka compelled him to ally himself with him, and gave his own daughter in marriage to Chutter or Cheter, the son of Menkotimur. On her death Cheter was married to another daughter of Ayuka's. Cheter Taidshi succeeded his father Menkotimur, and in 1717, with the common failing of the Kalmuks, he put away his wife and married the daughter of Chakdurdshap, and the niece therefore of his previous wife. She had already had two sons by a Khoshote chief, and he had carried her away by force from the Khoshote ulus. Whereupon Ayuka summoned him to his court and kept him in custody. The Khoshotes insisted that he should be punished and the Derbet horde dispersed, but Chakdurdshap interposed, and settled matters in a strange fashion. Cheker kept the wife he had run away with, and his divorced wife was married to his son Lawan Donduk. In 1723 Ayuka died, and dissension arose among the Torguts about the succession. Cheter fled with his son Lawan Donduk and a great portion of his horde to the Don. His youngest son Gunga Dordshi, however, remained with a portion of the Derbets, and attached himself to Donduk Ombo. In 1721, when the commotions among the Torguts had increased, those princes who wished to be neutral escaped to the Derbets on the Don. The Kalmuks were thus divided into two sections; 30,000 of them lived on the Volga, the rest, about 14,000, on the Don. The two rivals for the Khanship, the Vice-Khan Cheren Donduk and Donduk Ombo, both attacked the Don Kalmuks, and forced them to return and declare for either one side or the other. In 1731 Donduk Ombo gave his uncle a severe beating, and then retired with a large portion of the horde to the Kuban; with him went Cheter Taidshi and his son Gunga. His other son Lawan Donduk collected a considerable number of Derbets, and settled with the consent of the Russians within the Lines of Zaritzin. His father tried through Russian influence to persuade him to return, but meanwhile Gunga made a raid upon a body of Don Cossacks, and carried off a number of Kalmuks who wintered on the Donetz, and the negotiations broke down.*

Donduk Ombo, Khan of the Torguts, died in 1741. Lawa Donduk, who had succeeded his father as chief of the Derbets, made peace with the young Khan, his successor. They met in 1743 and con-

* Pallas, op. cit., i. 49-51.

firmed it, but the truce was a very hollow one. The Derbet chief was not unnaturally afraid that he and his horde were to be swallowed up by the much more numerous Torguts. He once more moved to the Don, and even assisted the Cossacks in their espionage on the movements of the Torguts. Lawa Donduk and his eldest son both died about 1748, and the former was succeeded by his younger son Galdan Chereng. The occasion was favourable for the ambitious plans of the Torguts. The Derbet chief was young. Donduk Taishi, the Torgut, gave him his daughter in marriage, and then proceeded by various intrigues to detach his adherents from him. His daughter, the wife of the young chief, was a sensual woman. In the language of Pallas, she had many lovers among the priests and Saissans, which caused her husband much jealousy. She also seconded her father's plans. In the winter of 1760 a grand attack upon the Kalmuk territory was threatened by the Kirghiz Kazaks. This gave the Torgut chief an excuse to collect a great force. He also ordered Galdan Chereng to join him with 1,000 men, and to leave the rest of his horde on the Sarpa. The latter prepared to obey, collected his men, and was on his march to join the Torgut Khan when he was warned of his intentions by a faithful Saissan, and fled to Zaritzin, and encamped with his people within the Lines on the Yelshanka brook. Craft and force were both used against the Derbet chief to compel him to return, and he probably only escaped by the opportune death of Donduk Taishi in 1761. Galdan Chereng took advantage of the confusion, and once more escaped to the Don. His wife, as is common among the Kalmuks, preferred to join her lovers among the Torguts to going with her husband.*

Expecting a general confusion, in which there would be some chance of revenging himself and improving his position, the Derbet chief prepared for war. Through the intervention of the Russians, anarchy was prevented. Ubasha succeeded to his father's authority among the Torguts, and Galdan Chereng was reconciled to him as well as to his own wife. No sooner did he get her home, however, than he imprisoned her lovers, seized their goods, and had them beaten with scourges, &c., so that one of them died, while she was sent home to her own people. He then married a Torgut princess, and lived peaceably with the Torgut Khan. In 1763 the Russians suspected he was intriguing with the Khan of the Crimea, and summoned him first to the Volga and then to St. Petersburg, where he died. His body was burnt, and the ashes placed under a brick tomb there. He left an infant son, during whose minority Ubasha tried once more to appropriate the Derbet horde. It once more escaped to the country between the Don and the Volga. The young prince was called Zebek Ubasha, and his relative Zenden was

* Pallas, op. cit., i. 51-54.

named his guardian.* We now reach the period when the Torguts migrated, as I have described.† This was in 1771. The Derbets did not join in the flight, but informed the Russians about it. Rumours arose two years afterwards that they intended to follow the example of their brothers, and the Russians determined to take precautions, and summoned Zebek Ubasha and other chiefs to St. Petersburg. There he died in 1774, leaving no issue. The dignity of Khan and Vice-Khan now fell into abeyance among the Volga Kalmuks, and the Derbets there were divided among three brothers, named Jal, Tundut, and Zenden, descended from a brother of Solom Chereng.‡ For fifteen years after the flight the Volga Kalmuks were governed by a Sarga or council, composed of three chiefs, a Derbet, a Torgut, and a Khoshote. From 1786-1788 they were subject to the court of justice at Astrakhan. From 1788 to 1796 their affairs were controlled by a chancellary, consisting of two Russian and several Kalmuk members, which sat first at Yenatayaresk and then at Astrakhan.§ In 1802 the Emperor Paul, in one of his inexplicable caprices, thought fit to re-establish the office of Vice-Khan, and bestowed it upon prince Chutshei.‖ He was the son of the Tundut above named.¶ "The administration of the hordes was again made independent, the functions of the Russian Pristofs were limited, and they could no longer abuse their power as much as they had done. But upon the death of Chutshei the Kalmuks again came under the Russian laws and tribunals; they lost all their privileges unreservedly, and the sovereignty of the Khans and Vice-Khans disappeared for ever."**

"The complete subjection of the Kalmuks was not, however, effected without much difficulty. Discontent prevailed among them in the highest degree, but their attempts at revolt were all fruitless. Hemmed in on all sides by lines of Cossacks, the tribes were constrained to accept the Russian sway in all its extent. The only remarkable incident of their last struggles was a partial emigration into the Cossack country. This insubordination excited the Czar's utmost wrath, and he despatched an extraordinary courier to Astrakhan, with orders to arrest the high priest and the principal chiefs of the hordes and send them to St. Petersburg. Before leaving Astrakhan they engaged a certain Maximof as interpreter. When they arrived at St. Petersburg the Emperor's fit of anger was over. They were well received, and returned to the steppes invested with a new Russian dignity. The audience where they took leave of the Emperor was turned to good account by the interpreter. In returning their thanks to his majesty, knowing he ran no risk of contradiction, he made Paul believe that the Kalmuks earnestly entreated that his Imperial majesty would grant him also an honorary grade in recompense for his good

* Pallas, i. 55. † Ante, 575, &c. ‡ Bergmann, op. cit., i. 230. § *Id.*, 231.
‖ De Hell's Travels, 235. ¶ Bergmann, i. 230. ** De Hell, 236.

services. The Czar was taken in by the trick, and he quitted the court with the title of major."*

When Zwick visited the steppes of the Volga there was a great feud in progress among the Kalmuks there. He thus describes the origin, &c., of the quarrel :—"Erdeni, the chief of one division of the Torgut horde, married Zebek, the sister of Erdeni prince of the Derbets. In the fortieth year of her age he sent her home to her father's tribe, in consequence of her infidelity. The Dèrbets demanded restitution of the dower. The Torguts refused it; and hence arose between the two clans the most violent animosity, the people on each side espousing the cause of their chieftain, and plunder and murder ensuing. Though the Derbet Erdeni had died the autumn before, the feud was not appeased, but was kept alive by his brother Jambe. The contest between the two hordes would have been very unequal (as the Derbets were reckoned at ten or from that to twelve thousand tents or families, and the Torguts at only 400,) but other hordes joined in the strife, according to their connection with the different parties concerned. On the side of the Derbets was the Tandikishan division of the Torgut horde, 1,000 tents strong, commanded by the princess Bogush or Nadmid, sister to the Derbet prince. On the other hand, Zerren Ubasha, another Torgut, with his horde of 800 tents, and the Bagan Zookors with 1,700 tents, took the part of the Torgut Erdeni, because the chief of the three nobles, by whom they were governed, was related to the Torgut prince. A third detachment of Torguts,† under the command of three brothers, Jirgal, Otshir, and Setter, ranged themselves nominally with prince Erdeni, and plundered friend and foe in a most unruly manner. It was chiefly by this branch of the Torgut tribe, that many Russian horsemen and Tartars were pillaged. Of all the hordes on the steppes, but two remained neutral; the Erkets, estimated at 1,000 tents, and the Khoshotes, of the same strength; the former on the western, the latter on the eastern shore of the Volga: so that of the 20,000 tents or families of Kalmuks, who inhabited the government of Astrakhan, there were, at the time we were travelling amongst them, only 2,000 at peace, and 3,000 were in arms against about 15,000. The Torguts, though in number only a fifth of the Derbets, had some advantages in the unequal strife, which enabled them to persevere with vigour. Their barren waterless steppes, and constant change of position, prevented them from being easily reached by the Derbets. The Torguts are moreover a hardy race, inured to privations, and subsisting in summer by the chase of antelopes, which abound on the steppes. For this reason, they are almost universally provided with guns, which is not the case with the less active and hardy Derbets. The

* De Hell's Travels, 236. † They were really Derbets. *Vide* infra.

Torgut horses are also decidedly superior to the Derbet, both in swiftness and capability of sustaining fatigue. They are fed upon wormwood and other dry herbs, while those of the Derbets are accustomed to richer pasture, and though apparently in better condition, are not so strong. These feuds had now lasted and gained strength uninterruptedly for three years. Government had not hitherto interfered with any severity, but had taken the tone of conciliation and kindness. As this had proved unavailing, and the Kalmuks, after the Russian residents (or Pristofs) were recalled from the hordes which we were to visit, burst forth with redoubled fury, on being relieved from their troublesome inspectors, it seemed probable that some important change was about to take place in the state of the tribes."*

Zwick paid a visit to the horde controlled by the three brothers, Setter, Jirgal, and Otshir, whom he calls sons of Zebek Ubashi. According to Pallas, as we have seen, that chief died childless. Zwick calls them Torguts, which is surely a mistake.† The missionaries took letters and various presents for them. Setter was idiotic and had been so from childhood, and Otshir ruled in his stead. He is probably the Otshir Kapshukof of Madame De Hell, who was chief of the three ulusses, Karakusofski, Yandikofski, and Great Derbet.‡ They found Jirgal encamped at Itelgin Khuduk (*i.e.*, the hawk's well). They thus describe their interview :—"Jirgal, a man about thirty years of age, thin, with only one eye, and in very dirty apparel, was lounging on a couch which was equally dirty, in a tent which had nothing princely about it. He took the introductory letter, which we presented, carelessly (contemptuously even), and after asking a few questions in a short boorish manner, he sent us back to our carriages. It was evident that we were to deal with a boor, though of princely rank, and we had very soon further proof of this fact. Just as we had eaten our moderate supper, by the side of our carriage, and were ready to betake ourselves to repose, the prince sent word by one of his servants that he was coming to pay us a visit. He arrived immediately, attended by two little pages. He called for tea, and first civilly and then with threats, desired to have brandy with it. He had already learnt from our attendants how much we had brought with us, and he drank, either separately or with his tea, fifteen glasses of brandy, which was the whole of our stock, except a small remainder which he carried off with him. He demanded abundance of sugar with it, and the gingerbread which we had designed for future presents. We could refuse him nothing, for our stores had been already announced, and we felt ourselves entirely in the power of an uncivilised (and as we clearly saw, blood-thirsty) robber, who perhaps had only to speak the word, and his subjects (a suspicious-looking rabble in Russian, Armenian,

* Zwick, op. cit., 41-44. † *Vide* ante, 586. ‡ De Hell's Travels, 237.

and Circassian dresses, whom we had already seen in considerable numbers about us) would have fallen upon us without mercy or delay. Neither here, nor in the other hordes which we afterwards visited, were there any Russian Pristofs, to whom we could apply for protection. The prince's love of plunder was now uppermost, and he desired to see our horses, but we succeeded in turning him from his purpose, by telling him that they were the property of the Government, which we had no power to dispose of. Upon this, he asked to see our daggers (which we had left in the coach), set himself by the fire, and tried them in various ways, particularly by letting them fall, together with his own, into the ground, after which he pronounced that mine (a very fine one, which I had bought at Astrakhan four years ago from a Persian) was the best of them all. He took possession of it immediately with the words, 'We will change,' and threw his own (which was a miserably poor one) to me. Brother Schill lost his tobacco-pipe on this occasion, and would have lost his good coat, if Jirgal, who had tried it on during the visit, had not luckily forgotten it when he was going away. As this was the process, I cleared away as well as I could everything that lay near us, whilst I sat by the side of the prince. The younger of our Tartars, Amur-Khan, was asleep in the coach before Jirgal arrived; old André was busy in looking after the fire and making the tea. At last, when Jirgal was intoxicated with the brandy he had taken, he insisted that André should dance and sing to him. André declared that he could not do either. The prince then roared to Amur-Khan, who came out bewildered and half asleep, and declared in like manner that he could not sing; and then the two pages who were kneeling before their master, watching every wink, and catching occasional morsels of gingerbread which he threw them, were ordered to sing. They struck up in concert a Kalmuk song, in honour of a certain Shushing Saloh, a bandit, who was at last taken by the Russians, and banished to Siberia. When Jirgal thought proper to leave us (at one o'clock) he desired that our André should take care of him home, and without the smallest provocation, he tried to stab him on the road. At the first attempt, André caught hold of his arm, and at the second he ran away and made his escape. We were afterwards informed by a credible eye-witness that Jirgal is every now and then possessed with this murderous propensity, and that this very spring he had maimed a young man, hand and foot, on a similar occasion. No merchant now comes to the neighbourhood, and even his countrymen keep at a distance, for he plunders and ill-treats all who come in his way. Formerly he governed the whole horde, which the three brothers had inherited from their father, but as his greediness revolted his subjects, the second brother, Otshir, supported by the high Pristof, assumed the command. Thus Jirgal (as well as his brother Setter) lost his share of the horde, and he was at this

time surrounded only by a motley rabble whom he had gathered together. All this was entirely unknown to us, till we found it out by unpleasant experience. We were now in haste to make our escape, and as soon as Jirgal had slept off the effects of his brandy, on the following morning the 7th of July, we went to him, to ask for the letter which we had presented to him, without which we should have no introduction to Otshir. The letter we obtained without any difficulty, but we neither saw nor heard any more of the things he had stolen. We had hardly got back to our coach when the prince came on horseback and demanded punch tea, which we could not give him, as he had taken all our brandy the evening before. He dictated to one of his attendants a few unconnected lines, saying that he agreed in opinion with Erdeni, and had also received two of our books; and he bade us come and fetch this writing the following day, when it would be sealed and ready. He desired two Gezulls who were present to take the books, upon which they both slipt out of the way in silence. When he was about to ride off he told Brother Schill to follow him, and at some little distance he again pressed him to give him his coat, offering a horse in return (which it would not have been easy to get, for the prince had none in his possession except the identical beast upon which he was riding); at last, under various pretences, the demand was eluded, and in the afternoon he sent us a sheep and some chigan."

Madame De Hell describes the European Kalmuks as being divided into two great classes, "those belonging respectively to the princes and to the Crown, but all are answerable to the same laws and the same tribunals. The former pay a tax of twenty-five roubles to their princes, who have the right of taking from among them all the persons they require for their domestic service, and they are bound to maintain a police and good order within their camp. Every chief has at his command several subaltern chiefs called Saissans, who have the immediate superintendence of 100 or 150. His office is nearly hereditary. He who fills it enjoys the title of prince, but this is not shared by the other members of his family. The Saissans are entitled to a contribution of two roubles from every kibitka or tent under their command. The hordes of the Crown come under more direct Russian surveillance. They paid no tax at first, and were bound to military service in the same way as the Cossacks, but they have been exempted from it since 1836, and now pay merely a tax of twenty-five roubles for each family. The princely hordes, likewise, used to supply troops for the frontier services, but this was changed in 1825, and since then the Kalmuks have been free from all military service, and pay only twenty-five roubles per tent to the princes and two and a half to the Crown."*

* De Hell, 237.

Besides these two great divisions the Kalmuks are also distinguished into various ulusses or hordes belonging to various princes. Each ulus has its own camping ground for summer and winter.* Zwick tells us that the Derbets lived chiefly to the east of the Don and the Sarpa in the summer and in the winter on the banks of the Kuma.†

According to Madame De Hell "the Kalmuk territory has been considerably reduced since the departure of Ubasha. It now comprises but a small extent of country on the left bank of the Volga, and the Kirghises of the Inner Horde now occupy the steppes between the Ural and the Volga. The present limits of European Kalmukia are to the north and east of the Volga as far as latitude 48 deg.; a line drawn from that point to the mouths of the Volga parallel with the course of the river and at a distance from it of about forty miles, and lastly the Caspian Sea as far as Kuma. On the south side the boundary is the Kuma, and a line drawn from that river below Vladimirofka to the upper course of the Kugulcha. The Egorlik, and a line passing through the sources of the different rivers that fall into the Don, forms the frontiers on the west. The whole portion of the steppes included between the Volga, the frontiers of the Government of Saratof and the country of the Don Cossacks, and the 46th degree of north latitude forms the summer camping ground of the following ulusses :—Karakusofski, Yandikofski, and Great Derbet, belonging to prince Otshir Kapshukof; Little Derbet, belonging to prince Tondudof, and Ikitsokurofski, which is now (*i.e.*, in 1838) without a proprietor, its prince having died childless. It is not known who is going to have his inheritance. The whole territory comprises about 4,105,424 hectares of land; 40,000 were detached from it in 1838 by prince Tondudof and presented to the Cossacks, in return for which act of generosity the Crown conferred on him the rank of captain. He gave a splendid ball on the occasion, which cost upwards of 15,000 roubles. We saw him in that town at the governor's soirée, where he made a poor figure, yet he is the richest of all the Kalmuk princes for he possesses 4,500 tents, and his income amounts, it is said, to more than 200,000 roubles.

"The Kalmuks occupy in all 10,297,587 hectares of land, of which 8,599,415 are in the Government of Astrakhan and 1,598,172 in that of the Caucasus. These figures, which cannot be expected to be mathematically correct, are the result of my own observations and of the assertions of the Kalmuks, compared with some surveys made by order of the Administrative Committee."‡

In regard to the number of the European Kalmuks the same gifted authoress reports thus: "According to the official documents communicated to me, the Kalmuk population does not exceed 15,000 families.

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* *Id.*, † Op. cit., 38, 39. ‡ De Hell's Travels, 237, 238.

On this head, however, it is impossible to arrive at very exact statistics, for the princes having themselves to pay the Crown dues, have of course an interest in making the population seem as small as possible. I am inclined to believe from sundry facts that the number of the tents is scarcely under 20,000. At all events, it seems ascertained that the Kalmuk population has remained stationary for the last sixty years, a fact which is owing to the ravages of disease, such as smallpox and others of the cutaneous kind."*

I have already enumerated from Pallas† the fragments of the Torgut horde that remained behind after the great migration. He also gives a table of the other Kalmuks, which runs thus :

Under the Khoshote Prince Samyang	.....	817 tents.
„ „ „ Takka and his nephews	.....	210 „
„ „ „ Samyang's stepson Tummen..		294 „
„ Derbet Jirgal	.....	50 „
„ „ Zebek Ubasha and his relations	.....	4422 „

Besides these a very large body of Kalmuks, numbering some 12,000 men, were nominally Christians, and lived in the district of Stavropol.‡

In regard to the latter, Giorgi says that towards the end of the seventeenth century the Khan and Taishis of the Torguts were informed that the Russians did not intend to surrender such of the Kalmuk fugitives as became Christians. After a while the number of these converts increased, and some of their leaders even became Christians. As they did not agree with their unconverted brethren, the Russian authorities at length, in 1737, planted them as a separate colony in the fruitful district watered by the rivers Samara, Sok, and Tok, and also gave them the city of Stavropol (*i.e.*, city of the cross), where churches, schools, and dwellings were built for them. They were under similar regulations to the Cossacks, and they were divided into ulusses, and these again into companies under their own leaders. The contingent they supplied served on the Orenburgh-Kirghiz frontier, and was free from all taxes ; they were in fact in Russian pay. At first they were subject to a baptised Kalmuk princess named Anna, afterwards to prince Peter Torgutskoy, and when Georgi wrote to a judicial court or Sarga. In 1754 they numbered 8,695 souls ; in 1771 about 14,000. It was only the princes who lived at Stavropol ; their subjects lived, like their unconverted brethren, in tents in the open country.§

Most of these Kalmuks of Stavropol were no doubt merely nominal Christians, who sought protection from Russia during the troubled period of their history, and when things looked brighter they rejoined their brethren further north. In the time of Madame De Hell they had been greatly reduced in numbers. She thus speaks of them : "Lastly are to

* Op. cit., 240. † *Vide* ante, 586. ‡ Op. cit., i. 94.
§ Georgi beschreibung aller Nationen des Russischen Reichs, 417.

be enumerated 500 families of Kalmuks, improperly called Christians, who occupy the two banks of the Kuma between Vladimirofka and the Caspian. Some Russian missionaries attempted their conversion towards the close of the last century, but their proselytising efforts, based on force, were fruitless, and produced nothing but revolts. Since then these Kalmuks, some of whom had suffered themselves to be baptised, were called Christians, chiefly for the purpose of distinguishing them from those who are not bound to military service. They are chiefly employed in guarding the salt pools, and belong, under the denomination of Cossacks, to the regiment of Mosdok. The Government feeds them and their horses when they are on actual service, but they still pay a tax for every head of cattle, the amount of which goes into the regimental chest.*

A number of Kalmuks are also found among the Cossacks of the Don and the Ural, the former in Pallas' day consisted of about 2,000 men and were known as Cherkasian Kalmuks and were ruled like the other Cossacks by their own Starchins. Their origin dates from the time of Ayuka Khan.† Georgi also mentions a small section of Muhammedan Kalmuks living east of the Ural mountains and in the Government of Orenburgh. They were a fragment of the Volga Kalmuks who were subdued by the Kirghises and by them circumcised and converted to Islam. They eventually moved into the Bashkir country, where the Bashkirs granted them pastures, gave them their daughters in marriage, &c., and they adopted the Bashkir mode of living.‡

Note 1.—In a subject like the one we are writing about, a tentative result is the only one we can often obtain, and this has frequently to be modified as our facts increase upon us. Thus in the chapter on the Khoshotes I ventured to suggest that they were the Eleuths proper, and that the latter name became afterwards extended so as to include all the Kalmuks.§ I have also suggested that the term Baghatud, used by Ssanang Setzen, was a name under which the Sungars and Derbets were comprised. After a good deal of thought I am now disposed to modify these conclusions. The Chinese accounts refer so pointedly to the Sungars under the name Eleuth that I am constrained to conclude that the Sungars were in fact primarily meant by that name. In Kien Lung's account of the conquest of the Sungars they are almost invariably called Eleuths. Eleuth and Sungar are in fact used as convertible terms.‖ Again, the King of Choros is said to have been the chief of the four princes who had formerly ruled the Eleuths; and Ta wa tsi, who was the legitimate Sungar chief, is specially mentioned as being descended from Choros Khan.¶ Again, Müller, in describing the

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* De Hell, op. cit., 239. † Pallas, op. cit., i. 94. ‡ Georgi, op. cit., 419.
§ *Vide* ante, 498. ‖ Mems. sur la Chine, i. 366, 379, 380. ¶ *Id.*, 340.

Kalmuks, mentions the Eleuths and Khoshotes as distinct branches of the Durben Uirads.* Lastly, in De Mailla, while the subjects of Galdan are constantly referred to as Eleuths, the Khoshotes are distinguished by a special name, namely, Hachha.† On the other hand, the name Khoshote, which according to Pallas means hero,‡ is a mere synonym for Baghatud or Bahtud, which means the same thing,§ and it would seem from the Notes to Kien Lung's Narrative that it was only after Utshirtu and his brother Ablai migrated to the west of the Loangho that they were styled Eleuths, implying that they obtained that name only when they had moved into the country of the Eleuths proper, so that I am now disposed to identify the Sungars with the Eleuths of the Chinese, and the Ogheled of Ssanang Setzen; and the Khoshotes with the Bahtud or Baghatud of the latter author.

Note 2.—In regard to the so-called stone butter, mentioned ante page 611, I find that Schmidt's references there given are not to the French edition of Pallas's Travels, which is the one usually quoted, but to some other edition. In the French edition it will be found described in Vol. ii. 120, iii. 396, and iv. 366. It seems to be a kind of greasy earth found in crevices in the rocks, the product of the disintegration of the aluminous parts of granite and other rocks, and is probably the same substance as the kaolin or China clay used for making porcelain in the barbarous latitudes of China, and for filling up the interstices in badly made cotton cloth in civilised Europe. A similar earth is used by some of the Indian tribes of America, in cases of emergency, in place of more nourishing food.

Note 3.—I mentioned that Kharakhulla derived his name from a wild animal of the same name, whose description I copied from Pallas. I find the same animal mentioned by Mr. Dilke in his account of lake Sairam, published in the "Geographical Magazine." He identifies it with the lynx. In addition to the mention of Kharakhulla by Fischer, I notice that Müller has several references to him in his eighth volume, but he adds nothing material to what I have already stated about him in the text.

Note 4.—On page 496 I mentioned that Timkowski gives an account of Galdan and of the origin of the troubles among the Kalmuks, which seems utterly wrong. I believe that his mistake is, however, capable of correction. He has confused Galdan, the Sungar chief, who was a Lama originally, as I have said, with the son of the Jassaktu Khan of the Khalkhas, who was also a Lama, and was in fact the first Khutuktu who appeared among the Khalkhas. It would seem that the latter's name also was Galdan,‖ which makes the error a very excusable one, and has in fact been made by Pallas himself.¶

Note 5.—The efforts of the Christian missionaries among the Kalmuks

* Op. cit., 280. Note. † Op. cit., xi. 277. ‡ Op. cit., i. 10. § *Id.*, i. 33.
‖ Pallas, Saml. Hist. Nach., ii. 423. Note. ¶ Loc. cit.

have been very meagrely rewarded. Lamaism seems to suit their ways of thought much better. When in 1763 Catherine II. planted the German colonies on the Volga, the United Brethren formed a settlement at the junction of the Sarpa and the Volga, and with a reference to the first book of Kings, c. 17, they named it Sarepta. This settlement was plundered by Pugachef in 1774. When the revolt was quelled the settlement again began to flourish, grazing and husbandry prospered. Many Kalmuks visited it, and many of the Brethren became acquainted with their language, but their efforts in proselytising were unsuccessful, and for some time the settlement began again to decay. The secretary of the Russian Bible Society at that time was Isaac Jacob Schmidt, "a man well skilled in the Mongol tongue," and well known to our readers as the translator of Ssanang Setzen. In 1815 some translations of the New Testament which he had made were published; and in the same year two of the Sarepta Brothers, named Schill and Hubner, accompanied by their instructor in the Kalmuk language (Brother Loos), set off to the Khoshote horde which encamped on the Volga, 140 miles from Sarepta and thirty-five from Astrakhan. They were well received by prince Tumene, and also furnished with a teacher named Schalz, who had formerly been a chief in the tribe. The Russian Bible Society now sent some copies of the Scriptures to be distributed. During Tumene's reign no hindrance was put in the way of their distribution, but on his death in 1816, and on the arrival of his successor Schwedshab from St. Petersburg, great difficulties arose, chiefly on account of Nomtu and Badma, two Buriat nobles who had been summoned from lake Baikal to assist in translating the Bible into their dialect, and who became converts to Christianity, and sent word to their countrymen. A copy of their letter came into the hands of the Khoshotes, and created some ill-feeling there.

In 1818 Hubner was relieved by Loos. Among their converts was a Torgut named Sodnom, who brought over his brother and some others, and a small Christian community was thus formed in the Khoshote horde; but this was by no means welcome to the authorities, and in the autumn of 1821 the converted Kalmuks and the three Brethren received an order to quit the horde. They departed without molestation under the guidance of brother Schill, and arrived, twenty-two in number, on the banks of the Volga opposite Sarepta. This was in October, and the winter was coming on. The island in the Volga, which belonged to Sarepta, was at first assigned them, where they pitched their tents and where a log-house was build for their teachers. In the Easter of 1822 a home was allotted them on the west shore of the Volga, near a mineral spring, a little more than three miles from Sarepta, where they dwelt more than a year awaiting baptism. At this time however the Established Church reserved to itself exclusively the right of converting heathens and

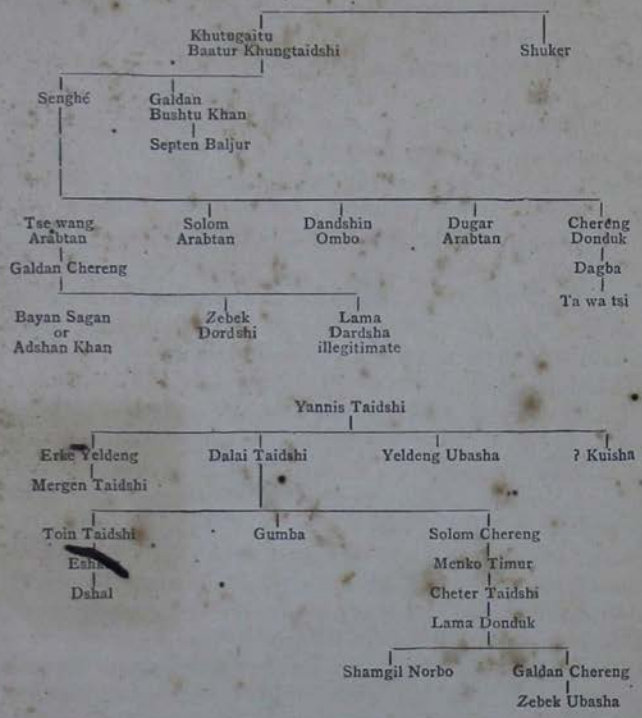
of allowing them to make an open profession of Christianity by being baptised; other Christian bodies were merely allowed to assist in disseminating the Scriptures. "The question what was to become of the exiles who had settled near Sarepta was decided in 1823. On the 12th of October in that year fifteen Kalmuks of the Derbet horde, headed by a priest (*i.e.*, a Lama), made a plundering expedition upon their believing countrymen, one of them named Lurum escaped with difficulty. Nothing remained for the oppressed but to put themselves under the Russian protection at Zaritzin. Sodnom and his brother were baptised there into the orthodox Greek Church, and so ended the efforts of the Sarepta Brothers for the conversion of the Kalmuks."* Zwick himself was one of the Brothers, and the journey he took in 1823 among the Kalmuks to distribute Bibles has already furnished us with some curious facts in their later history.

The prince Tumene just named was visited by Madame De Hell, who thus describes him:—"Prince Tumene is the wealthiest and most influential of all the Kalmuk chiefs. In 1815 he raised a regiment at his own expense, and led it to Paris, for which meritorious service he was rewarded with numerous decorations. He has now the rank of colonel, and he was the first of this nomade people who exchanged his kibitka for an European dwelling. Absolute master in his own family (among the Kalmuks the same respect is paid to the eldest brother as to the father), he employs his authority only for the good of those around him. He possesses about a million deciatines of land, and several hundred families, from which he derives a considerable revenue. His race, which belongs to the tribe of the Khoshotes, is one of the most ancient and respected among the Kalmuks. Repeatedly tried by severe afflictions, his mind has taken an exclusively religious bent, and the superstitious practices to which he devotes himself give him a great reputation for sanctity among his countrymen. An isolated pavilion at some distance from the palace is his habitual abode, where he passes his life in prayer and religious conference with the most celebrated priests of the country. No one but these latter is allowed admission into his mysterious sanctuary; even his brothers have never entered it. This is assuredly a singular mode of existence, especially if we compare it with that which he might lead amidst the splendour and conveniences with which he has embellished his palace, and which betoken a cast of thought far superior to what we should expect to find in a Kalmuk. This voluntary sacrifice of earthly delights, this asceticism caused by moral sufferings, strikingly reminds us of Christianity and the origin of our religious orders. Like the most fervent Catholics, this votary of Lama seeks in solitude, prayer, austerity, and the hope of another life, consolations which all his fortune

* Zwick, op. cit., 14-23.

is powerless to afford him! Is not this the history of many a Trappist or Carthusian?"*

Note 6.—The following genealogical tables illustrate the history of the Sungars and Derbets as given in this chapter.



In these lists, which I have taken from Pallas, I have merely abstracted those names which occur in the preceding text.

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* De Hell, op. cit., 169.

CHAPTER XII.

THE BURIATS.

IN an inquiry like the present, which bristles with difficulties and in which opinion is unsettled upon so many points, it is not strange that our conclusions are often only tentative and subject to be modified by further criticism. More than once in the course of this work I have had to qualify or alter opinions formerly held, and held in common with previous inquirers. I have now to do so again. On page 498 I asserted that Uirad is not a race name among the Mongols. On page 558 I argued that the term Durben Uirad is a mere descriptive epithet, and not in use as an indigenous name among the Mongols, and further, the only race who style themselves Uirad are the Telenguts, who I therefore identified with the Uirads of Raschid. I again argued the same way on page 590. That this conclusion was not without some warrant may be seen by an examination of the reasons there given, but it is a conclusion to which I cannot now wholly subscribe. It is true the Telenguts still call themselves Uirads, and that they were treated as Uirads by Ssanang Setzen in the seventeenth century; but this I now hold to be due to the fact that they were formerly in close alliance if not subject to the Uirads, and I now hold that the modern Telenguts are descended from the Telenguts of Raschid, and not from the Uirads of that author. Nor am I so confident now that the name is not used as a race name, or that its etymology has been finally settled. I have only recently met with a passage in a scarce work by Schmidt, in which it is stated that the favourite name the Volga Kalmuks give themselves is Uirad or Mongol Uirad.* Schmidt, who probably knew the Volga Kalmuks better than anybody, is not likely to have been mistaken. It seems clear further, that the name by which the Kalmuks were known to the Chinese during the supremacy of the Ming, namely, Wala, is a mere transcription of Uirad; the Chinese, who have no *r*, replacing it by *l*. Besides the Uirad,† or Durben Uirad,‡ we also read of the Uirad Buriad§ and the Gol Minggan of the Uirad.‖ I am therefore pretty confident that Uirad is an indigenous name among the Kalmuks. Let us now

* Forschungen in Gebiete der Altern. Rel., &c., der Volk. Mitt. Asiens., 48. Note.
† Ssanang Setzen, 87, 139, 145, 153, 159, 167, &c. ‡ *Id.*, 143, 147, and 160. § *Id.*, 155.
‖ *Id.*, 169.

shortly consider its meaning. Remusat and Pallas, both of them first-rate authorities, tells us that Durben Uirad means the four allies,* and this etymology has been pretty generally received, but there is another which has some plausibility.

In speaking of the herds of white mares kept by Jingis Khan, Marco Polo says, "The milk of these mares is drunk by himself and his family, and none else except by those of one great tribe that have also the privilege of drinking it. This privilege was granted them by Jingis Khan on account of a certain victory they helped him to win long ago. The name of the tribe is Horiad."† Colonel Yule identifies the Horiad with the Uirad, and he adds that according to Vambery, Oyurat means a grey horse. This, as Colonel Yule says, is in curious accord with the anecdote told by Pallas. I may add further that Vambery considers that Kunkurat is derived from the Turki Kongur-At, a chesnut horse, which would make a parallel example.‡ Whatever the etymology, I believe the ancient Uirads of Raschid to have been the ancestors of the modern Kalmuks.

According to Abulghazi, the Uirads were settled on the Sikiz Muran (i.e. the eight rivers). These eight rivers, he says, fell into the Angara, [illegible] into the great head stream of the Kem or Yenissei, which flows out of the lake Baikal. This is confirmed by the names of the rivers. Thus the [illegible] Akra Muran is doubtless the Irkut. The Aka Muran is no doubt the Oka, the Chaghan Muran, or white river, doubtless [illegible] the Biela, which is a new name given to one of the tributaries of the [illegible] by the Russians, and which means white, while the Jurja Muran is perhaps the upper Tunguska, Jurji being the Mongol name for the Tungus.§ Of the other four rivers the Kara Ussun is still the name of a tributary of the Oka. The Une Muran is probably the modern Unga. The Kuk Muran, or blue river, and the Sanbikun (called Siyitun by Erdmann) I cannot identify; but these suffice to fix the homeland of the Uirads in the days of Jingis Khan. The Uirads were divided into several tribes. Although they spoke Mongol, yet their dialect was somewhat different from that of the other Mongols. Thus a knife, which among the other Mongals was called gitukah, they called mudghah. They were close allies of Jingis Khan, to whom they apparently submitted without any struggle. Their chief in his days was named Khutuka Bigi, who left two sons named Inalji and Turalji, and a daughter named Ukul Kitmish, who seems to have married Mangu Khan. Turalji married Jijegan, Jingis Khan's daughter, and was thence known as Turalji Kurgan, or the son-in-law. By her he became the father of Buka Timur,‖ who was a famous general and served in Khulagu's western campaign. It was probably with him that the large body of

* *Vide* ante, 558. † Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., i. 291. ‡ *Id.*, 350.
§ Von Hammer's Ilkhans, i. 10. Note. ‖ Erdmann's Temudjin, 188.

Uirads entered Persia, who are mentioned by the Egyptian historian Makrizi. He describes how in 1296 15,000 Uirad families deserted the service of Gazan Khan of Persia and went to the Mameluke ruler of Damascus, by whom they were well received. We are told that their heathenish practices, however, gave offence to the faithful, that they were settled in the Sâhil or coast districts of Palestine, where many of them died, and the others embraced Islam, spread over the country, and gradually became absorbed in the general population. Their sons and daughters were greatly admired for their beauty.*

We are now in a position to inquire into the origines of the Buriats, who still form the most unsophisticated of the Mongol tribes, and who occupy such a large area on both sides of the Baikal Sea. They are otherwise known as Barga Buriats, and are called Bratski by the Russian travellers. Buriat ought perhaps to be written Burut, the name by which the Eastern or Proper Kirghises are also known. Schmidt tells us the Kalmuks call these Kirghises, as well as the Buriats of the Baikal Burut.† The etymology of the name is perhaps to be found in the word Buri, which, according to Timkowski, means a stallion.

According to the traditions of the Buriats, they are very closely connected with the Uirads. They say that Eleuth and Buriad were two brothers, who quarrelled about a foal and separated.§ Sanang Setzen calls them Uirad Buriad.‖ As I have said, the Buriats are also called Barga Buriats. This connects them with the Barguts of Raschid. He makes the name generic, and tells us it includes the Barguts, the Kuris, the Tulas, and the Tumats.¶ The name Bargut, wrongly written Turghaut by Abulghazi, means "on the other side," and was given them, he tells us, probably copying Raschid, because they lived on the other side of the Selinga, in the country called the plain of Bargu by Marco Polo, and which, according to Hyacinthe, is still called Barakhu.** The same country is doubtless meant by the Barguchin Tugrum of Raschid, who tells us the Tumats lived there. The latter form of the name survives on the river Barguzin, which flows into lake Baikal on the east, and on which is the Russian settlement of Barguzinskoi.††

The various Bargut tribes seem to be referred to in the history of Jingis Khan under the name of Tumats. Their chief was then called Tatulah Sukar. They seem to have rebelled during his absence in China, and in 1217 he sent his general Burghul against them. He demanded a contingent of troops from their neighbours the Kirghises, and afterwards subdued them.‡‡ We are told by Petis de la Croix that the Tumats were

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* Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., i. 299. † Schmidt, Forschungen, &c., 46.
‡ Op. cit., ii. 478. § Fischer's Sibirishe Geschicte, 33. ‖ Op. cit., 155.
¶ Erdmann's Temudjin, 189. ** Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., i. 263.
†† D'Ohsson, i. 30. Erdmann, 189. ‡‡ Erdmann's Temudjin, 333. D'Ohsson, i. 157.

so terribly punished on this occasion that Jingis himself came to the rescue of the survivors, and ordered their children to be educated and their wives and daughters to be married.*

After this the Tumats and their allies disappear from history for many centuries. If there are any native chronicles extant among the Buriats none of them have been made accessible to us, and we do not meet with reliable notices of them until the Russian invasion of Siberia. We can only dimly gather that during the interval they spread a good deal from their original homeland. Of this we have some evidence. Thus Raschid himself tells us that the country on the Angara, then occupied by the Uirads, was the former homeland of the Tumats. And on turning to the traditions of the Kalmuks, collected by Pallas, we find that the most widely spread belief among them makes out that the four sections of the Durben Uirads were originally the Eleuths, the Khoits, the Tummuts, and the Barga Buriats. These Tummuts can be no other than the Tumats of Raschid. Pallas adds that the Kalmuks do not know what has become of the Tummuts. They believe that they still exist in Eastern Asia, and mention a fable according to which the roving spirit Shara-bukan, who is often the leader of tribes when wandering, separated them from the other Uirads and led them far away.† We must be careful to distinguish them from the Seven Tumeds, a tribe of [illegible] in among the Mongols of the Forty-nine Banners, whom [illegible] scribed, and with whom they are confounded by Pallas [illegible]. Many of the Buriats still remain in the country watered by [illegible] and also in the land of Bargu, both of them inhabited, as I have shown, by the Barguts in the time of Jingis Khan. Another body of them is now found on the Lena. This, however, seems to be an intrusive section. Fischer has remarked that when the Russians conquered the Tunguses on the Lena the latter, who are clearly the old inhabitants of this area, were tributaries of the Buriats, pointing to their having been conquered by them; and among the Yakuts, another intrusive tribe, on the Middle Lena, who form a curious section of the Turk race, there is a tradition that they comparatively recently migrated down that river from the neighbourhood of the Baikal lake, where they formerly lived on good terms with the Buriats, but having quarrelled with them they were driven from their old land. The movement of the Buriats to the Lena was perhaps coincident with the migration of the Yakuts, and may have been connected also with the displacing of the Tumats on the Angara by the Uirads. It is curious that Baikal, meaning rich sea, is a Yakut and not a Buriat gloss. Let us now turn to the later history of the Buriats. They are first named, so far as I know, in the Russian annals in 1612, when we

* Op. cit., 113. † Pallas, Saml. Hist. Nach., i. 7.
‡ Pallas, *op. cit.*, i. 7. Ssanang Setzen, 373.

read that the Siberian tribe of the Arini submitted to the Russians, and that a short time before the same Arini had been attacked by the Buriats.* They are next mentioned in 1622, when we are told they appeared on the Yenissei with a body of 3,000 men,† but they seem to have retired again. It was not till 1627 that they came into actual contact with the Russians. In that year Maxim Perfirief with forty Cossacks was sent along the river Tunguska, and reached the so-called Buriat waterfalls or rapids, made tributary the Tunguses on its banks, and then went overland to the settlements of the Buriats, who refused submission. He returned to Yeniseisk in 1628.‡ The same year the Cossack sotnik or captain, Peter Beketof, with a party of Cossacks, built the fort or settlement of Kibenskoi, whence he navigated the Tunguska in canoes, passed the waterfalls, and took tribute from the Buriats on the Oka. He also carried off a number of Buriats as slaves, but these were returned.§ The Cossack explorers of Siberia had a good deal of the buccaneer about them, and their brave and dangerous journeys were often made in search of plunder, furs, &c., which were easily forced from the weak tribes. It would seem that rumours had reached the Russians that there was a good deal of silver among the Buriats. This came to them from China by way of the Mongols, and it was this which apparently induced the Voivode of Yeniseisk, Yakof Khripunof, to make an expedition into their country. He set out from Tobolsk in the spring of 1628, and a year later reached the mouth of the Ilim, a tributary of the Tunguska. Leaving a small body of Cossacks there in charge of some guns he had taken with him, and sending thirty others towards the Lena, he marched with the remainder to the Angara. He met with the Buriats on the Oka, where we are told he was victorious, but his victory bore no fruits, for he returned and almost immediately died. This expedition also carried off twenty-one Buriats as slaves, but they were sent home again.‖ The Russians now attempted to approach the Buriats in a more diplomatic fashion, sent them back some prisoners they had captured, and sent two Cossacks to them as envoys, but they were not well received, and one of them was killed.¶

In 1631 the Russians built a fort near the mouth of the Oka, which was given the name of Bratzkoi from the Buriats in whose country it was built. After the murder of the Cossack above named the Ataman Maxim Perfirief, with fifteen Cossacks, had made an expedition to the Buriats. Each of them was presented with a sable skin by the latter in gratitude for the release of their friends above named. This present was construed by the Russians into a payment of tribute, but the construction was resented by the Buriats, who also persuaded the Tunguses to cease paying yassak.**

* Fischer's Sib. Gesch., i. 390. † Fischer, op. cit., 399. Muller, Samlung, &c., viii. 127.
‡ Fischer, op. cit., 477, 478. § *Id.*, 479, 480. ‖ Fischer, op. cit., 485, 486.
¶ *Id.*, 487. ** *Id.*, 488, 489.

In 1635 the Buriats killed Dunaief and fifty-two Cossacks who formed the garrison of the Bratzkoi ostrog, and carried of their guns and ammunition.* A force was now sent from Yeniseisk to punish them. They were speedily reduced, and the Russians extended their authority so much among them that in 1639 the district subject to the Ostrog at Bratskoi extended from the Wichorefka, a tributary of the Angara, as far as the Uda.†

Meanwhile the Cossacks were also advancing on the side of the Lena. The Tunguses there were tributaries of the Buriats, and were forbidden by the latter to pay the Russians tribute. The sotnik Beketof accordingly set out to punish them. He had thirty men only with him, of whom he left ten at Ust Kut.‡ With the rest he advanced to the river Kulenga, where the Buriat steppe commenced. This was in 1631. After a march of five days he came upon a body of 200 Buriats, who fled. The Cossacks having entrenched themselves, sent to demand that they should become Russian subjects. They promised to send them some furs in two days as a tribute. Two of their chiefs accordingly went with sixty followers. They were allowed to enter the stockade after depositing their bows and arrows outside, and they then offered five wretched [illegible] and a rotten fox skin, almost denuded of hair. The Russian commander was indignant, and saw that a trick was being played upon him. Then the Buriats, who seem to have had no intention of becoming Russians, pulled out the knives and daggers they had [illegible], but the Russians were prepared and laid forty of them [illegible] and wounded many of the rest, while they [illegible] three Tunguses (who were protegés of the Russians, among them being the Tungus chief Lipka), and wounding one Cossack. Meanwhile the Buriats assembled outside to revenge their dead countrymen. Beketof thought it prudent to retire, and having mounted his men on Buriat horses, made a hasty retreat, riding in one march twenty-four hours together, and at length reached the mouth of the Tutur, where his allies the Tunguses lived, and where he determined to build an ostrog or settlement.§

A few years later, namely, in 1640, Wasilei Witesef was sent at the head of ten Cossacks from Ilimsk along the Lena. He brought many of the Tunguses into subjection, and then went to the Buriats at the mouth of the Onga, a tributary of the Lena, from whom he demanded tribute. Some excused themselves on the ground that they had already to pay tribute to the Mongols on the other side of Lake Baikal, while others asked time for consultation with their friends.‖ Wasilei having returned

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* *Id.*, 490. † *Id.*, 490.

‡ These numbers are interesting as showing how very like Pizarro's campaign in Peru this Russian advance was, and with what very small bodies of troops Siberia was conquered.

§ *Id.*, 495-497. ‖ *Id.*, 723-725.

to Ilimsk, it was determined to prosecute a campaign against the Buriats. One hundred men, under his command, were accordingly sent in the early spring of 1641. They marched on snow shoes, and were guided by the Tunguses, and so surprised the Buriats that in three weeks they were made to submit. Their chief Chepchugai kept up the struggle, however, and we are told he defended his yurt bravely, and wounded many of the Russians with the arrows he shot from it. He was only subdued when his tent was set on fire by the Russians, and he had perished in it.* Having recovered from their panic, the Buriats afterwards recommenced the struggle, and we are told that Kurshum, Chepchugai's brother collected a body of 200 of them and made an attack, in the hope of releasing his countrymen who had been taken prisoners, among whom his son Chefdakom was the most distinguished, a bloody struggle ensued, which lasted from dawn till nightfall, in which the Buriats were at length beaten off, although not until the Russians had suffered severely.† This struggle seems to have cowed the Buriats, and the Russians having offered to release their prisoners, who were chiefly women, if they would go to them and do homage and agree to pay tribute, Kurshum, who was now their head chief, went to their camp. The prisoners were set free except Chefdakom, Kurshum's son, whom the Russians wished to retain as a hostage, and whose freedom was only purchased by his father agreeing to become a hostage in his place.‡ Later in the year an ostrog was built on the Lena to control these Buriats. This was called Werkholensk.§ In 1644 a sub-chief of Cossacks named Kurbat Iwanof, who commanded at Werkholensk, made an apparently unprovoked attack on the Buriats in the steppes of the Angara, and returned with much booty. This caused an alliance between the Angara Buriats and those of the Lena, who determined upon a joint expedition against Werkholensk. They accordingly carried off the Russian cattle there and beleagured the fort. They were 2,000 strong, were all mounted, armed with bows and arrows, with swords and lances, and many of them wore coats of mail; but they did not take the fort, although its garrison was only fifty strong. But they did not pay tribute that year, and they so frightened the Tunguses that they also stayed away with their yassak. The following year Alexei Bedaref, with 130 Cossacks, was sent from Ilimsk to relieve the fort. On the way he defeated a body of 500 Buriats, and when he came near Werkholensk the besiegers withdrew. He turned aside to attack one of the Buriat camps, which he surprised in the absence of the warriors, and took some prisoners. He then went on to Werkholensk, where he was followed by the Buriats. They prayed him to release their people, which he did on condition that they became tributary. The following

* *Id.*, 725, 726. † *Id.*, 726. ‡ *Id.*, 727. § *Id.*, 728.

year, *i.e.*, in 1646, he marched against another of their tribes, but it showed a bold front. Notwithstanding this the Russians overcame them, and also succeeded in subduing a third tribe. But meanwhile the Buriats began to collect together in large numbers from the neighbourhood round, and Bedaref deemed it prudent to retire to Werkholensk, which he had some difficulty in reaching.* The same year Bedaref had a campaign with the Buriats beyond the Angara. In this he was at first successful, but as he returned his retreat was cut off by 2,000 of the enemy, and he lost many of his men in a struggle with them. The Buriats, however, lost heart in turn and retired, and he reached Werkholensk in safety. Emboldened by their success, they seem in 1648 to have beleagured Werkholensk, Ust kut, and even Ilimsk, but the Russian firearms and their vigorous policy was an overmatch for the poorly armed Buriats, and in the campaign which followed they lost many horses, cattle, and other booty. A portion of it was carried off by the Buriats in a subsequent engagement, but the Russians managed to secure their prisoners.† In the following year the campaign was urged vigorously against them in the district of the Lena, their tribes were subdued one after another, their [illegible] broken up, and many of them fled beyond the Baikal to [illegible] Mongols; but they were no better off there and [illegible] At length, after a devastating and bloody struggle, [illegible] years, they were about 1655 cowed and subjected.‡ [illegible] a Buriats may be looked upon as Russian subjects [illegible] fortunes of the Russians in Siberia. Let us now [illegible] r brethren on the Angara and its tributaries.

[illegible] on the Uda, who were apparently threatened by [illegible] envoy to Krasnoyarsk to make a treaty of peace with the Russians. Their chief, who was called Ilanko, went shortly after in person with his son and a small party to ask that the Russians would build an ostrog in his country, partly to protect them against the Mongols and also as a place where they might receive their tribute. This request was acceded to, and a small fort was built on the eastern bank of the Uda, which was called Udinskoi.§ Their fidelity was not very firm, for on the disappearance of the Mongol danger they seem to have fallen upon the Cossacks who were sent to them to collect tribute and to have killed them. This was in 1649. In 1652 they were once more brought to submission by a Russian force commanded by Kirilla Bunakof.‖

In 1648 the post of Bratskoi was removed from its old situation at the mouth of the Oka on to the other bank of the Angara. Its new site was a very fruitful one, and the ground was especially productive in grain, and returned tenfold of what was sown. This removal seems to have excited the jealousy of the Buriats in the neighbourhood, who rebelled,

* Fischer, op. cit., 730, 731. † Fischer, op. cit., 731-733. ‡ *Id.*, 733-735.
§ *Id.*, 553, 554. ‖ *Id.*, 554, 555.

and in 1650 paid no yassak or tribute, and were only restored to obedience by the practised and skilful hand of Maxim Perfirief, the former governor of Bratskoi, who had gained considerable influence there.* After this, Bratskoi was once more removed to its old site on the Oka. This was in 1654, and the removal was superintended by Dimitri Firsof, who was ordered to build another outpost on the Angara.† This second post was called Balaganskoi, and was situated about six versts above the outflow of the Unga, and opposite the island of Osinkoi. It was so named after a tribe of Buriats called Bologat, who lived on the rivers Unga and Ossa.‡ Before this ostrog was built the Bologats had been plundered by the Russians under the pretence of collecting tribute from them, and directly after it was completed 1,700 of them became Russian subjects, and the Angara became a Russian river as far as the great sea of Baikal. They founded a colony at Balagansk, and proceeded to work the iron mines in the neighbourhood, which had long been known to the inhabitants.§ The Bologats desired the Russians to send to their brethren on the rivers Biela, Kitoi, and Irkut, three feeders of the Angara which flow into it from the west, to reduce them also; but, as the sententious Fischer says, it is often easier to conquer than to retain. In 1658 the heavy hand of Ivan Pokhabof, the governor of Balagansk, caused an outbreak among the Bologats, who killed the Russians who were sent to them and fled. The Russians pursued them to the rivers Biela, Kitoi, and Irkut, but they fled southwards to the Mongols. So great was the migration that in 1659 hardly any yassak was taken to Balagansk. The following year the Mongols carried off the few remaining Buriats that remained in this part of the country.‖

The Russians had now come close to the sacred lake of the Buriats, the great Baikal Sea. The first Russian who navigated it was Kurbat Ivanof, who had marched from Yakutsk in 1643 with not more than seventy-five men. With these he made a landing on the isle of Olkhon, and defeated the Buriats who lived there, and who were 1,000 strong.¶ In 1646 another Cossack named Kolesnikof set out from Yeniseisk and skirted the northern shores of the Baikal with a body of men, and went as far as the upper Angara, which flows *into* the Baikal, and built an ostrog there, which he called Werkhangarskoi. This was in 1647. While wintering there he heard that some Mongols, who encamped on lake Yerafna (between the rivers Barguzin and Selinga), were rich in silver. This excited his cupidity, as it did that of Khripumof, already mentioned. He accordingly sent four Cossacks with a chief of the Tunguses to explore. They proceeded along the river Barguzin as far as the lake Yerafna, and as they met with no Mongols they continued on as

* Fischer, op. cit., 735-737.

† *Id.*, 737. ‡ *Id.*, 741. § *Id.*, 743. ‖ *Id.*, 744. ¶ *Id.*, 748.

far as the Selinga. They there met with a powerful Mongol chief named Turukai-tabun, who received them well and gave them some gold, and two silver bowls. He also told them that these precious metals were not found in his country, but that they were obtained from the Chinese. He also sent a body of Mongols to escort them back to the Barguzin. Kolesnikof now returned to Yeniseisk, and thence to Moscow. This was in 1647.* Meanwhile another expedition had set out in 1646 from Yeniseisk to explore the Baikal. This consisted of eighty-four men, and was commanded by Ivan Pokhabof. He made tributary the Buriats who lived on the river Ossa, and built a fort on an island opposite where that river falls into the Angara. He also imposed a tribute on the Buriats who lived on the Irkut, and the following year set out for the southern shores of the Baikal. He attacked the Mongols who lived there and took some of them prisoners. They turned out to be subjects of Turukai, who had behaved so well to the Russians the year before, and with whom were then staying four Cossacks who had been sent to him by Kolesniskof. One of these was sent to ask for the release of the captured Mongols. Mutual explanations followed, and peace was once more restored. Pokhabof had heard from the Buriats on the Angara that they obtained their silver from a Mongol Khan named Zisan (*i.e.*, the Setzen Khan of the Khalkhas whom I have previously described), who was brother-in-law to Turukai, and lived not far from the Selinga. Pokhabof asked Turukai to supply him with some guides to his father-in-law's country. Turukai, who suspected the object of his visit, and knew how useless it was to seek for silver in Mongolia, nevertheless disregarded the policy of admitting such powerful neighbours into the heart of his country. He therefore adopted the plan of conducting them by such a circuitous route that it took them two months to traverse what ought to have been gone over in a fortnight. The Russians learned from the Setzen Khan that any gold and silver he had, he obtained by trade with the Chinese. Pokhabof returned to Yeniseisk in 1648. On his return the inhabitants of Yeniseisk sent Ivan Galkin with sixty Cossacks to make the tribes about the Baikal tributary. When he arrived on the Barguzin he built an ostrog, which became the nucleus of the Russian possessions beyond the great sea. It was given the name of Barguzinskoi.

In 1650 an envoy from the Setzen Khan of the Khalkas, who had been to Moscow, was returning home with some Russians, when several of the latter were murdered by the Buriats on the Baikal at a place called Pasolskoi muis, *i.e.*, cape of the envoys, and a monastery was afterwards erected on the spot.

The Buriats on the Irkut were made tributary, as I have described, by

* Fischer, 754-754.

Bokhabof in 1646. It was not, however, till 1661 that an ostrog was built on that river, which became the nucleus of the now famous city of Irkutsk.*

I gather nothing more from Fischer as to the Russian conquest of the Buriats beyond the Baikal. They formed, in fact, but a small element in the population of the Trans-Baikal country or Dauria, where the Tunguses were the predominant race. With the subjection of the latter Fischer deals in considerable detail. So does Muller in his great collection on Russian history, but I can find nothing about the conquest of the Buriats there. Later authors, such as Georgi, Pallas, Gmelin, &c., merely describe the manners and customs of the Buriats, and tell us little or nothing about their history. It is very probable that the Trans-Baikal Buriats were as easily subdued and became as faithful subjects as those on this side of that sea. The Buriats have of late years been a good deal sophisticated. Many of them have been baptised, while a large number of the rest have forsaken their old allegiance to Red Lamaism and Shamanism and been converted by the Yellow Lamas. It now remains to give a conspectus of their various tribes and fragments as they were in 1766, when Pallas and Georgi wrote their accounts of them.†

1. *In the district of Irkutsk* were two tribes named Buyan, one of 171, the other of 454 males; two tribes of Abaganat, one 188, the other 479; the Ashagabat of 596; Karamut, 270; Babai, 89; Chenorut, 90; Kurkut, 191; Karokut, 530; Chetshelo, 65; Chitut, 116; Kurumchin, 743; Algut, 56.

2. *In the district of Werkholensk.*—The Abasai, in two tribes, numbering 1,639 males, of whom 464 live on the isle of Olkhon; two tribes of Chenorut, together 1,098; Hingudur, 581; Bayin Tabin, 306; Ura Kolbonda, 801; Olsanai, 415.

3. *Living among the Tunguses.*—The Tutur, 193; Otshut, 347; Kulen, 224.

4. *In the district of Balaganskoi.*—The Walsai, 356; Kulmet, 396; Sharat, 79; Bikat, 200; Noyet, 103; Sungar, 135; Kholtubai, 289; Murui, 370; Ikanat, 269; Ongoi, 242; Ongotu, 80; Boroldoi, 90.

5. *In the district of Tunkinskoi.*—The Tirtei, 370; Murui, 370; Khoniut, 346; Rirkult, 224; Khonkhodoi, 2,319; Sholot, 176; Badarkhan, 73; Irkut, 122; Chichidar, 33; Sharamut, 105; Sayektai, 206; Zengenchin, 195.

6. *In the district of Ilinskoi* were five bands, which together number 713 males.

7. *In Russian Dauria*, and especially on the river Uda, lived the eleven tribes of the so-called Khorin Buriats (*i.e.*, Sheep Buriats). They were

* Fischer, 761. † Pallas Sami. Hist. Nach., &c., i. 13. Georgi, Reise, i. 296.

thus named :—The Karakut, 2,090; Galit, 1,003; Batangul, 641; Kuldut, 1,556; Khuazan, 1,572; Batanai, 534; Sharait, 836; Khadai, 1,108; Zagan, 535; Kolbit, 506; Gutshit, 653. The Khorins were in Georgi's time subject to a chief named Dordshi Olborief; his special tribe was that of the Karakuts.*

8. *In the district of Udinsk and Selenginsk* were the following tribes:—Golot, 572; Noyet, 179; Barai, 208; Ongoi, 558; Ongoto, 159; Kholtubai, 258; Kingultu, 161; Irkidei, 168; Sharaldai, 220; Kharangui, forming two tribes, together 987; Chenorut, 249; Olson, 193; Babai and Khurumchi together, 185; Bomol and Tutulur, 235; and Alagui, 172.

Georgi does not mention the last seven names; but this district was especially well known to Pallas, who had travelled there, and he is no doubt right. He says the Buriats altogether numbered about 32,000 men, *i.e.*, of men paying tribute. Besides those above enumerated were some small broken clans about the Udinskoi ostrog and Krasnoyarsk.†

Pallas tells us that besides the Buriats who lived near the Selinga subject to Russia, there were the following clans of Mongols proper living in that district:—Zongol, numbering 1,484 males who paid tribute; Ashekhabat, [illegible]; Tabungut, divided into three sections, together 865; Sartul, [illegible]; Attagan, 1172; Khachagan, 315; and close to Selenginsk, [illegible]; altogether [illegible] males. They were doubtless the descendants of the subjects of Turukai above mentioned.

* Op. cit., 297. † Op. cit., i. 14.

NOTES, CORRECTIONS, AND ADDITIONS.

Page 4, line 29. Read Kho si, and not Cho si.
,, 5, ,, 26. Read Crequir, and not Erequir.
,, 11, ,, 24. Replace the full stop after Diarbeke by a comma.
,, 14, ,, 28. Insert "the" between George and Fourth.
,, 16, ,, 29. Insert a comma after Guirdkuh.
,, 17, ,, 41. Read lives, and not lived.
,, 20, ,, 12. I have remitted the proof that the Naimans were Turks to these notes, and I will now adduce them:—

Schmidt and D'Avezac have leaned to the opinion that they were Mongols, relying almost entirely on the fact that a small and obscure tribe of the Forty-nine Banners is still called Naiman. Beyond this, I do not know of a tittle of evidence to support such a conclusion. Now, as Naiman merely means eight in Mongol, this coincidence in name proves very little, while the evidence that the Naimans against whom Jingis fought were Turks seems to me irresistible. In the first place, if there is a small tribe of Eastern Mongols called Naiman, there are several very important tribes of Turks so called. Thus one division of the Uzbegs is called the Uighur Naiman. The Uzbegs are typical Turks. So are the Kirghiz Kazaks. According to M. Spaski, whose account has been abstracted by Klaproth,* we find a tribe of Naimans consisting of 35,000 families, another of 4,000 families, a tribe of Naiman-Kungrat of 15,000 families, and another of Baganalin-Naiman of 6,000 families. Rytschkof divides the Middle Horde into four sections, of which he says that of the Naimans is the most powerful. Falk also says that its most important tribe is that of the Naimans. Again let us turn to another confederacy of Turks, namely, the Proper Kirghises or Buruts. We find from Captain Valikhanof's description of Sungaria, translated by Michell, that tribes of Naimans have joined them. Here, then, is a large array of Turkish tribes called Naiman to set against the obscure tribe of Mongolia. Let us now go somewhat further. Levchine, whose account of the Kirghiz Kazaks is most detailed and reliable, tells us the Naimans do not belong to the primitive confederacy of the Kazaks, but joined them at the time the Jelairs, Karluks, and other tribes did so. Valikhanof describes the Naimans among the Kirghises as an alien tribe who have joined them. These statements show that the present Naimans are fragments of a former race which has been scattered, and when we consider that the Kazaks and the Kirghises were in immediate contact with the old area occupied by the

* Beleuchtung and Widerlegung der Forschungen ueber die geschichte der Mittel-Asiatischen Volker des Herrn, J. J. Schmidt, 4o.

Naimans in the time of Jingis, we are led irresistibly to the conclusion that these fragments are the descendants of the old Naimans, and that therefore the Naimans are typical Turks.

On turning to another class of evidence, namely, the linguistic, we shall find that the names borne by the old Naiman chiefs, the only relics we have of their language, were Turkish. Thus the earliest of the Naiman sovereigns on record was Inandj Belgeh Buku Khan. Inandj is a Turkish name, meaning believing, and is derived from the verb inanmak, to believe; Belga is also Turkish, and means wise, being derived from bilmek. Bugu or Buku is the same as bogha, which in Turkish means a bull. It was the name of the famous king of the Uighur Turks, to whom I shall refer presently.* Inandj left two sons named Bai Buka and Buyuruk. The former of whom is generally referred to by his Chinese title of Tai-wang, corrupted by the Mongols into Tayang.

Buyuruk is a title in Turkish meaning commander, and we are told was borne (like that of Kushluk, which in Turkish means powerful, or that of Khan, which is common to Turks and Mongols) by all the Naiman chiefs.† One of the Naiman generals was called Sairak. He was surnamed Kuksu, which we are told was the Turkish for one with a pain in the chest.‡ But the most importan fact is the statement of Raschid, who, when speaking of the Bayauts, tells us that one of their chiefs was named Ungur Kaisat, and adds that Kaisat in the Naiman dialect (Ungur [illegible] in the Turkish) was equivalent to Bekaul (*i.e.*, in the Mongol [illegible]. Von Hammer translates Kaisat by the carver or chief of the kitchen.§

The Turkish [illegible] named as one of the Naiman chiefs.¶ Raschid tells us this name in Turkish [illegible] he who knows the seven parts of wisdom.**

These various facts make it almost certain that the Naimans were Turks. I may mention that the place in the Naiman country called Sehets in the text, [illegible] also occurs in Raschid's account of the Mekrins,†† who lived near the confines of Bishbalig, so that it probably represents some place on the southern frontier of the Naiman country.

Page 21, line 13. The evidence that the Uighurs were Turks is overwhelming. They were the subject of a long controversy between Klaproth and Schmidt, in which the vast knowledge of the former enabled him to defeat the latter at every point, and there is no one I suppose now who disputes the fact of their having been Turks. The Eastern Turkish dialect, of which a dictionary has been published by M. Vambery, is in fact known as the Uighur dialect. Among the proofs adduced by Klaproth are the following:—The Chinese historians tell us that the people who were called Uighur during the Mongol domination were known as Kao chang during the dynasty of the Thang. The language of the Kao chang, of which we possess a vocabulary of about 800 words, is pure Eastern Turkish. Raschid distinctly says the Uighurs were Turks. The missionary friars who went as envoys to the Mongols in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries tell us the Uighur language was of the true Turk and

* Klaproth, Nouv. Journ. Asiatique, xiv. 358. † D'Ohsson, i. 57.
‡ *Id.*, i. 57. Erdmann's Temujin, 239. Note. § *Id.*, 215.
‖ Erdmann, 272. ¶ *Id.* Note 81.
** Von Hammer's Ilkhans, i. 18, and *Id.*, Note 3. †† Erdmann's Temujin, 186.

Coman stock. The Chinese historians who wrote during the Mongol dynasty tell us the Uighurs were of the same race as the Hoei hu, and that their languages were identical. Now all the Hoei hu words preserved by the Chinese are Turkish. The Crim Tatars speak a tongue which was called lingua uguresca by the Genoese, and of which Von Hammer published a vocabulary in the Mines. de l'Orient, iv. 359.* Abulfaradj calls the Uighurs a Turkish people. Ulugh Beg, a descendant of Timur's, gives us the names of the twelve-year cycle in the Uighur tongue, which he calls Turkish; he also gives the names of the months in Uighur. These have been examined by Klaproth,† and have been shown to be nearly all Turkish. In the work just quoted may be found a vast mass of facts making certitude doubly certain.

There is another question in regard to the Uighurs which I believe has been the foundation of a great deal of misunderstanding. We are told by Erdmann, who is doubtless quoting from Raschid, that after the capture of Yengigent by Juji in 1218, the Ulus Bede returned home to its head-quarters at Karakorum, and was replaced by 10,000 Turkomans.‡ D'Ohsson§ and Von Hammer both state the same fact of the Uighurs. This points to Bede and Uighur having been synonymous terms. Schmidt tells us that in the Thibetan work named Nom Gharkhoi Todorkhoi Tolli, the Northern Mongols are called Bädä Hor.‖ Now we know from Mr. Hodgson's researches upon the tribes of Thibet that Hor or Hor pa is the name, not of the Mongols who are called Sok or Sok pa by the Thibetans, but of the Uighurs, and there can be small doubt that by Bädä Hor the Uighurs who lived to the north of Thibet were meant, and that the term is used as the correlative of Shara Uighur or Shara Sharaigol, by which the Uighurs who live more to the south and mixed with the Thibetans were distinguished. This use of the term Bede or Bädä, as denoting those to the north at once connects it with the Pe ti, one of the Chinese names for their northern neighbours, and which means merely northern barbarians. This identification, which was countenanced by the very great authority of Abel Remusat, was objected to on, I believe, very insufficient grounds by Klaproth. The name Pe ti occurs in the Chinese narrative as early as the days of Confucius, and then represents the tribes who lived in the districts between the Chinese frontier and the great desert, and who were doubtless Turks. De Guignes in fact identifies the Pe ti with the Hiong nu (who were Turks).¶ The Pe ti or Bede were doubtless, as Schmidt has suggested, the Batæ of Ptolemey and the Betæ of Ammianus Marcellinus, who describe them as tribes of Serica. The name has no connection, so far as I know, with the Mongols, but is properly applied to the Uighurs and other Turks on the Thibetan and Chinese frontiers, and has been applied to the Mongols only by Ssanang Setzen and his commentator Schmidt. The former's probable reason for so doing I have already given.**

It is curious that Erdmann speaks of the two divisions of the country of the Turkish tribe of the Kirghises as Khins are Bede and Bede Urun.††

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* Klaproth, Tableaux Historiques de l'Asie., 121, 122.

† Beleuchtung and Widerlegung der Forschungen des Herrn, J. J. Schmidt, 10, 11.

‡ Erdmann's Temujin, 373, 374. § D'Ohsson, i. 223. ‖ Schmidt, Forschungen, &c., 55.

¶ *Id.*, and in De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, i. 5. ** Ante, 32, &c.

†† Erdmann's Temudjin, 31

Page 21, line 19. For Ortus read Ordus.

,, 22, ,, 13. The Keraits. So far as I know there has been a perfect agreement among all the authors who have hitherto written about the Mongols or about Prester John in making the Keraits Mongols. I have held that opinion very firmly myself, and did so, as may be seen on turning to Chapter X., devoted to the Keraits and Torguts, till very lately. But after a great deal of thought and of sifting of evidence, I am convinced that that position is a false one, and that the Keraits were not Mongols but Turks. If we examine the direct evidence upon which the Keraits have been treated as Mongols, it will be found to be very feeble. It consists mainly in the fact that Jingis Khan had intimate relations with their chief. This is not much. So he had with the chiefs of the Karluks and Uighurs, who are everywhere allowed to have been Turks. Pallas and others pointed out that the chief family among the Torguts is still called Keret; but as Kerait is composed of the particle kara, which both in Turk and Mongol mean merely black, this is very weak evidence. How weak may be seen when we find that not a family merely, but the principal tribe among the Kirghises proper or Buruts is still called Kirei, while there are two tribes among the Kirghiz Kazaks, one of the Little Horde and the other of the Middle, respectively called Kereit and Kirei, while it is very probable that the name Ghirei, by which a famous family in the history both of the Kazaks and of Crim was known is but a form of the same name. Now, while we know of no tribe among the Mongols bearing the indigenous name Kerait, save the small family I have mentioned among the Torguts, it is certain that Käret is the generic name by which the Buriats call the Chinese.* It is also a very remarkable fact that no ancient author, so far as I know, calls the Keraits Mongols. Raschid classes them among the people who after [illegible] adopted the name of Mongol. He puts them in a separate class with five others; none of which are Mongols, four being Turkish, and the fifth (the Tanguts) Thibetan. Marco Polo does not mention the Keraits by name, with him Prester John is merely the ruler of Tenduch. Carpini does not name them either, for, as we shall show, the Mekrits and Merkits were in reality the same people. Rubruquis is in the same position, for he has transferred his Prester John to the Crit and Merkit (*i.e.*, to the Mekrits and Merkits). On the other hand, in the notice of Abulfaradj quoted in the 10th chapter, and which is the very first mention we have of either Prester John or of the Keraits, we are told that the king of the Keryt lived in the inner Turk land. In another place the same author speaks of him as ruling over a tribe of barbarian Huns called Keryt.† Khondemir speaks of the Keraits as Turks.‡

We thus see that there is no direct evidence in favour of making the Keraits Mongols. Let us now examine the names of the tribes which composed the Kerait nation. 1. The Keraits. This, which gave its name to the race, was, as I have said, compounded of the particle kara, meaning black both in Turkish and Mongol. 2. The Chirkirs. This may be compared with a tribal name among the Turks, who frequently refer to the Kirghises as the Khirkhir. 3. Tanguts. This is clearly the same name as that of the tribe

* Georgi's Reise., i. 285. † Oppert's Presbyter Johannes, 88 and 92. ‡ *Id.*, 98. Note.

which gave its name to Tangut, and which was certainly not Mongol. 4. Sakayit. Among the Uzbegs I find a tribe called Sayat.* The other two names, Aliat and Tubaut, I cannot illustrate.

Let us now turn to the names of their chiefs. The first of them recorded by Raschid is Merghuz or Marcus Buyuruk Khan. The first of these names has been compared with the Christian name Mark, and is a very probable name for a Nestorian king. Buyuruk is Turkish, and means emperor.† It was a name borne by some chiefs of the Turkish Naimans whom I have already described.

Merghuz Buyuruk had two sons, Kurjakuz Buyuruk and Gur Khan. Buyuruk is the Turkish title again repeated. Gur Khan is a title which was borne by the chief of Khara Khitai, who, although a Khitan by origin, was to all intents and purposes a Turkish sovereign. The son of Kurjakuz was Tugrul or Thugrul, a famous name among the Turks, borne by many of them, such as the Seljuk Sultan, &c. These facts point to the Keraits having been Turks, a conclusion which is much confirmed and made almost conclusive, if we consider some others. I have nothing to add to what I have said in the tenth chapter about the position of the Kerait country, in which my conclusions are those of Colonel Yule, namely, that Tenduch was situated not far from Koko Khotan, and to the north of the Ordus country. If we turn to the Chinese historians we shall fail to find any mention of either Mongols or Shi wei, the ancestors of the Mongols in this part of the country before the days of Jingis Khan, and yet, as the Kerait sovereign had the title of Wang, and from the meagre accounts we have of him, seems to have had considerable intercourse with China, this is curious. It is no less remarkable that until the time of Jingis we do not meet with the name of Kerait even in the Chinese annals. It was a new name to the Chinese, but that it was an old tribal name on the frontier we know from the statement of Abulfaradj. This being so, we are forced to look for some other name; and as we have shown reasons for holding the Keraits to have been Turks, we need not fear a Turkish name; and as the Keraits were Christians, we may be even more precise, and look for the only Christian Turks we know, namely, the Uighurs, called Chui khu or Hoei Hu by the Chinese. And what do we find? We are told that when the Uighur empire at Karakorum was broken up a large portion of the race went southwards and settled on the Chinese frontier. We are expressly told by Visdelou that they attacked the town of Thiente (*i.e.*, Tenduch), where they were defeated by a Chinese general, and that one section of them submitted to the Emperor. The other, under their Khan, asked permission to settle at Chin vu, a request which was refused by the Emperor, although he sent them a great quantity of grain to assist them in their distress. The following year they attacked the Chinese borders, and, having committed great ravages, actually settled between the towns of Thiente and Chin vu. Another body, under the Khan, encamped south of the town of Ta tung fu, in the mountains Liu-men-shan. Several of the grandees of the Uighurs submitted to the Emperor, and were rewarded with titles, and many of their followers seem to have

* Vambery's Travels, 346. Note. † D'Ohsson, i. 50. Note.

become Chinese subjects. The Chinese fought several engagements with their main body, which are detailed by Visdelou.* At this time other hordes of them overran several provinces of Tangut and settled there, especially in the districts of Sha chau and Kua chau, and as far south as the river Chaidam.† It seems clear, in fact, that the whole of the northern frontier of the present Chinese empire, from Sachiu to the borders of the province of Pehchehli, was occupied by the Uighurs, and among the places specially mentioned as so occupied are Thiente and Ta tung, which have been identified on the best evidence with Tenduc, the country of the Keraits.

In regard to the religion of the Uighurs, Carpini tells us they were Christians of the sect of the Nestorians.‡ Rubruquis says that in all their cities there was a mixture of Nestorians and Saracens (*i.e.*, Mussulmans),§ and adds the following interesting sentence;—"Et ipsa Caracarum (Karakorum) est quasi in territoris eorum et tota terra regis sive Presbiteri Johannis et Unc fratris ejus *circa terras eorum sed isti in pascuis ad aquilonem, illi Yuguers inter montes ad meridiam*," if we consider that he identified Prester John with the ruler of the Mekrits and Merkits, who ruled at Karakorum. This looks very like an actual statement that the people of the mountains of the Prester John, *i.e.*, of Tenduc, *i.e.*, the Keraits, were Uighurs. The name Tarsi, *i.e.*, infidel, which was applied to the Uighurs by many writers indicates, says Colonel Yule, the extensive prevalence of Nestorian Christianity among them.‖ De la Croix tells a story which also points in the direction we have been arguing. He says that before Jingis Khan invaded Khuarezm he had a dream, in which a Christian bishop appeared to him. On repeating this to his wife, a daughter of Prester John's, she said it was the same person who had often given counsel to her father, and in consequence had summoned the *Uighur* bishop of Mardenha to him.¶ This concurrence of testimony of various kinds points so clearly to my mind to the Keraits having descended from the Uighurs, that I feel compelled to accept it. I believe that when the empire of Hia conquered the various towns on its northern frontier, which were occupied by the Uighurs, that the Uighurs north of the Ordus country, who were ruled perhaps by descendants of Ghao mo se prince of the Uighurs, who was granted the title of Hoai i kiun wang by the Chinese Emperor, and who seems to have lived in this very district,** remained independent, and constituted the Christian kingdom of the Keraits, which has been such a puzzle to all inquirers.

Page 23, line 15. As in the case of the Naimans and the Keraits, I have remitted the proof that the Merkits were Turks and not Mongols to these notes. The question in their case is by no means an easy one to solve, and our conclusion is in effect but a tentative one. In the first place, it is clear that neither the name Merkit nor those of its constituent tribes are known, so far as I know, as surviving anywhere, either among the Mongols, Kalmuks, or Turks. It is probable, therefore, that it is not the indigenous name, but one given to the tribe by its neighbours, and it may be connected with the Mongol term Merged, meaning an archer. The indigenous name is more probably

* Visdelou, 153-155. † Klaproth, Beleuchtung, &c., 61.
‡ D'Avezac, 282. § *Id.*, 282 and 288. ‖ Cathay and the Way Thither, 205. Note.
¶ Op. cit., i. 150. ** Visdelou, 154.

Uduyut, to which I have already referred. Of the constituent tribes that formed the Merkit nation one, according to Erdmann, is called Uighur. D'Ohsson calls it Ohuz. This is a curious fact, and points to the race having had some relations with the Turks.

Raschid uses the names Merkits and Mekrits as synonyms of the same race, so does Abulghazi who talks of the Merkits also called Mekrits. Marco Polo mentions only Mescrip or Mekrit, where most other writers put Merkit. The Chinese authors speak only of one tribe, namely, the Mie li ki, while Rubruquis speaks of Unk Khan, or Wang Khan, as ruling over the Crit and Merkit. In opposition to all this weight of authority, there is only the statement of Carpini, who divides the Mongol race into four sections, of which he makes the Merkit one, and the Mekrit another, and yet every author known to me has chosen to follow the lame statement, lame at every point of the Franciscan friar, and I confess to having been led away like the rest. This has been chiefly out of *a priori* conclusion that the Keraits were a section of the Mongols, and must be identified with the Krit of Rubruquis, or the Mekrit of Carpini. After collecting further evidence I am quite satisfied that Carpini's statement is quite unreliable, and that Mekrit and Merkit are synonyms for the same race, which is also sometimes called Megrin or Begrin.* I have already said that the Uighurs formerly held court at Karakorum, which was apparently their northern capital, in close contact with the country of the Merkits, and also that one of the Merkit tribes was called Uighur. Now it is a very remarkable fact that Raschid also names another tribe, Begrin or Megrin, who he says lived in the mountain Sehets, in Uighuristan. He tells us their country lay next to the special ulus of Kaidu Khan, who accordingly appropriated it. Jingis Khan married Mugai Khatun, the daughter of their chief, but he had no children by her. The mother of Kashin, the son of Kaidu, named Sipegineh, was also a Megrin or Mekrit.† This mention of Mekrits in Uighuristan stands by no means alone. So early as the narrative of Theophylactus Simonocatta, we find him mentioning the Mukritæ (*i.e.*, the Mekrits) as living in the close neighbourhood of the people he calls Taugas. Lassen, Klaproth, Colonel Yule, and others have agreed in referring this name to China, and making it a corruption of Tamghadj. I believe this to be an error, neither the description nor the situation suit China. Taugas is word for word the Tagazgaz of the Arabs, by which they designate the Uighurs. This identification which I believe to be in a great measure new, clears up very materially many difficulties in Eastern history. Mekrits lived on in this district of Uighuristan till a much later date, and we find them mentioned so late as the time of Timur.

This concurrence of facts, that of Merkits living in contact with the old Uighur country, of one of their tribes being still called Uighur, and of Merkits and Mekrits being found in close contact with Uighurs in the south, as well as the north, makes the conclusion very probable that they were in fact related to the Uighurs. It may be that they formed one of the two sections, into

* Erdmann's Temudjin, 185. Extracts from Raschid, 53. Abulghazi, Ed. Desm., 53. D'Avezac in the Recueil de Voyages, iv. 537. Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., i. 263.

† Erdmann's Extracts from Raschid, 68, 69.

which the Uighurs were divided from early times, and they were probably living in their old country when their brethren were driven away from Karakorum. This is confirmed by, and at the same time explains the statement of Rubruquis, that the Crit and Mekrit were Christians, for the Uighurs wherever we met with them at this date seem to have been largely made up of Christians, and in fact formed the only Christian race in the East.

If they were more or less Turks in origin it would account for their close alliance with the Naimans in their struggle with Jingis Khan, and for their chiefs having fled for refuge to Gushluk, the Naiman chief who usurped the throne of Kara Khitai; but it would seem that they were in reality a mixed race, for Raschid in speaking of the southern Merkits, whom he calls Megrin, says they were neither Mongols nor Uighurs.* (See also below in the note on Corea.) The Merkits were divided into four tribes called respectively, Uighur, Mudan, Tudakelin, and Jiyun.†

Page 24, lines 14 and 15. For Taidkge and Kurmachi read Tardege and Kurnachi. We are told that the name Kistimi in Tartar (*i.e.*, in Turkish) is applied to those tribes which are peaceably allied together.‡

Page 24, line 17. Erase Kurlut. I was misled by a statement of Erdmann's, which is not very clear,§ into classing the Kurluts with the Barguts; but the Kurluts were clearly a section of the Kunkurats, who were Turks. About them I shall have more to say presently.

Page 24, line 1. Among the tribes of the Forty-nine Banners there is one called Jelaid, which I have identified with the Jelairs.‖ It has, however, been suggested that this name Jelaid is a corruption of Juriat or Jadjerat, a well known tribe in the time of Jingis Khan. Ssanang Setzen, however, distinctly names a tribe Jalair.¶ He also speaks of the Khalkha Jalair.** Notwithstanding the existence of the name among the Mongols, I believe that the Jelair tribe, which are frequently mentioned in the early days of Jingis, was Turkish, and not Mongol. This I judge from the fact that while only an obscure tribe of Jelairs survives among the Mongols, that one of the divisions of the Uzbegs is still called Jelair,†† while Levchine tells us Jelairs occur among the Kirghiz Kazaks of the great Horde. They were not originally a part of the Kazaks proper, but joined them about the same time that the Naimans did. Secondly, I notice among the constituent tribes of the Jelairs, as described by Raschid, a tribe Tulangkit, which may be compared with the Turkish Telenguts. Thirdly, Raschid does not class the Jelairs among the Mongols proper, neither Niruns nor Darlegins, but among those tribes which were styled Mongols in later times. Fourthly, they were not an independent tribe, but were slaves of the Mongols. These facts are anything but conclusive, they only weigh down the balance in one direction until fresh evidence accrues, and the conclusion is a purely tentative one.

Page 25, line 30. The name Tartar has given rise to much discussion. Bergeron suggests following in the wake of Matthew Paris, that it is derived from a river Tartar or Tatar. No such river exists in Mongolia, and Paris

* Erdmann's Temudjin, 188. † *Id.*, 168. ‡ Muller, Samlung, &c., viii. 127.
§ Erdmann's Temudjin, 186. ‖ *Vide* ante, 444. ¶ Op. cit., 183. ** *Id.*, 207.
†† Vambery's Travels, 346. Note.

probably had in his mind the Tartarus of the ancients, where the shades of the dead retired. Bergeron also suggests that it may be derived from the Syriac Totar or Tatar, meaning forsaken, abandoned, an utterly impossible derivation. The Persians, as is their wont, derive it from an eponymous ancestor, named Tartar, the brother of Mogol;* but it clearly came to us from China. Before we discuss its meaning among the Chinese, we must say a word or two about its form. The form Tartar has been objected to, and we have been told that it originated in a *jeu d'esprit* of Louis the 9th, contained in the following sentence extracted from a letter of his to his mother Blanca, which is given by Matthew Paris. "Erigat nos mater cœleste solatium, quia si perveniant ipsi vel nos ipsos quos vocamus Tartaros ad suas Tartareas sedes unde exierunt retrudemus vel ipsi nos omnes ad cœlum subvehent."† This was written in 1241; but as Wolff says this form of the name already appears in the narratives of the Dominican Julian in 1237 and 1240; in a letter of a Hungarian bishop to the Bishop of Paris, at the end of 1240; in a letter of Henry Raspe, of Thuringia, written on the 10th of March, and another of the Franciscan Jordanus on the 10th of April, 1241. The play on the word attributed to St. Louis occurs in Jordan's letter, who says "a gente Tartarorum a Tartaro oriunda;" also in a letter of the Emperor Frederick the 2nd, written on the 3rd of July, 1241. Thus "Tartar" is a form of the word which has a respectable pedigree, besides having been the form used by Abel Remusat in his great work. On the other hand the Russian and Byzantine authors write Tatar; the Bohemian chronicler Dalemil, Tateri; Ivo of Narbonne, and Thomas of Spalatro, Tattari or Tatari. Let us now turn to the races called Tartars. The Mongols with whom Europeans first came in contact, namely, the vast array of Batu Khan, were known to Western writers as Tartars. As the main body of "The Golden Horde" (the tribes subject to Batu were so named) was Turkish, and consisted of the old occupants of the Desht Kipchak, whose descendants still live at Kazan, and in the Crimea; Turk and Tartar became synonymous terms in the pages of Western writers; thus the names of Independent, or Great Tartary, was applied to Turkestan and the neighbouring countries, and Little Tartary to the Turk country of south-eastern Russia. Klaproth and Abel Remusat first corrected this mistake. They showed that the name Tartar is not recognised by the Turkish tribes, and is even held by them as a term of reproach, and they argued that it belonged properly only to the leaders, and not to the main body of Batu's army, that is, to the Mongols, and not to the Turks. This was a step in the right direction, but only a step. The name Tartar was sometimes applied generically by the Chinese to all their northern neighbours, and it was thus that it came to be applied to the Mongols. But there was a specific race Tartar, from which the generic term was derived. This we might guess from the fact that the name Tartar was known in the west long before the days of Mongol supremacy, and when the Mongols were only an obscure tribe. It first occurs, according to Wolff, in a Persian work, entitled Mojeinel Eltawaruh, written in 1126. Let us now turn to the Chinese authorities. Visdelou says the Chinese at first called them Tha tche, afterwards Tha tha, and commonly Tha tse,

* Abel Remusat, Les Langues Tartaris, 2. † Wolff, 26.

and lastly out of contempt Sao tha tse, *i.e.*, the stinking Tartars.* He goes on to say the Chinese use the term in three different senses, first as a generic name for all their northern neighbours, whence even the Russians are called Ta pi tha tse, *i.e.*, long-nosed Tartars. In a second sense it is employed in the Geographical work called Kuan yu ki, as equivalent to the tribes of Mongolia and Sungaria; while in its third or proper sense it is limited to a particular tribe, or set of tribes, who first appear under the name during the Thang dynasty. The first author who mentions them, and who is the best authority on the subject, was the Chinese historian, Gheou-yam-sieou, who was born in 1007 and died in 1072. "He tells us they were descended from the Moho, of whom they were a section; their country was situated to the north-east of that of the Hii and Khitans." The Moho were the ancestors of the Kin Tartars and the Manchus, that is, were the Tunguses of Manchuria. We are told that the Moho having been attacked by the Khitans were dispersed; one portion submitted to the Khitans, another sought refuge among the Po hai to the east, while a third section took refuge in the Inshan mountains, and took the name of Tartar.† This description agrees very tolerably with that given by Raschid of the Tartars, whom he places in north-eastern Mongolia, about lake Buyur and its neighbourhood, in the very district where the Solons and Daurians (the near relatives of the Manchus) still live, whom I believe to be their descendants. Visdelou says that two of the names of the Tartar chieftains are recorded, these are Mei siam wen and Yu yue siam wen, and he adds that Siam wen was a title used among the Juchi or Kin Tartars, and the Khitans, and that Yu yue was also a title of the higher nobility with the two peoples. I may add that various tribes of Manchuria are still known as Yu pi Thache, Koelka Thache, &c.

I have already tentatively identified the Tartars with the Ta che Shi wei of the Hoan yu ki and the He che tse of Visdelou,‡ the former meaning Shi wei with great waggons, and the latter Black Chariots. Now it is a curious coincidence that the only traveller who has crossed the old Tartar country, and whose narrative is accessible to me, in referring to the ancient kingdom of Niucheu (which he says comprehended all the land upwards from Nerchinsk, still called Niucheu by the Chinese, and from the Amur down to the Albanian mountains, and Liau tung) says "it is not long since that waggon-wheels bound with iron, and large millstones were found in this country, from whence I conjecture that the Nieucheuers which border on the said province of Liau tung formerly followed their trade and manual employments in this Russian Dauria; since they made use of these waggon-wheels bound with iron, which are nowhere else to be found among the Mongolians," &c.§

In regard to the etymology of the name I may add that in Manchu a felt yurt is called Tatara boo (*i.e.*, a Tartar house), and Wolff distinctly says that Tartar or Tata is a Tunguisic word, originally meaning to drag or pull. In Mongol tatakhu means to draw or pull, whence tata ghal an aqueduct, and tatari taxes, tolls, but the primitive meaning is to draw or move, whence it means also a nomade. A tent or house-shelter in the steppe is called

* Visdelou, op. cit., 327. † *i.e.*, Became the Onguts or White Tartars. *Vide* ante.
‡ *Vide* ante, 30. § Travels of Isbrand Ides, 47.

tatan or tata, so that the name is really equivalent to Nomades. As I have shown it was specifically applied to the Tungusian ancestors of the Daurians and Solons.

Page 26, line 3. For Alj read Alji.

,, 30, ,, 11. For Visdelon read Visdelou.

,, 34, ,, 6. For Beda read Bede.

,, 38, ,, 4. The Kunkurats formed a confederacy of six tribes, who are frequently mentioned in the history of Jingis Khan. They were called Kunkurats, Inkirasses, Olkhonods, Karanuts, Kurulats or Kurluts, and Iljikins. I have small doubt that they were Turks, for although small clans still survive among the Mongols who are called Khongkirad (*i.e.*, Kunkurat) by Ssanang Setzen, there is no tribe among them which bears the name, while we find that one of the four main divisions of the Uzbegs is called Kiat Kungrat, whence the name of one of the chief towns in the Khanate of Khiva. We next have the fact that Jingis Khan and his family were in the habit of choosing their wives from among them, and we are distinctly told that there was an old pact in existence by which they did so.* This also favours the notion that they were Turks for the Kalmuks and Mongols still deem Turkish damsels to be the fairest of the desert, and it was mainly with Turkish tribes that Jingis entered into matrimonial alliances.† The country inhabited by the Kunkurats is a difficult matter to settle, we have numerous names given us within their territory, but unfortunately they are but names, and I cannot identify their sites from the maps accessible to me. I believe, however, that they occupied the greater part of the mountainous band of country on the north of China which separates it from Mongolia, and that they were in contact with the Keraits, Naimans, and Mongols. For those who may come after, and who may have better opportunities, I subjoin the following list of these localities:—

According to Raschid they lived in the Ongu (called Atguh by Erdmann), and he adds that it divided the Chinese from the Mongols. He tells us their country was called Utjih and was situated in the district of Karaun Jidun or Chidun.‡ In another place he tells us the Kunkurats had formerly their winter camp in a place called Altchia Kungur. Elsewhere, again, he tells us that Altchia Kungur was near the mountains of Khudja Buldak, and near Lake Semultai. He also calls the mountains which separate China from Mongolia the Djai | Altchia. § The name Kungur, which was attached to Altchia, was probably given to those mountains from their having been the home of the Kunkurats or Kungrads, whose name according to Vambery is derived from Kongur At (*i.e.*, a chesnut horse). ‖ If the Karaun Jidun of the above account be the same place as the Karaun Kipchak mentioned elsewhere,¶ and which Raschid says means the Black Forest, then we may fix its site approximately, for this place is called Halavuen by De Mailla,** and Ha la hoen by Gaubil, who says it is a notable range of mountains south of the river Onghin in Western Mongolia.†† This would suit very well the description of the struggle between Khubilai and his brother

* *Vide* supra, page 50. † *Vide* supra, chapter i., passim.
‡ Erdmann's Temudjin, 199. § D'Ohsson, i. 66. ‖ Vambery's Bokhara, 120.
¶ Erdmann, 289. D'Ohsson, i. 73. ** Op. cit., ix. 9. †† Op.cit., 8.

Arikbuka, and the battle which they fought in 1261 *on a ridge of the Altai called Altchia Kungur.** The Karaun Kiptchak of the Western writers is no doubt the Keryâ Kûbker of Ssanang Setzen.†

Page 38, line 11. The chief reason for making the Durbans or Durmans of the time of Jingis, Turks is that the name occurs as a tribal name among the Uzbegs and Kirghiz Kazaks in the West, and that they were constantly found allied with the Naimans and Merkits against the Mongols. Their name merely means four. The Barins and Sukanuts were of the same stock as the Durbans. We are told the three tribes sprang from three brothers.‡ But in regard to these tribes the conclusion is by no means certain, and it must be remembered a district of Central Mongolia is still called Barin, while tribes called Durban or Durbed survive both among the Forty-nine Banners and the Kalmuks.

Page 38, line 13. In regard to the Bayauts, Raschid tells us they were divided into two sections, namely, the Jadi Bayants and the Kehrun Bayants. The former, he adds, were so called from living on a river of the same name (*i.e.*, on the Jida, a main tributary of the Selinga), and the latter from living on the Steppe (Gehreh or Kehreh means plain or steppe). The Bayauts, he says, were neighbours of the Uirads. From these statements we gather that they lived to the south of the Baikal lake. That they were Turks is probable from the fact that the only tribe known elsewhere of the same name is the tribe of which Jinkeshi, the maternal grandfather of Muhammed, the Khuarezm Shah, was chief. This was a tribe of the Yemeks, which in turn was a section of the very typical Turkish tribe of the Kankalis.§ Thirdly, we may gather the same conclusion from the names of their chiefs. Thus one of their chiefs was named Ungun Kaisat, and Raschid adds that Kaisat *in the Naiman tongue* (*i.e.*, in Turkish) was equivalent to Begaul (*i.e.*, in Mongol), the chief of the kitchen.‖ These facts taken with the further one, that we don't know of any Mongol tribe in later days called Bayaut makes it probable that these Bayauts were Turks.

Page 41, line 15. This name I must plead guilty to having spelt very inconstantly, as it is spelt differently by nearly every authority. It will appear again under the forms Utsuken and Utshuken.

Page 45, line 40. For Burghut read Bargut.

Page 47, line 2. Hyacinth calls the place Tiele vun pante and Gaubil Te yuei Luen panto.¶

Page 50, line 6. It is not only among Western authors that the tradition exists that Temudjin was a smith. The Mongols assert that his anvil is still preserved on Mount Darkhan; they say it is made of a particular metal, called Burin, which has the properties of iron and copper, being at once hard and flexible.** The Mongols make pilgrimages annually to this mountain, and offer sacrifices on one of its summits, to the memory of Jingis Khan. There is a high mountain on the island Olkhon, in the middle of the Baikal sea, on which is fixed a tripod, and on this an iron kettle. This also is traditionally connected with Jingis Khan.

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* D'Ohsson, ii. 351. Ante, 221. † Op. cit., 87. ‡ Erdmann's Temudjin, 221-224.
§ D'Ohsson, i. 197. Note. Von Hammer's Golden Horde, 74.
‖ Von Hammer's Ilkhans, i. 18. ¶ Hist. de Gengis Khan, &c., 2. ** Timkowski, 173.

Page 50, line 10, Von Hammer has given an ingenious explanation of the chronology of the chief events in the story of Jingis Khan, as given by the Persians. They hated his memory so bitterly that they placed his birth, his installation as Khan, and his death, each in a "Swines year," according to the Turkish Cycle, namely, in 1155, 1203, and 1227. It is certainly a curious coincidence that these three years should correspond to Swine's years, and that the Persians should have differed from the Chinese in respect to them in their chronology of the great conqueror's life.*

Page 50, line 18. For Olchonods read Olkhonods.

" " 37, Erdmann calls this general Tudan Kahurji, Hyacinthe calls him Todo Khurja.†

Page 51, lines 6 and 7. Sari Kihar means Yellow plains, and Ulagai Bulak red springs.‡

Page 51, line 15, Erdmann has Uduts and Nujakins, see 261, but it ought clearly to be Uruts and Nuyakins.

Page 51, line 18. We are told that while Temudjin was a prisoner he was tended by an old dame named Taidshu Jgje, who combed out his hair and placed a piece of felt under the cangue, where his shoulders had been made raw.§

Page 52, line 23. In regard to the terms Guran and Gurkhan, Erdmann has a long note, in which he points out some inconsistencies on the part of Von Hammer and others. He holds that Guran has not the meaning of Ring, but rather that of a compact body of men answering to the Greek phalanx, and he gives a diagram of the arrangement of the thirteen gurans when in battle array, ranged in the form of a square with four gurans on each face, and the one commanded by the chief in the middle. In regard to the term Gurkhan, he distinguishes it from Gurgan, the former means chief commander, sovereign, or leader, the latter means son-in-law, or one otherwise connected by blood with the overchief, thus the princes who married Jingis Khan's daughters were styled Gurgans. Timurlenk was also styled Gurgan, inasmuch as he married the daughter of the last emperor of the Yuan dynasty.‖ The commanders of the thirteen Gurans were—1. Temudjin's mother, Ulun Eke. 2. Temudjin himself, his sons, and near relatives. 3. Tuliaju Behadur, with a section of the Jelairs, Mukur Kuran with the Hederkins, and Jaurkai with the Kurulats. 4. The sons of Surkadu Noyan, and his brother Kuridai with the Kiats and Budats. 5 and 6. The sons of Surkaktu Burgi Sidsheh Bigi, and his nephew Taidshu with the Jelairs and Surkukins. 7. Utuju Kudu Ardengi, also belonging to the Kiats. 8. The sons of Mungdu Kian, Jingshut, and his brothers, relatives of Temudjin, together with Ungur and the Bayauts. 9. Dariti Utsuken, Temudjin's uncle, his cousin Kujer, a son of Negun Taishi, and Dalu, one of his relatives, together with the Doghlats and the Darlegin families of Nekuz, Kurkan, Sekayit, and Bijin. 10. Juji Khan, the son of Kutula Khan. 11. Altun, a grandson of Kutula Khan. 12. Daki Behadur the Kunegkiat, with the Sukats. 13. Gendujineh and the sons of Jerkeh Lingkum.¶

* Von Hammer's Golden Horde, 56 and 92.
† Erdmann, 359, and Note 38.
‡ D'Ohsson, i. 41. Note.
§ Erdmann, 210.
‖ Erdmann, Note 50, p. 577-582.
¶ Erdmann, 261, 262.

Page 52, line 28. The place is called Thalan Baljus (*i.e.*, "the plain of Baljuna).* D'Ohsson says the Baljuna is a tributary of the Ingoda, but in Ritter's map it is marked as a small lake, whence flows the little river Tara, which falls into the Ingoda after the latter has taken its great bend eastward. It is to the east of the Alashana mountains, which form the main watershed here between the Onon and the Ingoda.

Page 53, line 5, &c. De Mailla says "that the discontent against the Taidshuts rose to such a pitch that Chepié, Séliku, Yebuken, and many other officers, together with the tribes Tulanchi, Salar, and Mongu quitted them and joined Temudjin."†

Page 52, line 10. The Kielei or Ykiliesse of De Mailla were not the Kurulats but the Inkirasses, another tribe of the same confederacy; and the Podu of De Mailla is clearly the Butug Noyan of Raschid, who is mentioned by Erdmann. He tells us that while Temudjin was at Baldjuna, the Inkirasses, who were attacked by the Kurulats, joined him.‡ Gaubil identifies the Ergon, with the Argun, but I very much question the propriety of doing so.

Page 52, line 30. Kakurshin, the mother of Sidsheh Bigi, had apparently been married to Yissugei, the father of Temudjin, she was therefore the latter's step-mother, and Sidsheh Bigi, a kind of step-brother of his. It would seem that Temudjin's brother, Belgutei, was not at the feast, but in charge of his brother's stud, while that of Sidsheh Biji was in charge of a Taidshut named Buri (the Boli of De Mailla), a page of the latter's named Kabki Tai (*i.e.*, the male fox), having stolen one of Temudjin's horses, was punished by Belgutei, upon which Buri struck the latter on the shoulder with his sword. Belgutei's people seized the first weapons at hand including the perches of the hawks and went off to Sidsheh Bigi's yurt, whence they carried off his mother Kakurshin (the Kuaktsin of De Mailla), and his wife, Holichin.§

Page 53, line 38. For Taidshut read Tartar.

" 53, " 40. For Wanjan Siang read Wanien Siang.

" 54, " 6. For Tului read Tugrul.

" 54, " 13. Thulan Buldak is perhaps a corruption of Thalan Baljus, the plains of the Baljuna. De Mailla and Hyacinthe imply that there were two fights, and that after having been defeated the Burgins were pursued, and that it was a month later when their chiefs Sidsheh Bigi and Taidshu were killed.‖

Page 54, line 16. On this chief see p. 559.

" 54, " 27. For Bogordshi and Burgul read Boghordshi and Bughurul. The Mouholi of De Mailla is the well-known Mongol general Mukuli, and not to be identified with Bughurul, so that he assigns the incident to a different hero.

Page 54, line 34. For Tului read Tugrul.

" 54, " 37. This Soo is no doubt the Subutai Behadur of Raschid, one of the nine Orloks. (See p. 114.)

Page 55, line 5. A tributary of the Chikoi, one of the feeders of the Selinga,

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* Erdmann, 261, and Note 48. † Op. cit., ix. 13. ‡ Op. cit., 203.
§ Erdmann, 266. De Mailla, 14, 15. ‖ De Mailla, ix. 17. Erdmann, Note 71.

is called Manza. On it is the Russian station of Manschinskoi. (See Ritter's map.)

Page 55, line 10. For Bukur Gehesh read Buker Gehreh.

,, 55, ,, 15. Kiziltash means red stone. Kizilbash means red head, and is given to the well-known lake of Sungaria because of the fish with red heads found there. Raschid seems to call the place here mentioned Kiziltash. Hyacinthe reads his Chinese authority, however, Kashik-bakshi,* so that the name is uncertain.

Page 55, line 17. For latter read former, it was Buyuruk and not Tayang Khan, who was defeated, and Ede Tukluk, who commanded his advance guard was captured.†

Page 55, line 27. For river Sari read Sari Kihar or Yellow Plains.

,, 55, ,, 40. D'Ohsson calls this place Elenkut Turash.‡

,, 55, ,, 42. For Burgusin read Barguzin.

,, 56, ,, 3. For Taidshut read Tartar.

,, 56, ,, 4. Called Ali by De Mailla.§

Page 56, line 11. Both Erdmann and D'Ohsson say lake Buyur, but it is not certain that this is right, De Mailla says the two allies met near the lake Huto, the Khutu nor of Hyacinthe, and they met the confederates near the river Peiylie, the Baili gol of Hyacinthe.‖ After the fight Temudjin wintered at Jajar ula on the frontier of Manchuria.¶

Page 56, line 12. The confiderates consisted of Alak Udur, chief of the Merkits, Kirhan Taishi of the Taidshuts, and the Tartars Jaukur and Kelbeker or Kelenker.**

Page 56, line 18. For Taidshuts read Tartars.

,, 56, ,, 20. This river was probably the Kerulon.

,, 56, ,, 21. Hyacinthe calls it Tula bir,†† De Mailla Tohupie,‡‡ and Gaubil Tulupir.§§

Page 56, line 26. Von Hammer says it means the seven grave mounds,‖‖ De Mailla calls it Holuhan.¶¶ Hyacinthe, who dates the battle in the year 1,200, says it was fought in the Canton Khaliyartai Khorog.*** After the fight Temudjin wintered on the banks of the river Ulkui Siljuljut.†††

Page 56, line 28. These tribes are called Antsi Tartar, and Sahan Tartar by De Mailla,‡‡‡ and are no doubt the two divisions of the Tartars called Alji and Chaghan by Raschid.

Page 56, line 39. This name ought rather to be spelt Ulkui.

,, 57, ,, 14. For Salichai read Salikhai.

,, 57, ,, 21. This tent covered with panther skins, may, as Colonel Yule has suggested, be well compared with the audience tent used by Khubilai Khan, which is described by Marco Polo as most artfully covered with lion's skins striped with black and white, &c.§§§ Klaproth asserts that Schmidt has

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* Erdmann, Note 80. † Erdmann, 272. ‡ Op. cit., i. 60. § Op. cit., ix. 23. De Mailla, ix. 23. Erdmann, Notes 99, 100. ¶ Erdmann, Note 104.
** Erdmann, 279. D'Ohsson, i. 62. †† Erdmann, Note 109. ‡‡ Op. cit., ix. 24.
§§ Op. cit., 6. ‖‖ Ilkhans, 29. ¶¶ ix. 25. *** Erdmann, Note 112.
††† Erdmann, 208. D'Ohsson, 164. Note 2. ‡‡‡ Op. cit., ix. 25.
§§§ Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., i. 391.

wrongly translated the passage which refers to tiger skins and not panther skins; the word in the original being bars (a tiger) and not irbis (a panther).*

Page 57, line 24. In this paragraph I have followed the Saga as told by that most treacherous leader Ssanang Setzen. Since I wrote it I have met with an Essay of Klaproth's,† which proves beyond doubt that the Mongol historian has confused the campaign against the Tartars with that against Corea, which I shall refer to in a subsequent note.

Page 57, line 29. For Churtshi read Khurchi.

" 57, " 43. For Chulan read Khulan.

" 59, " 4. Add Tartar to the names of the other tribes, and for Katagun read Katakin.

Page 59, line 26. Hyacinthe writes this name Kharakchin Shatu (*i.e.*, Black crags.)‡

Page 59, line 33. This is the same place mentioned on p. 52, and also in a previous note.

Page 59, line 42. The Terkhans paid no taxes, did not divide the booty with anyone, not even with the prince's customs officers. They could enter the prince's presence without leave, and were pardoned nine times whatever their fault might be, &c.§

Page 59, line 45. For De Mailla, ix. 43 read ix. 33.

Page 60, line 1. In this paragraph I have followed Wolff. I may add that Gaubil and De Mailla know nothing of this march and merely say Temudjin went to the lake Tongko, whence he indited his letter. I notice that one of the tributaries of the Ingoda, not far from lake Baldjuna, is called the Tanga,‖ and it is very likely that the extremely humble letter which follows, was in fact written when Temudjin was in his dire distress.

Page 60, line 32. By Keule, the well-known Kiulun lake is doubtless meant.

" 61, " 7. D'Ohsson has misled me here. Kudshir was the son of Nekun Taishi (Tekun Taishi of D'Ohsson), the uncle of Temudjin, and was therefore the latter's first cousin.¶ Altun was the son of Kutula Khan, the Khubilai of D'Ohsson, and great uncle of Temudjin, and was therefore his father's cousin.** Kudshir is called Hosara, son of Niekoen, by De Mailla.††

Page 61, line 15. Satcha was no doubt Sidsheh Bijni, the chief of the Burgins. Taidju, I have followed D'Ohsson, i. 77, note, in calling an uncle of Temudjin, but he was in fact either a brother or an uncle of Sidsheh Bigi.‡‡ The meaning of the story is doubtless that most of these relatives of Temudjin represented the elder branch of the family. I may add that De Mailla makes Temudjin call his fatherland Ilan pira or the three rivers.§§

Page 61, line 35. Dariti Utchugen was an uncle of Temudjin's, *vide* p. 45.

" 61, " 40, &c., page 62, line 2, and page 55, line 2. For Kassar read Khassar.

Page 62, line 5. The position of the battle is not quite certain, but I prefer to follow the Chinese authorities. De Mailla says it was fought at Kalanchin

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* Nouv. Journ. Asiat., xi. 449. Note. † Journ. Asiat., ii. 195. Schmidt's Ssanang Setzen, 383. § Petis de la Croix, 49. Erdmann, Note 129.
‖ Pallas's Voyages, &c., iv. 226. ¶ Erdmann, 252. ** Erdmann, 550.
†† Op. cit., ix. 31. ‡‡ Erdmann, 265. §§ Op. cit. ix. 32.

Alt, Hyacinthe says at Kharakchin Shatu, and Raschid at Hulun Barkat and Kalanchin Alt. De Mailla distinctly says Kalanchin Alt was situated between the Tula and the Kerulon. Raschid says it was on the borders of the Juchis (*i.e.*, of Manchuria), and Ssanang Setzen places it near the lake Kiulun.* After the battle, we are told Temudjin went to hunt at Naiman kura (*i.e.*, the eight enclosures or camps), that is, the eight Ordus, or, in other words, in his own country.†

Page 62, line 24. As to this date, which is a swines year, see a previous note.

,, 62, ,, 39. For Oirat read Uirad.

,, 62, ,, 40. For Taidshut read Tartar.

,, 62, ,, 43. The battle-field was afterwards known as the field of white bones.‡ I have here and elsewhere called the friar who mentions this battle Carpino, as does D'Ohsson,§ but this is clearly wrong, his real name was John of Plano Carpini, a name he derived from a place in the territory of Perugia.‖

Page 63, lines 11 and 19. For Tatakun, which is Wolff's reading, read Tata tungo.

Page 63, line 26. For Taidshuts read Tartars.

,, 63, ,, 44. For D'Ohsson, 190, 191, read i. 90, 91.

,, 64, ,, 12. Lairi means holy mountain.¶

,, 64, ,, 13. De Mailla calls this place Lu se ching.**

,, 64, ,, 32, &c. For Gueukdju read Gukju. He belonged to the tribe Kuneket, a section of the Urnauts, and was the son of Menggliк Jiigeh, to whom Jingis has given his own mother Ulun Eke in marriage. He made him commander of the right wing of his army, so that Gukju was a kind of step-brother of Temudjin's.††

Page 64, line 40. For forty-eight read twenty-eight.

,, 65, ,, 1. Jingis, according to Schmidt, Erdmann, &c., is derived from the Mongol adverb Ching or Jing, meaning fast, immovable.‡‡ What Schmidt says is, that Jingis had three names; first Temudjin, then Sotto Bokdo Jingis Khan, and thirdly, after his conquest of China, Sotto Bogdo Dai Ming Jingis; and he means the second of these names when he speaks of the middle name.§§

Page 65, line 3. For Chas read Khas.

,, 65, ,, 19. Ulugh Tag, the Uluda of the Chinese, means great mountain, and answers to the Altai of other authors; and here no doubt connotes the great mountain range of Sungaria.

Page 65, line 28. For including, read "included in." The other six lu of Tangut are thus enumerated by Pauthier:—1. Sha chau (*i.e.*, "sand district"), the Sachu of Polo. 2. Suh chau, the Succhur of Polo. 3. Kan chau, the Campichiu of Polo. 4. I-tsi-nai, the Etzina of Polo. 5. Yung chang, the Erguiul of Polo. 6. Ninghia.‖‖

Page 65, line 30. Bretschneider tells us that in 1206 Juji, the son of Jingis, defeated the wood tribes of Southern Siberia. The two officers whom Jingis

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* Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., i. 237. † Schmidt's Ssanang Setzen, 389.
‡ Bretschneider, 29. § Vol. ii. 221. Note. ‖ Cathay and the Way Thither, cxxiii.
¶ D'Ohsson, i. 97. Note. ** Op. cit., ix. 40. †† Erdmann, 203.
‡‡ Ssanang Setzen, 379. §§ Journ. Asiat., ii. 202. ‖‖ Pauthier's Marco Polo, 206. Note.

sent to receive the submission of the Kirghises were called Altan and Burah,* and the two messengers sent by the Kirghises with the falcons were called Alibeg Timur and Altek Berak.

Page 65, line 30. For Oirat read Uirad. On this passage see Chapter XII.

,, 66, ,, 2. The three sons of Tukta, the chief of the Merkits, named Jilaun, Jiyuk, and Kutulkun, and his brother Kudua, fled after the battle and sought refuge in the Uighur country, and sent a messenger named Turgan to ask the Idikut to grant them an asylum. He, however, marched against them and defeated them on the river Jem.†

Page 66, line 16. This is doubtless the Ling chau of Gaubil, which he places in Shensi, and in 38.10 N. lat. and 10.25 W. long. from Peking.

Page 66, line 20. De Mailla calls it Wuh la hai, and Pauthier says this is a fair transcript of Erlaca when translated into Chinese.

Page 66, line 21. Pauthier calls this place U men, and says it means the five gates.‡

Page 66, line 38. For Seknak Tekin read Siknak Tigin.

,, 67, ,, 38. For Inchan read Inshan.

,, 68, ,, 11. Gaubil says that the year before he had sent Chepe Noyan and Yeliu kohay, a Khitan prince who had deserted the Kin dynasty and joined the Mongols, to the frontiers of Shansi and Pehchehli to reconnoitre, and that they returned after pillaging there.§

Page 68, line 12. For Kerulan read Kerulon.

,, 68, ,, 40. Wainen Hosho read Wanien Hosho.

,, 69, ,, 1. This general was Min ngan. He was styled Chapar or the Guebre.‖

Page 69, line 13. Insert a comma after Mukuli.

,, 70, ,, 11. Instead of towns read departments or districts.

,, 70, ,, 17. The Perisans call her Kubku Khatun.¶

,, 70, ,, 29. We are told that Utubu had furnished the inhabitants of Yen king with cuirasses and horses with which to resist the Mongols. On their retirement he asked for the return of these, upon which they rebelled under Kanta, Picher, and Chalar.**

Page 70, line 38. For Khu tsai read Chu tsai. We are told he was descended from Apaokhi, the founder of the Khitan dynasty. His ancestor had a small principality near the celebrated mountain Ye wu lu, in Manchuria (*i.e.*, near the modern Kuang ning hien). His father was a high officer in the service of the Kin Emperor. He himself was born in 1190, and he accompanied Jingis on his western expedition.††

Page 71, line 16. The Kin Emperor now sent to ask for terms, and Jingis would have assented, saying to his general Samuka, "Let it be as in hunting, where, when one has enclosed all the stags and has killed what one lists, it is hard not to let a poor hare escape;" but Samuka, who had not as yet distinguished

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* Erdmann, 311. † Erdmann, 312.
‡ Pauthier's Marco Polo, 206. Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., i. 219.
§ Op. cit., 14. ‖ Gaubil, 6 and 15. ¶ De Mailla, ix. 61. Note.
** De Mailla, ix. 64. †† Bretschneider, 109 and 111.

himself enough, was of a different opinion, and sent to the Kin Emperor offering him peace on condition only that he resigned the title of Emperor and became a subject of the Mongols, which he refused.*

Page 71, line 34. For "the Hoa tao" read Hoa tao.

,, 71, ,, 38. De Mailla says he contrived a defeat so that he might not seem a traitor.†

Page 72, lines 6 and 7. For Uirats and Angirasses read Uirads and Inkirasses.

Page 72, line 13. This submission of Corea has been confounded by Ssanang Setzen with the conquest of the Merkits, whom he calls Solongos Merged. Klaproth says that Solangkah is the Mongol name of the northern part of Corea and of the country traversed by the river Ghirin, and Ghirin is still the name borne by Northern Corea and its language. In Chinese it is written Kilin. The Coreans are called Solgho and Solonghos by the Mongols, as appears from the work called the Mirror of the Mongol Language, where we read, the people of Chao hien (Chao sian) are called Solgho, they are commonly called Solongghos. The Manchus calls the Coreans Solkho, and Klaproth suggests that Ssanang Setzen has misread the name Solonggos Merged for Mergeds of the Selinga.‡ According to the Corean accounts, quoted by the Chinese and the Japanese, this conquest of Corea took place in 1219. In the Yuan history we are told that in 1218 Luku, general of the mountain Tsin Shan, of the kingdom of the Khitans, fled with 90,000 men to the kingdom of Solgo (*i.e.*, of Corea), where he captured the town of Kiang tung ching and established himself. Thereupon Jingis Khan sent his general Kha jen dza la, at the head of an army, against him. He entered the country of Solgo. Huang ta siuan, a chief of those parts, went to the Mongol camp to assist in the siege of the town where Luku had taken refuge, while Wang chi (otherwise called Wang thun), the king of Corea, supplied the Mongols with beef, spirits, and wine, and sent his general Chao dsung to make common cause against the rebel. The Corean general agreed that his master should become a tributary of Jingis Khan. He also supplied the Mongols with 10,000 measures of rice. The next year the king of Corea sent two of his officers, named In kung dsieou and Sui y, with a civil message to the Mongol general, and he was shortly after granted the title of king by letters patent, and we are told he received them from the Mongol officer on his knees; after this Corea became tributary.§

Page 72, line 43. This is from Rubruquis, whose account is not very reliable. On this point, see p. 547.

Page 73, line 3. De la Croix says he was nailed to the door of a college.‖

,, 73, ,, 4. The whole of this paragraph, which I owe to Wolff, is, I now believe, wrong and utterly misleading. To begin with the last sentence, the authority for it is no doubt a passage of Gaubil's, which runs thus:—"Juji, the eldest son of Jingis, went a long way to the north-west of China. The country to which he went is not known, but among the hordes he conquered

* De Mailla, ix. 75. † Op. cit., ix. 67. ‡ Nouv. Journ. Asiat., ix. 448-454.
§ Journ. Asiat., ii. 295-297. ‖ Op. cit., 118.

were the Ousehan, Hanasa, Kouleangoukeche, and Taimihoinirkan." It was out of these names no doubt that Wolff, who unfortunately seldom cites his authorities, make the hordes of Uze Khan, the Samoyedic tribe of the Kuleangukecks, &c.; but I am quite convinced that Gaubil's statement really refers to Juji's campaign in Turkestan. Ousehan is Uzkend; Hanasa, Eschnass; Kouleangoukeche, or Yulon and Kieche, as it may be read, is no doubt a corruption of Urgendj, the name of the capital of Khuarezm;* and Taimihoinirkan is probably a mixing up of Termed and Nur, two well known towns of Transoxiana; so that this statement of Wolff's is founded on a mere corrupted reading of the account of the campaign which is described on page 75, &c., of this work. I have searched in vain also for any warrant for the first sentence of the paragraph, which makes the Merkit chiefs be sent into the north of Mongolia to arouse the Tumats, &c. The story as I now read it, after a careful collection of all the authorities, runs thus:—On his return from China, Jingis sent an army against the Tumats, who were not, as I have stated in line 25, a section of the Keraits, but a section of the Barguts, and subdued them. He then turned his attention to Kushluk, who I believe was in alliance with the four Merkit chiefs mentioned in the text. He living at Kashgar and they probably in the valley of the Chu, and perhaps at Balasaghun. Jingis sent two armies—one under Chepé (whose course we have described); the other under Subutai and his son Juji, was sent against the Merkit chiefs, who were met and defeated, we are told, on the banks of the river Jem† (not the Kem or Yenissei, as Wolff seems to read it). Three of them were killed, and the fourth alone, who was called Kultukan Mergen, escaped alive, and was afterwards put to death, as I have stated in the text. I believe this battle to have been fought, not in Northern Mongolia, as previous authorities have stated, but on the borders of Turkestan. The Kultukan of Raschid I take to be the Tuk tughan or Takna Khan of the tribe of Merkit of other writers, who, we are told, had retired towards Jend pursued by the Mongols. We are further told that a battle was fought between them, and that Tuk tughan had been put to the sword with his people. After which Juji had retired homewards.‡ This battle was fought between two small rivers in a place in Kashgar (*i.e.*, within the territory of Kara Khita), and I believe that some mounds, still called Merki Kurgan, near the Chu, probably mark the spot.§

Page 73, line 42. For Irak Areb read Irak Arab.

„ 74, „ 6. For Irak Adjem read Irak Arab.

„ 74, „ 18. The Tabakat i Nasari describes Targhu as a kind of woven silk of a red colour.‖

Page 74, line 29. For Inallzig read Inaljuk.

„ 74, „ 34. According to another view, which I think very probable, when Muhammed, the Khuarezm Shah, heard that the Merkits had been defeated so near his borders, as I have stated above, he pursued them, and reached the recent battle-field, where blood and corpses were still strewn about. From a wounded man he heard that the Mongols had only left

* De Maillà, ix. 97. Note. † Erdmann, 332.
‡ Tabakat i Nasiri, 269 and 273. Raverty's Notes. § Op. cit., 271.
‖ The Tabakat i Nasiri, 269. Raverty's Note.

that very day, so he pushed on and overtook them at dawn, and at once prepared to fight them. The Mongol leaders did not wish to fight, and said they had already entrapped the prey in whose pursuit they had set out, and that they had not permission from Jingis to fight, but should do so if attacked. Muhammed nevertheless attacked them, the right wings, says Major Raverty, of each army, as is often the case in eastern, as it has been in western battles, broke their respective opponents; the centre was driven back some distance, and was only saved from defeat by the gallantry of Jelal ud din, Muhammed's son. The battle lasted till nightfall, when the Mongols lighted an immense number of fires to deceive the Khuarezmians, and then decamped. Muhammed was seized with irresolution, and retired to Samarkand without attempting anything more.* Now, this is unquestionably the battle I have described on page 75, in which Wolff has taken the Mongols over the Kashgarian mountains, and made the fight to take place in Eastern Ferghana. This view, which I thought exceedingly reasonable when I wrote the passage, I no longer think so. The main obstacle to understanding this campaign, which is very confused as told by Erdmann, D'Ohsson, &c., is the uncertain topography of the valley of the Jaxartes in the Mongol period. Thus we read of Juji attacking certain towns which we have every reason for placing in Western Turkestan, and as an episode receiving the submission of Uzkend, which has been identified with the city of that name at the extreme eastern point of Ferghana. It was the necessity of taking Juji round by this district that made Wolff, whom I have followed, send Juji round by Kashgar over the passes of Akizek, &c., and thus into the valley of the upper Jaxartes, and identify Sighnak and Barkhalikend with the Senderach and Marghilan of Eastern Ferghana. This was rendered necessary because we knew of no Uzkend save that in the upper Sihun; but on turning to Vambery's Bokhara, I find that there was another town of this name in Western Turkestan, close to the other places which were attacked by Juji. I there read, "about the same spot now occupied by Gidjdovan lay the considerable town of Jend, the frontier fortress towards Khuarezm. Eastwards of Jend lay the towns of Ashnas, Uzkend, Signak;"† and he adds in a note that this Uzkend is not to be confounded with the Uzkend of Eastern Ferghana. Having obtained this rectification, we have no need to take Juji into Eastern Ferghana, and may accept the account of his doings as contained in this and a previous note rather than the one in the text and that of the current authorities. According to Petis de la Croix, the great fight between Juji and Muhammed took place at Karaku.‡

Page 75, line 24. For Je lu lieu ko read Yeliu liu ko.

" 75, " De la Croix says that Otrar is the Farab of the Arabs.§

" 75, " 38. For Doub read Doab. I am reminded by Colonel Yule that these *names* are not equivalents, although the places they designate are so, each of them being a tract between two rivers.

Page 76, lines 1, 11, 15, and 17. For Inallzik read Inaljuk.

" 76, " 23. Erase but.

" 76, " 26. This is wrong, as I have already pointed out. Sighnak was

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* *Id.* † Op. cit., xxvi. ‡ Op. cit., 160. § Op. cit., 145.

a town of Western Turkestan, and became the capital of the White Horde. It was situated twenty-four miles (German) north-west of Otrar.*

Page 76, line 37. Wolff identifies Jend with the town called Chenkent; it is also called Jinket.†

Page 77, line 11. Erdmann calls the leaders of this body Alak Noyan, Sugtu, and Tughai. The mention of Aksi is, I believe, a mistake of Wolff's. Erdmann says they marched upon Benaket, another name for Tashkend, *i.e.*, "the stone town," which was also called Shash.

Page 77, line 42. This is a mistake of Wolff's. The town was called Sertak according to Vambery, who says it is situated north of Bokhara. It is called Zernuk by Mirkhond, and Zertuk by Juveini.‡ Nur means light, and was so called because it contained so many shrines.

Page 78, line 14. Erdmann says he mounted the steps of the pulpit, and that what he said was, "There is no hay in the fields, find fodder for my people."§

Page 79, line 12. For "towards" read by way of. Termed, as Colonel Yule reminds me, is north of the Oxus.

Page 79, line 14. These are doubtless German miles; De la Croix says three leagues.‖

Page 79, line 17. For Turkomans and Kankalis read Turkomans or Kankalis.

" 79, " 26. Insert "by Jingis" after sons.

" 80, " 8 and 10. Koshka and Kaluga are the Kaksha and Kohluga of Colonel Yule.

Page 80, line 23. The Lengert and Semnan of Erdmann's Temudjin, 404.

" 80, " 32. For Medsheds read Musjids.

" 81, " 2. The Tuktai or Toktai of Wolff is the Tugachar of Erdmann.

" 81, " 34. There were two celebrated forts named Karendar, one between Nessa and Nishapoor,¶ and the other where Ghiaz ud din or Ghiath ud din found refuge. The latter was more probably situated, not in Khorassan but in the Kurdish mountains, between Kermanshah and Baghdad, and at the place called Ardahan by De la Croix;** he calls it so from the Ardahan mountains. It was otherwise known as Karun.

Page 81, line 36. D'Ohsson, apparently following Raschid, and certainly supported by Abulghazi, says Kazvin,†† Erdmann will have it the place the Sultan went to is the fortress of Ferzin, in the Kurdish mountains;‡‡ but the accounts of the campaign are very confused.

Page 82, line 3. For Jeferan read Isferan.

" 82, " 10. For her young children read his young children.

" 82, " 12. The history of Subutai's and Chepé's campaign against Muhammed is singularly hard to follow. I have made a very careful examination of it since I wrote the account in the first chapter, and am disposed to think that Wolff and D'Ohsson have not been on the right track, and have somewhat misled me, and I now prefer Erdmann's narrative at several points to theirs. I believe that after scouring the country on either side of the Mazanderan mountains, the two chiefs met before Rai, which

* Wolff, 71. Note. † Op. cit., 71. ‡ Vambery's Bokhara, 126. § Op. cit., 381.
‖ Op. cit., 219. ¶ Wolff, 79. ** Op. cit., 235.
†† Op. cit., i. 249. Abulghazi, Ed. Desm., 127. ‡‡ Op. cit., 392, and Note 291.

was captured, not on a subsequent occasion, but in this very campaign; so that the events I have described on page 93 followed immediately on the capture of Demavend. After capturing Rai the two commanders separated. Chepé attacked and took Kum, as I have described on pape 93. He then went on to Hamadan (the ancient Ecbatana), which submitted to him, as did the towns of Dinawar, &c. He then followed Muhammed to Karendar. The latter escaped once more, and reached the fortress of Serjehan, near Kazvin, and thence passed into Ghilan.

Page 82, line 34. For through Mazanderan and Ghilan read through Ghilan and Mazanderan.

Page 82, lines 35 and 36. This is probably the modern Asterabad. For Nissari read Nessavi.

Page 83, line 22. Old Urgendj was the capital of Khuarezm, as Khiva is of the modern Khanate answering to Khuarezm; but the site of the ancient city of Urgendj and the modern Khiva are a short distance apart.

Page 83, line 31. For Bamiran read Bamian.

,, 84, ,, 27. For Sulan read Sultan. Major Raverty calls Uzlak Sultan Arzalak Sultan.*

Page 84, line 37. The Shadbakh of Erdmann,† and "Shadyakh of Nishapoor" of Major Raverty.

Page 85, lines 4 and 22. This campaign was more probably fought in 1221 than in 1220. Erdmann says that Jelal ud din's fight, when he retired from Urgendj, took place on the 12th of February, 1221, and this was certainly before the siege; Petis de la Croix says distinctly it was in 1221.‡

Page 85, line 5. As to Urgendj, see note on line 22, page 83.

,, 85, ,, 31. The rest of the inhabitants were also slaughtered after the division, except the young people.§‖

Page 86, line 25. On Kharender or Karendar, see note on line 34, page 81.

,, 87, ,, 2. It is probable that it was this body of Mongols which formed the cordon round the northern borders of Khorassan and nearly captured Jelal ud din.

Page 87, line 10. For Meri el rood and Murjab read Meru rood and Murghab.

,, 87, ,, 23. D'Ohsson says merely that the soldiers were so treated.‖

,, 87, ,, 27. For Jhankushai read Jhankushai.

,, 88, ,, 20. For two months read three months.

,, 89, ,, 8. His name was Amin Malik.¶ Erdmann calls him governor of Meru, but he had been really governor of Herat, and had with him 20,000 Kankalis.**

Page 89, line 9. Agruk is the Ighrak of Major Raverty.

,, 89, ,, 20. He was also called Kutuktu Noyan. He was a Tartar by birth, and was adopted by Jingis Khan, and was given in charge to Burte Fudshin, who had not yet had a child. He called Jingis, Idsheh (*i.e.*, father), and Burte Fudshin he called Berigan Egeh or Sain Egeh. He lived to an old age and was much respected, his motto was "Fear not and speak the truth."††

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* Tabakat i Nasiri, 279. † Op. cit., 408. ‡ History of Jingis Khan, 256.
§ D'Ohsson, i. 269. Erdmann, 412. ‖ Op. cit., i. 286. ¶ Tab. i Nasiri, 287.
** D'Ohsson, i. 297. †† Erdmann, 179-182. D'Ohsson, i. 304.

Page 89, line 22. Colonel Yule writes me that this is Parwan, at the foot of the Hindu Kush, where the last battle with Dost Muhammed was fought.

Page 89, line 37. This statement is from Wolff, and is not quite exact. Erdmann says he retired towards the mountains of Kerman and Lenkoran.* Raverty calls these mountains Karman and Sankuran.† D'Ohsson says he retired to Peshawur. This is no doubt right, and his followers were not the Kankalis but the Kalladjes.

Page 90, line 8. The governor he left there was Mahmud Yelvadj or Mahmud the Envoy.

Page 90, line 28. For Khuarazmiens read Khuarezmians.

" 92, " 1. D'Ohsson says he wintered in the mountainous district of Buya Ketver, near the sources of the Indus.‡

Page 92, line 7. Colonel Yule tells me Bakalan is Baghlan, north of the Hindu Kush mentioned in Wood's Oxus.

Page 92, line 17. Before leaving Transoxiana Jingis, who had been joined by his sons, seems to have held a grand fete at Benaket or Tonkat. This was in 1224. It is described by De la Croix, but his description is a mere rhetorical display without facts.§

Page 92, line 24. For Jakut read Yakut.

" 92, " 30. The Colon Taishi of D'Ohsson.‖

" 92, " 39. For Kubilai read Khubilai.

" 93, " 2. Erdmann says it was in 1224,¶ but D'Ohsson has it as I have stated it.

Page 93, line 6. In regard to this paragraph, see a previous note on line 12, page 82.

Page 94, line 17. For Kaukasus read Caucasus.

" 95, " [illegible]. Erdmann calls him Batu.**

" 96, " 10. This battle, according to Erdmann, was fought on the 16th of June, 1223.††

Page 96, line 39. Gaubil, who also mentions this, says the battle was fought near the town of Potsepali.‡‡

Page 96, line 42. Nusitagir Ili, as Mirkhond calls him, was the well known Yeliu Taishi, the founder of the dynasty of Kara Khitai. The story of his expedition round the Caspian seems to have no foundation except the existence of certain tribes named Kaitaks in the Caucasus.

Page 97, line 42. Tai tung fu is also called Tai yuan fu.

" 98, " 17. For Ortus read Ordus.

" 98, " 28. For his, read Jingis Khan's.

" 98, " 29. For Bugurdshin, Berkul, read Boghordshi, Bughurul.

" 98, " 30. For their, read the Mongol.

" 98, " 43. For Kai foug fu read Kai fong fu.

" 99, " 4. This reception, according to Erdmann, was held at Buka Suhiku.§§

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* Op. cit., 429. † Tab. i Nasiri, 290. ‡ Op. cit., i. 318.
§ Op. cit., 351-362. ‖ Op. cit., i. 322. ¶ Op. cit., 438. ** Op. cit., 435.
†† Op. cit., 436. ‡‡ Op. cit., 41. §§ Erdmann's Temudjin, 439.

Page 99, line 38. Erdmann says he was called Iran in the Tangutan (*i.e.*, the Thibetan) language.*

Page 100, line 7. Gaubil says the cause of Jingis Khan's resentment against him was that he had given an asylum to two of his enemies named Sunkoenki and Chelaho.† He would seem also to have courted an alliance with the Kin empire after the death of the Emperor Utubu,‡ a policy which could not but prove displeasing to the Mongols.

Page 100, line 16. De la Croix says the Tangutan soldiers were dressed in cloth of gold and silver and Chinese silks, and that their common soldiers were as richly dressed as the Mongol officers.§

Page 100, line 35. Schmidt, who is my authority here, says hind and not hart, but it is probable that he has translated hind what ought to be bitch, as he has done in the case of the wife of Burtechino, the stem-father of the Mongol race.

Page 101, line 25. For Chulan read Khulan.

,, 101, ,, 27. Etzina is perhaps to be identified with the town of Hoa tsiang, on the river Etzina.‖

Page 101, line 38. Colonel Yule says Liang chau fu does not include the whole of this finger-like projection.

Page 102, line 4. On the capture of Ling chau, Yeliu Chutsai took possession of its registers, and also of two mule loads of the ginseng root (*i.e.*, of Turkey rhubarb).

Page 102, line 42. The authorities differ very much in regard to the death of the king of Tangut. Petis de la Croix says he arrived at the Mongol camp eight days after the death of Jingis Khan, and that he was put to death according to his orders, with all his children and several of his lords.¶

Page 103, line 10. The Yuan annals made him die near Sali kol, in his camp of Karatuski. These are Mongol names, and D'Ohsson suggests that they were given to Chinese localities.** They answer to the district of Tsing shui hien, on the banks of the river Si kiang or Western Kiang, twelve leagues east of the town of Tsin chau.†† Raschid says he died in the Liung Shan mountains, in Shensi. Hyacinth says that Liu pan is seventy li to the south-west of Ku yuen chau.‡‡

Page 103, line 16. For Carpino, read Carpini.

Page 104, lines 8 and 14. For Chatun, read Khatun. Khatun muren means queen's river, rather than maiden's river.

Page 106, line 30. For Borchatu, read Borkhatu.

,, 106, ,, 32. For Chulan, read Khulan.

,, 107, ,, 8. See Hist. Nach., &c., p. 71.

,, 107, ,, 21. For Urian read Uriangkut.

,, 107, ,, 31. Besides Burte, Jingis had four other wives, namely, Khulan Khatun, the daughter of Dair Ussun, of the Merkits; Bisugat Khatun, a Tartar, by whom he had a son, Ujaur, who died young; Kuchu Khatun, the

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* *Id.* † Op. cit., 48, 49. ‡ Wolff, 111. § Op. cit., 372.
‖ See Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., 22. Note. ¶ Op. cit., 381. ** Op. cit., i. 378.
†† *Id.* ‡‡ D'Ohsson, i. 375.

daughter of the Kin Emperor; and Bisulun, the sister of Bisugat. These were his five chief wives. Besides them he had as concubines Abika Khatun, the daughter of Yakembo of the Keraits, and sister to the wives of Juji and Tului; and Kurbasu Khatun, the widow of Tayang of the Naimans, and a daughter of the king of Hia.*

Page 107, line 33. According to De la Croix, Juji was nominated chief huntsman, Jagatai chief justice, Ogotai chief councillor, and Tului commander-in-chief.†

Page 107, line 39. For Atalukan read Altalukan. She was also called Altalun. Erdmann does not name in his list the daughter who was married to the chief of the Uighurs. D'Ohsson calls her Altun Bigi.‡

Page 107, line 40. For Chulan read Khulan.

„ 108, „ 3. Colonel Yule writes me that he rather identifies the names than the persons, and this through the intermediate form of Camius Khan of Father Ricold.§

Page 108, line 31. D'Ohsson gives a quaint illustration of this:—"A man," says Jings, "cannot, like the sun, shine everywhere; it is necessary, therefore, that his wife, while he is absent in war or the chase, should keep his harness in good order, so that if a messenger come from the chief or a traveller enters her hut, he may see it in good order and find there a good meal. This does honour to a man, and you may know a man by his wife."‖

Page 110, line 27. "A fat hound won't hunt" was one of his sayings, and it may be compared with an Arab saying, "You must keep a hound hungry if he is to hunt."¶

Page 111, line 27. Different thefts were punished by the infliction of a certain number of blows with the bastinado, as 7, 17, 27, 37, up to 700. These might be compounded for by paying nine times the value of the thing stolen.** Every person must work for the public service; those who were not soldiers had to give at certain seasons so many days work upon the public works, and one day in each week employ themselves in the Great Khan's service.†† A man might not marry within the first or second degree, otherwise there were no restrictions, and he might marry two sisters, &c.‡‡ The children by slaves were legitimate, but took rank after those by the regular wives. Families allied themselves sometimes by marrying their deceased members to one another. This custom still survives. Having drawn figures of the parties on paper, and also some of their cattle, they throw them with the marriage contract into the fire, and they are persuaded all this is carried by the smoke to their children in the other world, who there carry out the contract. The Mongol code also forbade the taking of one of their own nation for a slave, or the harbouring or assisting, on pain of death, of the slaves of another.§§ Peace was not to be made with the enemy until he was entirely subdued.

Page 111, line 35, and page 112, line 3. For Carpino, read Carpini.

„ 112, „ 17. Among those exempt from taxes De la Croix names the people who washed the dead.‖‖

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* Erdmann's Temudjin, 446. † Op. cit., 141. ‡ Op. cit., i. 111.
§ Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., 242. ‖ Op. cit., i. 391. ¶ Erdmann, 457.
** De la Croix, 84. †† *Id.*, 83. ‡‡ *Id.*, 85. §§ *Id.*, 84-86. ‖‖ Op. cit., 80.

Page 112, line 18. It was forbidden any prince, on pain of death, to style himself Khakan until he had been duly appointed by a Kuriltai.* On the titles of Khan and Khakan Colonel Yule has a very good note. He says the former may be rendered lord, and was applied generally to Tartar chiefs, whether sovereign or not. It has become since in Persia, and especially in Affganistan, a sort of Esq., and in India is now a common affix in the names of Mussulman Hindostanis of all classes. In Turkey alone it has been reserved for the Sultan. Kaan, a form of Khakan, the Χαγανος of the Byzantine historians, was the peculiar title of the supreme sovereign of the Mongols. It probably means Khan of Khans, Lord of Lords. Colonel Yule adds, "the tendency to swelling titles is always to degenerate, and when the value of Khan had sunk, a new form, *Khán-Khánán*, was devised at the court of Delhi, and applied to one of the high officers of state."†

Page 112, line 42. Vincent, Colonel Yule reminds me, was not a chronicler, but the author of a mediæval encyclopædia.

Page 113, line 1. Insert he, before foresaw.

,, 113, ,, 26. I am reminded that this is not the Scotch use of the term ilk. I mean by the phrase, "people of that kind."

Page 114, line 26. After *ante* add page 51.

,, 114, ,, 30. This is a mistake of Ssanang Setzen's; he belonged to the Uriangkut tribe.

Page 114, line 33. This was Siki Khutuktu, Jingis Khan's foster son, about whom see in a previous note on line 20, page 89.

Page 115, line 4. The various minor divisions, with their commanders, are given at length by Erdmann.‡

Page 115, line 29. Since I wrote the life of Jingis, I have met with Dr. Bretschneider's pamphlet on Chinese travellers to the West, in which he gives two letters from a correspondence between Jingis Khan and the Chinese philosopher Ch'ang-ch'un. As the letters are very good illustrations of the ways of thought of these two men, I will extract them with Dr. Bretschneider's notes:—

Jingis Khan wrote to Ch'ang-ch'un.

"Heaven has abandoned China owing to its haughtiness and extravagant luxury. But I, living in the northern wilderness, have not inordinate passions. I like simplicity and purity of manners. I hate luxury, and exercise moderation. I have only one coat and one food. I eat the same food and am dressed in the same tatters as my humble herdsmen.§ I consider the people my children, and take an interest in talented men as if they were my brothers. We always agree in our principles, and we are always united in mutual affection. At military exercises I am always in the front, and in time of battle am never behind. In the space of seven years I have succeeded in accomplishing a great work, and united the whole world in one empire. I have not myself distinguished qualities, but the government of the Kin is inconstant, and therefore Heaven assists me to obtain the throne (of the Kin). The Sung to the south,

* *Id.*, 80. † Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., 9. Note. ‡ Op. cit., 447-455.

§ A. Palladius states that the gown of Jingis Khan, made of simple stuff, was kept as a relic by his successors, the Mongol Emperors of China.

the Hui-ho to the north,* the Hia to the east, and the barbarians in the west, all together have acknowledged my supremacy. It seems to me, that since the remote time of the *shan-yu* such a vast empire has not been seen. But as my calling is high, the obligations incumbent on me are also heavy; and I fear, that in my ruling there may be something wanting. To cross a river we make boats and rudders. Likewise we invite sage men and choose out assistants for keeping the empire in good order. Since the time I came to the throne, I have always taken to heart the ruling of my people; but I could not find worthy men to occupy the places of the *three* (kung) and the *nine* (k'ing).† With respect to these circumstances I inquired, and heard that thou master hast penetrated the truth, and that thou walkest in the path of right. Deeply learned and much experienced, thou hast much explored the laws. Thy sanctity is become manifest. Thou hast conserved the rigorous rules of the ancient sages. Thou art endowed with the eminent talents of celebrated men. For a long time thou hast lived in the caverns of the rocks and hast retired from the world; but to thee the people who have acquired sanctity repair, like clouds on the path of the immortals, in innumerable multitudes. I knew, that after the war thou hadst continued to live at Shantung at the same place, and I was always thinking of thee. I know the stories of the returning from the river Wei in the same cart, and of the invitations in the reed hut three times repeated.‡ But what shall I do? We are separated by mountains and plains of great extent, and I cannot meet thee. I can only descend from my throne and stand by the side.§ I have fasted and washed.‖ I have ordered my adjutant Liu Chung-lü to prepare an escort and a simple cart for thee.¶ Do not be afraid of the thousand li; I implore thee to move thy sainted steps. Do not think of the extent of the sandy desert. Commisserate the people in the present situation of affairs, or have pity upon me and communicate to me the means of preserving life. I shall serve thee myself; I hope, that at least thou wilt leave me a trifle of thy wisdom.** Say only one word to me and I shall be happy. In this letter I have only briefly expressed my

* There is some confusion as to the position assigned to these nations.

† The san kung and the kiu k'ing are meant. Since the time of the Chou dynasty, 1122—249 B.C., the three kung were the highest councillors of the empire; the nine k'ing occupied different parts of the administration.

‡ This is an allusion to two examples of Chinese history, that sages had been invited by emperors to occupy high charges. Wen wang, the virtual founder of the Chou dynasty, found an old man fishing in the river Wei, whose conversation proved so sage, that the prince begged him to enter his service as minister, and took him along with him in his cart. The other allusion refers to Chou Ko-liang, who who was sought out by Liu Pei, the founder of the Shu Han dynasty, whom his fame for wisdom had reached. He was found (A.D. 207) inhabiting a reed hut, and was with difficulty persuaded to abandon his hermit's life.

§ Jingis proposes to Ch'ang-ch'un that he should take his (Jingis's) place in governing.

‖ A Chinese phrase of politeness, meaning that the host has worthily prepared himself to receive his guest. The phrase in its literal meaning—"fast and wash"—would seem strange from the lips of Jingis. Raschid-eddin remarks that it was a rule amongst the Mongols never to wash or bathe themselves. The Mussulmans in Mongolia, who sometimes infringed these rules, were put to death. It seems that the Mongols of the present time follow conscientiously these practices of their ancestors. (*Vide* ante, p. 111, H. H. H.)

¶ In ancient times in China the Emperor used to send a cart for the sages when inviting them. (Palladius.)

** Literally, "spit out a little."

thoughts, and hope that thou wilt understand them. I hope also, that thou, having penetrated the principles of the great tao, sympathisest with all that is right, and wilt not resist the wishes of the people.

"Given on the 1st day of the 5th month, 1219."

Ch'ang-ch'un's answer to Jingis Khan.

"K'iu Ch'u'ki from Si-hia hien,* devoted to the tao, received lately from afar the most high decree. I must observe that all the people near the sea shore (*i.e.*, of Shantung, Ch'ang-ch'un's native country) are without talent. I confess that in worldly matters I am dull, and have not succeeded in investigating the tao, although I tried hard in every possible way; I have got old and am not yet dead. My repute has spread over all kingdoms, but as to my sanctity I am not better than ordinary people; and when I look inwards I am deeply ashamed of myself. Who knows my hidden thoughts? Before this I have had several invitations from the southern capital,† and from the Sung, and have not gone. But now, at the first call of the Dragon court,‡ I am ready. Why? I have heard that the Emperor has been gifted by Heaven with such valour and wisdom, as has never been seen in ancient times or in our own days. Majestic splendour is accompanied by justice. The Chinese people as well as the barbarians have acknowledged the Emperor's supremacy. At first I was undecided whether I would hide myself in the mountains, or flee into the sea (to an island), but I dared not oppose the order. I decided to brave frost and snow, in order to be once presented to the Emperor. I heard at first, that Your Majesty's chariot was not farther than north of Huan-chau and Fu chau.§ But after arriving in Yen (Peking), I was informed that it had moved far away, it was not known how many thousand li. Storm and dust never cease, obscuring the heavens; I am old and infirm, and fear that I shall be unable to endure the pain of such a long journey, and that perhaps I cannot reach Your Majesty; and even should I reach (I would not be good for anything). Public affairs and affairs of war are not within my capacity. The doctrine of tao teaches to restrain the passions, but that is a very difficult task. Considering these reasons I conferred with Liu Chung-lu, and asked him that I might wait in Yen (Peking) or in Te-hing (now Pao-an chau) the return of Your Majesty. But he would not agree to that, and thus I myself undertook to lay my case before the Emperor. I am anxious to satisfy the desire of Your Majesty, and to brave frost and snow; wherefore I solicit the decision (whether I shall start or wait). We were four, who at the same time became ordained

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* K'iu—"Ch'ang-ch'un's family name;" Ch'u-ki, another name of the sage. Si-hia hien was his native place.

† The southern capital, Nanking, at the time of the Kin dynasty was the present K'ai-fong fu, the residence of the Kin Emperor after Peking had been taken by Jingis.

‡ Lung-ting. He means the Mongol court.

§ Ancient Huan-chau, according to the Ta ts'ing yi t'ung chi, was to the north-east of the Su-shi-k'ou gate (Great Wall) 180 li distant, where the present Kurtunbalgasun stands. Ancient Fu chau has been identified by Palladius, from personal inspection, with the ruins called Kara Balgasun by the present Mongols. It lies on the road from Peking to Kiakhta, about thirty English miles from Kalgan. Bretschneider, op. cit., 20. Note 17.

monks. Three have attained sanctity. Only I have undeservedly the repute of a sainted man. My appearance is parched, my body is weak. I am waiting for Your Majesty's order.

"Written in the 3rd month of 1220."

Dr. Bretschneider adds the observation, that of course Jingis's letter was not written by himself, as he could not write in any language, but that his ideas were taken down by a Chinese in his suite, very likely by Yeliu Chutsai. His letter is written in a classical Chinese style.*

Page 116, line 3. Ogotai is derived from Oegata, a Mongol adverb meaning on high.†

Page 116, line 5. It is very doubtful if he ruled over the Keraits.

„ 117, „ 4. Yeliu Chutsai, for purposes of revenue, divided the provinces of Pehchehli, Shantung, Shansi, and Liautung into ten departments, with a custom-house in each department.‡ He also secured the good-will of the Chinese by giving to three of their race, namely, Shetienche, Liuhema, and Yenche high military commands.§ One of his great reforms was the payment of functionaries by a regular salary instead of assigning them the farming of a certain district. This aroused some opposition, which was headed by the Kunkurat Wachin, Ogotai's uncle, and Shemoyen, a high mandarin, who intrigued against him, but Ogotai supported him; and some time after, when Shemoyen got into some disgrace, Chutsai showed his magnanimity by urging on his behalf that his only fault was his pride.‖ He was Ogotai's most confidential adviser and his chancellor of the exchequer in China. A similar post was occupied in the West by Mahmud Yelvadj. Chutsai's appointment dates from 1229.¶ When Yeliu Chutsai received his appointment Chin kai, a Kerait, and therefore probably a Christian, was named as his deputy.

Page 117, line 23. De Mailla** and D'Ohsson†† date this in 1230, which is doubtless right.

Page 118, line 3. Colonel Yule reminds me that Kung tsé is the Chinese name of Confucius.

Page 118, line 22. For Tong tcheu and Hoa tcho read Tong chau and Hoa chau.

Page 118, line 28. Antchar is the Antsar of De Mailla.‡‡

„ 118, „ 42. See Gaubil, 51; De Mailla, ix. 142; and D'Ohsson, i. 380.

„ 120, „ 12. Kiun chau was the town now called Yu chau.§§

„ 120, „ 24. The Ho shang of Gaubil.‖‖

„ 120, „ 29. Gaubil says his mouth was slit from ear to ear.

„ 120, „ 32. Gaubil says that Ira Buka asked that he might die in the Kin territory.

Page 123, line 23. Wanien was the family name of the Kin Imperial stock.

„ 123, „ 26. These comprised fugitives from the surrounding districts.

„ 124, „ 3. Loyang or Honanfu is one of the very oldest towns of China, and contains some of its oldest monuments.¶¶

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* *Id.*, 128. † D'Ohsson, ii. 81. Note. ‡ Gaubil, 59. § *Id.*, 57. ‖ *Id.*, 60, 61.
¶ Bretschneider, op. cit., 110.
** Op. cit., ix. 135. †† Op. cit., ii. 14. ‡‡ Op. cit., ix. 139. §§ Gaubil, 65.
‖‖ Op. cit., 66. ¶¶ Gaubil, 81. Note.

Page 124, line 15, 21, &c. For Huchahu read Hushahu or Hushaku.

,, 124, ,, 32. For Burgul read Bughurul.

,, 124, ,, 39 and 43. For Jou read Yu. The Yu is a tributary of the Hoi.

,, 125, ,, 26. The spot where this house stood, Gaubil says, is still shown near Yu ning fu.*

Page 125, line 36. Ching ling was killed the same day in a tumult.†

,, 126, ,, 15. Tului was surnamed Yekeh Noyan (*i.e.*, Great Noyan) and Ulugh Noyan.‡

Page 126, line 17. For Novan read Noyan.

,, 126, ,, 21, and 129, line 9. For Roku ud din read Rokn ud din.

,, 126, ,, 22 and 24, and 127, line 3. Mazanderan has, by a slip, been wrongly spelt in these lines.

Page 127, line 7. For Irak Areb read Irak Arab.

,, 127, ,, 11. Insert were before pursued.

,, 127, ,, 24. For this read the.

,, 128, ,, 15. Erase to.

,, 128, ,, 39. I am disposed to think now that by Soussans Raschid meant the Saksins, a Turkish race who lived about the mouths of the Volga.

Page 130, line 15. For Esferan read Isferan.

,, 130, ,, 21. He was nearly surprised at the fort of Shirkebut, near Mukan.§

Page 131, line 20. For Nessaui read Nessavi.

,, 132, ,, 13. For Irak Areb and Zek Abad read Irak Arab and Zenk Abad.

Page 132, line 15. Jebel Hamrin means the red mountain.‖

,, 132, ,, 21. For Jelisavetpol read Yelizavetpol.

,, 132, ,, 24. This is also spelt Mukan.

,, 132, ,, 31. For Imanise read Tmanise.

,, 134, ,, 6. Von Hammer calls him Nussal,¶ but D'Ohsson reads this name Yeshel.** Kurgus, according to Von Hammer, means the blind-eyed.††

Page 134, line 29. Chin kai was a Kerait, and was one of the companions of Jingis Khan at the river Baldjuna, and he had a joint appointment with Yeliu Chutsai in China.‡‡

Page 135, line 1. For Yzz ud din read Iz ud din.

,, 136, ,, 18. In this account I have followed De Mailla. Gaubil makes prince Kutan and Chahay command the first army; Kutchu, Temutai, and Changjao the second; and Petu, son of the king of Liau tung Yeliu liuko, with other chiefs and the general Chagan, command the third.§§

Page 136, line 24. For It read He.

,, 136, ,, 40. De Mailla assigns these victories to Temutai.‖‖

,, 137, ,, 29. De Mailla makes Mangu command the expedition.¶¶

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* Op. cit., 86. Note. † De Mailla, lx. 206. ‡ Erdmann's Temudjin, 445.
§ D'Ohsson, iii. 49. ‖ Von Hammer's Ilkhans, 110. ¶ Ilkhans, 113.
** Op. cit., iii. 108. †† Op. cit., 53. ‡‡ Gaubil, 57.
§§ Op. cit., 90. ‖‖ Op. cit., ix. 216, 217. ¶¶ Op. cit., ix. 220.

Page 138, line 5. They were rather the Kankalis. De Mailla calls them the Koantieukis.*

Page 138, line 23. For Djihankuschai read Jihankustai.

„ 138, „ 34. This has misled previous inquirers as well as myself. An attentive perusal of Carpini shows he has confused the campaign against Khuarezm with this one. Barchin is no doubt Barkhalikent, Jakint or Yakint Yenghikent, and Orna Urgendj.

Page 139, lines 4 and 14. For Isteslawetz read Isheslawetz.

„ 139, „ 27. Kulkan was a son of Jingis Khan by the Merkit Khulan Khatun.

Page 139, line 35. Read flows into the Volga six German miles below Mologda.

„ 139, „ 39. For religions read religious.

„ 141, „ 7. For Boharit read Bahrit. *Vide* page 11.

„ 141, „ 18. For Altuntash read Altunbash.

„ 142, „ 10. For Koladashun read Koladashmi.

„ 142, „ 31. For They read The Mongols.

„ 144, „ 41. According to a letter of the German friars quoted by Matthew Paris, and dated May, 1241, the Christians lost 10,000 men in this battle.†

Page 145, line 19. For Jaroslaf read Yaroslaf.

„ 145, „ 27. The districts of Hozenploz and Leobshuz, which belonged to Moravia and the Bishop of Olmutz, were devastated, for they were planted with German colonies by Bishop Bruno, &c.‡

Page 145, line 30. Before Hraditch insert "the monastery of St. Stephen at."

„ 145, „ 35. It was the Premonstratensian nunnery of Obrovitz which was destroyed. Both the long words are wrongly spelt in the text.

Page 146, line 17. For Munlenbach read Muhlenbach.

„ 146, „ 21. Alba Julia is the Feyerwai of the Hungarians, and is now called Karlsburgh.

Page 146, line 23. For He read They.

„ 146, „ 33. For Thomas read Thomæ.

„ 147, „ 31. Kutan is also known as Kotiak.

„ 247, „ 41. For Zalnuk read Zolnuk.

„ 148, „ 2. Wolff calls Ugolin, Ugrin.

„ 148, „ 36. On the same day the Mongols slaughtered a great body of people who had taken refuge in the Dom and palace of Waizen, which is on the Danube, about four German miles from Pesth.§

Page 150, line 34. Colonel Yule suggests mangonels rather than catapults.

„ 151, „ 10. For Ozen read Ofen.

„ 151, „ 12. For They read The Mongols.

„ 151, „ 27. For Politze read Volitze.

„ 152, „ 29. For they read the Austrians.

„ 154, „ 21. Colonel Yule properly corrects Zodiac to Cycle.

„ 155, „ 26. Wolff says Petschova, but ? Petschora.

„ 155, „ 29. For Soyol read Soyots.

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* *Id.*, iii. 223. † Wolff, 192. ‡ Wolff, 242. § Wolff, 291.

Page 155, line 39. For Ko cheou king read Ko shau king.

,, 155, ,, 40. For Kubilai read Khubilai.

,, 156, ,, 1. On the site of Karakorum, see p. 182.

,, 156, ,, 23. Cat is a ridiculous mistake of mine; it ought to be cake.

,, 156, ,, 44. In the note correct the page in Pauthier from 271 to 171.

,, 157, ,, 10. Two priests of the Tao sect.*

,, 158, ,, 14. For Yan king read Yen king.

,, 158, ,, 28. This place is called Koshei Naur (*i.e.*, the lake Kushei) by Von Hammer, who says it was four days' journey from Karakorum.† It is called Keushe and lake Gueuca by D'Ohsson.‡

Page 158, line 32. We are told that Jagatai prescribed a certain number of cups to be drunk daily, but this rule he evaded by having the cups made bigger.§

Page 158, line 37. He was found dead in bed after a carouse near the mountain Utegu Kulan.‖ His most influential wife, Turakina, seems to have been jealous of the three daughters of the Kerait Yakembo, who had married so well, Siurkukteni having been the chief wife of Tului, Bigtutemish of Juji, and Abika one of Jingis Khan's wives. After his death Abika had been married to a dyer on the borders of China, and went every year with her son, who was dressed as a cupbearer, to pay her respects at the court. It was while she was there, and after her son had served him with kumis that Ogotai died. Abika and her boy were thereupon accused of having poisoned him; but Itchikadai, the son of Juji Khassar, defended them, and declared it was clear he had died from excessive drinking.¶

Page 160, line 17. For Uirats read Uirads.

,, 160, ,, 26. Ogotai had six chief wives and sixty concubines. His first wife was Burakchin,** the Polaha of Gaubil.†† She was a Kunkurat, and left no children. The second wife was Turakina, a Merkit by birth, and formerly the wife of Dair Ussun, the chief of the Merkits.‡‡ His third wife was Mungha, and the fourth Hashin. Kashi, the fifth son of Ogotai, who was born during Jingis Khan's first campaign against Hia or Kashin, and thence got his name, died young from debauchery.§§

Page 161, line 1. Kuyuk, we are told, had his yurt in the district of Kamak, or, according to others, Mingrak and Imil.‖‖ He was delicate, and, according to Abulghazi, even paralysed.‖‖

Page 161, line 12. The Ngaotula homan of De Mailla.¶¶

,, 161, ,, 26. Palladius says he has seen a statement in a description of Liau tung of the Ming period, according to which Chutsai was buried in the cemetery of his ancestors near mount Y wu lu, in Manchuria. This seems more probable, and there may have been on the Wan hill only a monument to his memory. During the Kien lung period and in 1714 the name of the Wan hill was changed to Wan Thu shan (*i.e.*, hill of longevity). No traces of the

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* De Mailla, ix. 227. † Ilkhans, 52. ‡ ii. 85 and 195. § D'Ohsson, ii. 85.
‖ D'Ohsson, ii. 87. ¶ Von Hammer's Ilkhans, 53. ** Abulghazi, Ed. Desm., 151.
†† Op. cit., 99. ‡‡ Von Hammer's Ilkhans, 53. §§ Abulghazi, 152.
‖‖ Op. cit., 152. ¶¶ Op. cit., ix. 236.

monument then remained, but in 1751 a monument was raised to him there by order of the Emperor.*

Page 161, line 32. Massud bey was the son of Mahmud Yelvadj.†

,, 161, ,, 42. She was a Muhammedan.‡

,, 162, ,, 7. This is the same place where Ogotai had his spring camp,§ and which is so differently spelt. It is called Dalan daba in the Yuen history,‖ and Wankissu Miesuli by De Mailla.¶

Page 162, line 21. For Ismailyen read Ismaelite.

,, 162, ,, 27, and 163, line 29. For Carpino read Carpini.

,, 162, ,, 28. Shortly after his accession Kuyuk sent an army against Corea, which compelled its king to pay tribute and the people to receive Mongol governors or darughas.**

Page 164, line 24. For Ismailyens read Ismaelites.

,, 164, ,, 30, 165, line 40, and 166, line 3. For Carpino read Carpini.

,, 165, ,, 12. Shiré was a Muhammedan from Samarkand.††

,, 165, ,, 22. This paragraph, which I owe to Ssanang Setzen, is a mistake. See Chapter IX. on the Khoshotes, p. 505.

Page 166, line 5. Abulghazi says he had three sons, Khodja Ogul and Bagu (the Nagu of D'Ohsson and of our text), whose mother was Kamish (*i.e.*, Ogul Gaimish), and a third son named Oku.‡‡ He also had two daughters, the eldest of whom married the chief of the Onguts, and the second married Stugu, prince of Turfan.§§

Page 167, line 8. For Khelatt and Ogatai read Khelat and Ogotai.

,, 167, ,, 10. For Achraf read Ashraf.

,, 169, ,, 2. For Rees ain read Ras al ain.

,, 169, ,, 8. This is a *lapsus memoriæ*. I have not so described him although I meant to do. Kurguz had set out to render account to Ogotai how he had administered the affairs of Persia, where he had ruled with singular justice and moderation, having his seat of power at Tus.‖‖

Page 170, line 14. The vacant post of Bitikudji was given to the Khodja Fakhr ud din Bihishti.¶¶

Page 170, line 20. Ogul Gaimish was a daughter of Kutukta, chief of the Uirads.*** She is called Charmis in a letter of Mangu Khan's written to St. Louis.†††

Page 170, line 24. Colonel Yule doubts this fact, but I think it very probable See D'Ohsson, ii. 240.

Page 171, line 23. Mangussar was the son of the great Subutai Behadur.

,, 172, ,, 35. Katakush is called Inalihotan by De Mailla.‡‡‡ She was the mother of Shiramun.

Page 172, line 40. Bela, the secretary of Ogul Gaimish, escaped. The Emperor's mother being ill, he had issued a general amnesty to propitiate

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* Bretchneider, op. cit., 109. † D'Ohsson, ii. 192. ‡ *Id.*, 194.
§ See page 158. ‖ D'Ohsson, ii. 195. Note. ¶ Op. cit., ix. 242. ** Gaubil, 106.
†† D'Ohsson, ii. 232. ‡‡ Op. cit. 152. §§ Gaubil. 205. Note. ‖‖ D'Ohsson, iii. 116-118.
¶¶ D'Ohsson, iii. 126. *** D'Ohsson, ii. 246. ††† De Mailla, ix. 246. Note 2.
‡‡‡ ix. 255.

heaven, and Bela came within it. His family and goods, however, were seized, and he himself sent off on a mission to Syria and Egypt.*

Page 173, line 1. De Mailla' says Chelimen (*i.e.*, Shiramun) and Yesupoli were exiled to the country of Mulochi, where they were carefully guarded. Kiliki, wife of Ogotai, and Hutieni were sent to the west of the country governed by Kutan. Hontan or Hatan and Moli, sons of Ogotai, were sent one to Bishbalig and the other to the Irtish. Kaidu, son of Kashi, and Perku were sent to the country of Churki (*i.e.*, Manchuria). Todo, son of Kharadjar, to the country of Imil and Mongotu, another grandson of Ogotai was sent with the princess Kiliki. All the gold, silver, precious stones, and jewels of the family of Ogotai were confiscated.†

Page 173, line 16. For des read der.

,, 173, ,, 29. Kayalic was probably within the special ulus of Ogotai. In this line, for Amalig read Almalig.

Page 175, line 1. For Tumir read Timur.

,, 176, ,, 4 and 5. For lies and maintains read lay and maintained.

,, 176, ,, 10. For Yesseini read Yenissei.

,, 177, ,, 10. For to read too.

,, 177, ,, 29. For a part read in part.

,, 178, ,, 1. For Tagajar read Tugajar or Tugachar.

,, 178, ,, 30. This, says Colonel Yule, was no doubt the instrument called balalaika by Dr. Clarke; it is a kind of two-stringed lyre, and is the most common instrument in use among the Kalmuks.‡

Page 179, line 23. For Changtu read Shangtu.

,, 179, ,, 33. This river is called Aru by Gaubil.§

,, 180, ,, 4. Erase and.

,, 180, ,, 11. For Khaischan read Khaissan.

,, 181, ,, 20. For suzereign read suzerain.

,, 181, ,, 34 and 37. For ordu read orda, and for Témur read Timur.

,, 182, ,, 12. Kuluk Khan was the successor of Timur.

Pages 184 and 185. By an inadvertence on my part, the notes on these two pages appear as if they were my own; they are really Colonel Yule's, and ought to have appeared in inverted commas.

Page 184, line 34. This is the Toghon Timur of my own narrative.

,, 188, ,, 2. Dandar is the Taitar of De Mailla.‖

,, 188, ,, 7. The Yuen annals state that in 1251 Yelvadj was made governor of the province of Yen king. De Mailla says that Yalawachi, Puchir Wâlupu and Tutar were given charge of the administration of Yen king.¶

Page 188, line 27. This college, according to D'Ohsson, was called Khani.**

,, 189, ,, 30. Colonel Yule thinks there is not sufficient evidence to connect Rubruquis with Ruysbrok in Holland. See Introduction.

Page 189, line 41, and 191, line 35. Terasine is more properly written darásun, according to my excellent friend just quoted.

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* D'Ohsson, ii. 273, 274. † De Mailla ix. 256.
‡ Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., i. 331. § Op. cit., 226. ‖ Op. cit., ix. 255.
¶ Bretschneider, 110. De Mailla, ix, 255. ** Op. cit., ii. 267.

Page 190, line 24. For Sancto read Sancte.

,, 192, ,, 32. Behai ud din was named his minister of finance.*

,, 192, ,, 36. For Chems ud din read Shems ud din.†

,, 192, ,, 42. Add Gur and Sidjestan to the places here named.‡

,, 193, ,, 9. Roads and bridges were ordered to be repaired, and the country west of Tungat was reserved for pasturing his horses.§

Page 193, line 16. Von Hammer says Pfuhle.‖ On this place see the note at the end of the chapter.

Page 193, line 27. For Ismailyens read Ismaelites.

,, 194, ,, 7. He crossed the Oxus on the 2nd January, 1256.¶ In its neighbourhood he had a hunt, when nine lions were killed.

Page 194, line 13. For Girdkjuh read Girdkuh. Von Hammer says it was also called Derikunbed or the arched gallery.**

Page 194, lines 19 and 20. For Turim read Tarim, and insert a comma after Rudbar.

Page 194, line 27. It held out, however, for fourteen years, and was not taken till December, 1270.††

Page 194, line 28. For Kest read Kurt.

,, 194, ,, 31. Von Hammer says it was not far from Hain or Ghain.‡‡

,, 195, ,, 38. D'Ohsson says great cisterns were found inside, filled with various kinds of food, including some vinegar and honey. These, it was said, had been put there by Hassan Sabbah 170 years before, and had kept good in consequence of his excellence.§§

Page 199, line 18. The Mongols were attacked near Anbar.‖‖

,, 201, ,, 7. This is the Wakf of Von Hammer.¶¶

,, 202, ,, 17, 34, 39, &c. Buga ought perhaps rather to be written Buka, as Von Hammer writes it;*** D'Ohsson writes Boca. Buka Timur was the brother of Khulagu's wife Oljai.†††

Page 202, line 33, and 205, line 12. For Irak Areb read Irak Arab.

,, 203, ,, 17. This was in August, 1258.‡‡‡

,, 203, ,, 20. For suzereign read suzerain.

,, 204, ,, 40. Alter the comma after Mongols to a full stop.

,, 209, ,, 16. This is the Kalat ur Rum of D'Ohsson. Von Hammer says Kalatol Rum means the Roman castle, and that it was on the site of the ancient Zeugma.§§§

Page 209, lines 18 and 19. Menbedsh, according to Von Hammer, is a corruption of its old name Bambyce; it was also known as Hierapolis. It owed its former name to its trade in cotton, and its latter one to its temples, of which the chief was that of Astarte. Nedshm means the star-fort; Rakka is the ancient Kalinike, also known as Nicephorium; while Jaaber is famous as the place where Suleiman, the grandfather of Osman, the founder of the Osmanli power, was drowned.‖‖‖

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* D'Ohsson, iii. 128. † D'Ohsson, iii. 129. ‡ D'Ohsson, iii. 130. § Bretschneider, 62.
‖ Von Hammer's Ilkhans, 87. ¶ Von Hammer's Ilkhans, 93. ** Yule's Polo, 2nd Ed., i. 153.
†† Von Hammer's Ilkhans, 95. ‡‡ Op. cit., iii. 199. §§ Bretschneider, 66.
‖‖ Ilkhans, 154. ¶¶ *Id.* *** Von Hammer's Ilkhans, 151. ††† Bretschneider, 66.
‡‡‡ Op. cit., iii. 316. §§§ Ilkhans, 281. ‖‖‖ *Id.*, 182.

Page 209, line 21. The Hama of Von Hammer is better known as Hamath.

,, 210, ,, 30. For Eyoubit read Ayubit.

,, 211, ,, 19. He only reigned as the viceroy of his brother, nor did he coin money in his own name, but the dinars and dirhems were struck in the name of Mangu Khan, a usage which continued under Abaka and his successor; Argun, son of Abaka, added his own name to that of the Khakan; and Gazan, Argun's son, who became a Mussulman, broke off his allegiance entirely.*

Page 211, line 22. For suzereignty read suzerainty.

,, 211, ,, 37. Colonel Yule doubts this etymology. I took it from D'Ohsson, who says that it is the meaning of the word in Mongol.†

Page 212, line 20. They summoned Chen chi king, its king, a vassal of the Sung empire, to recognise their supremacy.‡ Annam is probably a corruption of the Chinese name Ngan-nan (*i.e.*, the pacificated south). The name Tung king, which means eastern capital, it doubtless got from one of its cities. Kiao chi, in Chinese, means with crossed-toes.§

Page 212, line 28. For he read Uriangkadai.

,, 213, ,, 7. Kitat was no doubt appointed his darugha (*i.e.*, commissary or agent). Russia was then subject immediately to Batu Khan.

Page 213, line 25, and 218, line 9. For Muke read Moku or Moko.

,, 213, ,, 23. For Mian chan read Mian chau.

,, 214, ,, 17. Mangu's death took place in August, 1259.‖

,, 213, ,, 25, and 218, line 9. This is the name elsewhere spelt Tugachar.

,, 216, ,, 18. It would seem the Mongols also use the word Mangu in the sense of eternal, but they do not apply it to mortals.¶

Page 216, line 19. Khubilai was born in the eighth month of 1216.**

,, 218, ,, 27. Kuntukai had been left in command of Mangu's main army when the latter's remains were escorted to Karakorum by his son Assutai.

Page 218, line 28. For Lupin read Liupan. This was the same place where Jingis Khan died.

Page 218, line 40. For son read brother.

,, 220, ,, 40. This is a mistake of D'Ohsson's. There were no Dalai Lamas till a much later date. See *ante* page 504, &c. Mati Dhvadsha was no doubt only made supreme head of the Red Lamas. The civil jurisdiction seems to have been retained in Mongol hands, and Thibet was divided into provinces by Khubilai.

Page 224, line 34. This army was commanded by Atchu or Achu, son of Uriangkadai; he had followed his father in Thibet, India, Cochin China, Tung king, Kuangsi, and Kukuang.††

Page 225, line 14. Alihaya was probably the Alibeg, son of Mahmud Yelvadj of Vassaf.‡‡

Page 225, line 16. These engineers were called Alai ud din and Ismail.§§

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* Pauthier's Marco Polo, 236. † Op. cit., ii. 318. Note.
‡ D'Ohsson, ii. 318. § *Id.*, 320. Note. ‖ Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., i. 326.
¶ D'Ohsson, ii. 333. Note. ** De Mailla, ix. 282. Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., i. 326.
†† Gaubil, 140. Note. ‡‡ D'Ohsson, ii. 397. Note. §§ *Id.*, ii. 389.

Page 225, line 36. D'Ohsson says Polohoan.*

,, 226, ,, 8 and 13. For Cha yang read Sha yang.

,, 226, ,, 23 and 28. For Cha fu keou and Cha fu kai read Sha fu keou.

,, 227, ,, 15. This is the well known Chinese fruit called leechee in India, where it has been acclimatised.

Page 228, line 30. For suzereignty read suzerainty.

,, 229, ,, 17. Insert at between jeered and him.

,, 229, ,, 24 and 28. For Chang chi kie and Chí kong read Chang shi kié and Shé kong. De Mailla places this mountain to the north-east of Chin kiang.

Page 230, line 12. For Carpino read Carpini.

,, 230, ,, 24. For Ailhaya read Alihaya.

,, 231, ,, 30. For "who" read the envoys.

,, 232, ,, 26. For Si tu read Si-hu.

,, 237, ,, 31. For Chang chi kie read Chang shi kie.

,, 237, ,, 21. Chen ching, which De Mailla calls Tung king,† Colonel Yule reminds me is Cochin China.

Page 237, line 43. In the third reference to De Mailla put 395-399.

,, 238, ,, 44. For De Mailla, ix. 204, read 304.

,, 240, ,, 35. Honkilachi is merely the Chinese corruption for Kunkurat.

,, 243, ,, 38. For vice-regent read vicegerent.

,, 245, ,, 34. On this see note on page 220, line 40.

,, 247, ,, 17. For Chang tu read Shang tu.

,, 247, ,, 31. See note on page 240, line 35.

,, 247, ,, 36. Colonel Yule writes me that Mobar and Malabar are two different places. Mobar connotes the Coromandel region, *i.e.*, the south-east coast of India, commencing with Cape Comorin.‡ Malabar is of course on the west coast of India.

Page 247, line 39. For Singnigli read Singuyli.

,, 248, ,, 6. For Chen chen read Chen ching.

,, 248, ,, 20. For nephew read second cousin.

,, 248, ,, 30. For Putula read Putala or Butala.

,, 249, ,, 37. D'Ohsson says his place was given to Oldjai.§

,, 250, ,, 9. For suzereign read suzerain.

,, 250, ,, 14. He died, and it was suspected he had been killed.‖

,, 251, ,, 37. For Chi tsu read Shi tsu.

,, 254, ,, 27. For Gourt read Court.

,, 254, ,, 39. For Ortus read Ordus.

,, 256, ,, 22. For kikn read kiun.

,, 256, ,, 27. For Yung se read Yuen se.

,, 259, ,, 17. Pauthier says there still survives at Peking, to the north of the city, a tower called the bell tower, which is of great height and open to the winds. The bell, which is hung on the highest storey, may be heard at a great distance. This tower, he says, is in close neighbourhood to another built

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* Op. cit., ii. 396. † Op. cit., ix. 399. ‡ Cathay and the Way Thither, 80, 81.
§ Op. cit., ii. 474. ‖ De Mailla, ix. 449.

in 1272 by Khubilai, on which is a clepsydra of most delicate construction, which consists of four basins filled with water, which flows from one to another in a regular stream. This moves a figure which comes out at certain intervals and marks the hours.*

Page 259, line 34. Insert the between of and ancient.

,, 259, ,, 42. Colonel Yule says a green mount, answering to the description and about 160 feet high, still stands immediately in rear of the palace buildings (at Peking). It is called by the Chinese King Shan, Court mountain, Wan su Shan, Ten Thousand Year mount, and Mei Shan, Coal mount; but it is not certain that this is the one made by Khubilai. A figure of it is given by Colonel Yule.†

Page 260, line 20. For Kia ping fu read Kai ping fu.

,, 261, ,, 12. For shepherd read shepherds.

,, 263, ,, 12. For establishment read establishments.

,, 263, ,, 31. Colonel Yule says he was an officer of the Mongol camp, whose duties are thus described by Muhammed Hindu Shah in a work on the offices of the Perso-Mongol court. "He is an officer appointed by the council of state, who at the time when the camp is struck goes over the ground with his servants and collects slaves of either sex, or cattle, such as horses, camels, and asses, that have been left behind, and retains them until the owners appear and prove their claim to the property, when he makes it over to them. He sticks up a flag by his tent or hut, so that he may be easily found." The name is apparently derived from Bularghu, lost property.‡

Page 263, line 37. The rendezvous of the great hunt is called Cachar Modun by Polo. Colonel Yule identifies it with Modun Khotan, in the district north of the eastern extremity of the Great Wall.§

Page 264, line 7. These were really tiger skins. See note on page 57, line 21.

Page 265, line 1. This practice was rigidly enforced among the Mongols, and is mentioned by Rubruquis and other travellers, a breach of it being punished with death. The tent ropes were regarded as the threshold in the case of tents, and Mr. Michie thus describes the survival of the superstition to our day. He says, "There is a right and a wrong way of approaching a yurt; outside the door there are generally ropes lying on the ground, held down by stakes for the purpose of tying up animals when they want to keep them together. There is a way of getting over or round these ropes that I never learnt but on one occasion, the ignorant breach of the rule on our part excluded us from the hospitality of the family;" and Colonel Yule adds, "the feeling or superstition was in full force in Persia in the seventeenth century, at least in regard to the king's palace. It was held a sin to tread upon it in entering."‖

Page 265, line 16. Pauthier gives from the Yuen si a resumé of the State robes presented three times a year to the mandarins and other high officials. They consisted of five caps of sable, &c.; five dresses of sky-blue silk; five light ones of red silk; five under garments, in white silk, and thin as gauze;

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* Marco Polo, ii. 275. Note. † Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., i. 360.
‡ Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., i. 393, 394. § *Id.*, i. 394. ‖ *Id.*, i. 372.

five girdles of gold tissue and red silk; five ivory tablets; five belts with silver clasps; five jade pendents; five collars of white silk hanging down on the breast; five pairs of red leather boots; and five pairs of socks of white silk.*

Page 266, line 2. Of course all that is here meant is that he introduced at the Mongol court. It was an old Chinese custom.

Page 267, line 21. Polo says the number of salutations was four and not three. Carpini also speaks of making four genuflexions.†

Page 269, line 15. Vambery will have it the proper name is Kechilan or Kechiklen (*i.e.*, night watchers), from Kiche or Kichek, Uighur for night.‡

Page 271, line 27. These paizahs were accompanied by patents of office called yarlighs by the Mongols.§

Page 271, line 41. Colonel Yule says that "under the Persian branch of he Mongol royal house the degree of honour was indicated by the number of lion's heads upon the plate, which varied from one to five. The lion and sun which survives, or has been revived in modern Persian decoration, so called, formed the emblem of the sun in Leo (*i.e.*, in bright power). It had already been used on the coins of the Seljukian sovereigns of Persia and Iconium, on the coins of the Ilkhans, Gazan, Uldjeitu, and Abusaid, and is also found on some of those of Muhammed Uzbek Khan of Kipchak."‖

Page 272, line 11. Pauthier enumerates the various standards in use among the Mongols, and said they were decorated with the symbols of the various elements; thus there was a standard of the genius of the winds (fung peh), of the master of the rain (yu se), of the prince of thunder (lui kung), each with a genius upon it; the standards of the five elements—metal, water, wood, fire, and earth; the standards of each of the twenty-eight constellations, &c. The standard of the sun (yih khi), formed of a blue stuff with the sun's disc embroidered on it, supported by clouds; that of the moon (yue khi), similarly decorated with the moon's disc. The standard of the five sacred Chinese mountains, of the grand peace of the empire, of the 10,000 years of the emperor, in which rice plants intermingled, formed the standards of the eastern, western, northern, and southern sky, each with diverse beings with different emblems. The standard of the great genius (ta chin khi), those of the ivory gate, of the golden drum, of the white tiger, of the green dragon, of the dragons of all shapes and colours, of the horse dragon, of the ki lin, of the buffalo, the rhinoceros, of the golden cow, of the wolf, of the genii of the four cardinal points, &c.¶

Page 272, line 15. The first issue of paper money made by the Mongols was in 1236, before they moved to China.**

Page 272, line 27. Pauthier says 1,872,407,175 francs. He compares this with the assignats issued during the French revolution, which amounted in September, 1792, to 2,700,000,000 francs; in August, 1793, to 5,000,000,000; and in 1796, to 45,578,000,000.††

Page 274 and 275. The larger notes on these two pages, one of which has

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* Pauthier's Marco Polo, 285. Note.
† Yule's Polo, 2nd Ed., i. 380.
‡ *Id.*, 368.
§ *Id.*, 343.
‖ *Id.*, 343.
¶ Pauthier's Polo, 256. Note.
** Yule's Polo, 2nd Ed., i. 412.
†† Op. cit., 322.

been inadvertently repeated, are taken from Colonel Yule, and ought to have been in inverted commas.

Page 276, line 6. She was styled Kunku or the great consort by Raschid, the equivalent of the Chinese Hwang heu.* She was a Kunkurat, and, according to Pauthier, the mother of Dordji, Ching kin, Mankola, and Numukan.†

Page 276, line 28. Raschid said when Khubilai was born Jingis was much surprised to find him brown, as all his own children were blondes.‡

Page 276, line 42. There are still remains of the fine avenues planted by Khubilai and his successors in various parts of Northern China.§

Page 277, line 6. The system of relieving the poor in vogue among the Mongols was borrowed by them from the Chinese, who had elaborated their system from the early days of the Han dynasty, and especially during that of the Thang. Public workshops were established in various parts of the big towns, where sacrifices were offered to the spirits of the earth (ché); officials were appointed in the large districts to fix maximum and minimum prices for food, so that the poor should not suffer in hard times nor the farmers in good ones. In 1292 an inundation of the river Kiang flooded large parts of the provinces of Che kiang and Kiang si. An edict was accordingly passed, by which the imports were taken off those provinces temporarily, and the lost harvests were replaced from the public granaries.‖ The relief of the poor comprised many methods, such as remission of taxes, distribution of doles of rice, millet, &c.; and the annals are crowded with notices of such acts, in which aged literates, the poor, orphans, and foundlings were relieved by the State. Such unfortunates are called Heaven's children (thien min). In an edict of 1260, bureaux were created for distributing coals, alms, &c. In 1283 hostels were founded in the Chinese quarter of the capital where orphans and old people might find refuge. In 1291 winter and summer cloths were distributed to widows, &c. Dispensaries, where medicines could be had free, were also founded, and each one was taxed for their support.¶

Page 278, line 17. Colonel Yule has given to his second edition of Marco Polo an illustration of some very interesting astronomical instruments, dating from the reign of Khubilai Khan, which still survive at Peking, others like them having until late years been at Nanking. Those at Peking are not easily accessible, but their companions at Nanking were described by Father Ricci, and his description has been extracted by Colonel Yule. They consist of a huge globe, an armillary sphere, a gnomon, and a curious compound astrolabe. They are very well cast in bronze, and are traditionally supposed to have been made by Ko show king, Khubilai's chief astronomer.**

Page 279, line 8. In his new edition of Marco Polo, Colonel Yule gives a plate of this inscription.††

Page 280, line 4. The Chinese annals, according to Pauthier and Gaubil, say Khubilai left ten sons. Of the names mentioned in his note Kuridai and

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* Yule's Polo, 2nd Ed., i. 350. † Pauthier's Polo, 258. ‡ D'Ohsson, ii. 475. Note.
§ Yule's Polo, 2nd Ed., i. 427. ‖ Pauthier's Marco Polo, 345. Note.
¶ *Id.*, 346, &c. Notes. ** Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., ii., 544, &c.
†† Op. cit., i. 295.

Temkan were not known apparently to Gaubil, and he calls Hutulu, Temurh Gantanpuhoa.*

Page 280, line 16. Since I wrote this note I have received Dr. Bretschneider's admirable pamphlet on the Chinese mediæval travellers to the West, which contains much new matter. This I shall leave for the second volume, and at present only correct the errors contained in this note.

Page 280, lines 22, 24, and 25. I have most awkwardly begun this story in the first person plural, and then changed to direct narrative. The we and our in these lines ought to read they and their. Dr. Bretschneider says the phrase translated a country watered by rivers is Wu sun in the original, which Remusat suggested means river or water. He is disposed, however, to treat it as a proper name, derived from the well-known tribe Wu sun, who lived in this district.

Page 280, line 32. Bretschneider says he was informed by Captain Matussofski that the Jabkan or Dsabgan is called Hun Muren by the Mongols.† He says that it is often flooded in summer.

Page 280, line 37. Bretschneider translates this more probably, "Chang ti proceeded again in a north-westerly direction, the distance by road southward to Bie shi bali at the nearest point being 500 li, a country inhabited by a great number of Chinese." Besides wheat and millet, he also mentions barley and ku (*i.e.*, the setaria italica) as growing there.

Page 280, line 43, Bretschneider, in lieu of this line, has "There are mills which are put in motion by the running water."

Page 281, line 1. Bretschneider corrects the Nie man of Pauthier to Ye man, which he identifies with some probability as Emil.

Page 281, line 5. Polo is the Pulad of Raschid, and the Phulat of Haython's narrative. He tells us it was situated near Sout kul (*i.e.*, the milk lake or lake Sairam). Algu, the grandson of Jagatai, defeated the army of Arikbuka in 1262, near the city of Pulad and the lake Sout.‡ Bretschneider entirely alters Pauthier's reading at this point; the larches of the latter he reads cypresses, which he says did not thrive, but grew tortuously because of the stones. He says the houses were built of clay and had glass windows.§ All about the metal washing, &c., was a misreading of Pauthier's.

Page 281, lines 15, 17, and 26. For Carpino read Carpini.

,, 281, ,, 35. Bretschneider reads melons instead of gourds.

,, 281, ,, 40. Pauthier has here misunderstood the original, which says that among the inhabitants of Chi murh were many Chinese from Ping and Feu. Ping chau was the name of an ancient province corresponding to the northern part of Pehchehli and Shan si. Feu is Feu chau fu in Shan si.

Page 281, line 41. Bretschneider suggests that this animal was the lynx.

,, 282, ,, 2. In the original it says that there was a wine there with a strong smell.‖

Page 282, line 3. Here I have been ludicrously napping. Pauthier has monnaies and not montagnes, but the word is divided between the bottom and

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* *Id.*, i. 353. Note. † Op. cit., 69. ‡ *Id.*, 70. Note 40.
§ *Id.*, 70. Notes 42, 43. ‖ *Id.*, 73.

top of a page, and I can't conceive how I misread him. The reference of course is to coins.

Page 282, line 5. Here again Pauthier and Remusat are much at fault, the original reads, "In this country (*i.e.*, Mao or Maa) the people put horses to sledges, and carry heavy burdens in this way from station to station, going very quickly. It is reported the Khi li ki sze use stags instead of horses."*

Page 282, line 19. Sari Kurgan is rather yellow mounds than white mounds.

,, 282, ,, 24. Hoang ho is of course Yellow River, and Dr. Bretschneider ingeniously suggests that the term is used here as a synonym for Chu, which we are told in the Kalmuk language means muddy, and implies that it is therefore essentially a yellow river.

Page 282, line 34. The meaning of the original is rather that they were shaped like a Chinese lady's shoe.†

Page 282, line 36. For Jaxates read Jaxartes.

,, 282, ,, 41. For suerely read surely.

,, 284, ,, 25. Uldsheitu, according to D'Ohsson, means the fortunate.‡

,, 285, ,, 1. She was called Gukjin.§

,, 285, ,, 21. He was styled Seyed Edjil.‖

,, 286, ,, 28. Gaubil says Timur made peace with the King of Annam, and reopened intercourse with India, which had been closed after Khubilai's expedition to Java.¶

Page 287, line 5, Titiya, the king of Mien or Burmah, had failed to send his tribute for several years, and Timur was on the point of marching against him when his son Sinhobati went in person to do homage, upon which Timur wrote him a gracious letter confirming him in his position and nominating his son Sinhobati as his successor, and also sent him a paizah or tablet with the figure of a tiger on it.** It was three years after this, and in 1300, that Titiya, having been killed by his brother Asankoyé, Sinhobati sought the assistance of Timur, as I have said.

Page 287, line 15. Insert the between and and people.

,, 288, ,, 40. Insert a comma after beyond.

,, 289, ,, 10. Insert officials after those.

,, 289, ,, 31. He died on the 1st day of the year 1307.††

,, 290, ,, 20. For Buyut read Bayut.

,, 291, ,, 20. His Chinese title was U tsong.

,, 292, ,, 7. I have been somewhat inconsistent in this account of Ananda from following different authorities. Raschid, who is followed by D'Ohsson, says he was sent home to his government at the instance of Gukjin, while Gaubil says he was put to death with the princess Peyan and the minister Antay.‡‡

Page 292, line 27. For Choigji read Choigyi.

,, 296, ,, 32. Erase the second and.

,, 297, ,, 34. Colonel Yule writes me that the Che li is the Chinese name of the Laos or Shan state called Kiang Hung, on the Mekong River.

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* Op. cit., 74. † *Id.*, 75. Note. ‡ Op. cit., ii. 507. § *Id.*, ii. 506. Note.
‖ *Id.*, ii. 507. ¶ Op. cit., 224. ** De Mailla, ix. 468, 469. D'Ohsson, ii. 509.
†† De Mailla, ix. 487. ‡‡ Gaubil, 238. D'Ohsson, ii. 533.

Page 299, line 6. In 1314 Aichin, an envoy from the king of Hien, an island near Japan, to the east of Fu kien, went to the Mongol court with tribute. Silachuting, king of Mapor, also sent one of his officers with rarities from his country.* Similar embassies with presents went in 1319 from the kings of Hien and of Burmah.

Page 299, line 28. For Chutepala read Shutepala.

,, 299, ,, 39. By his wife Anoshesheli, who was a Kunkurat, he left two sons, Shutepala and Utusubuka.†

Page 300, line 27. For Kolin read Korin. Korum does not mean city, but is a corruption of Kuran, which means an enclosure, and is equivalent to the Ring of the Avares.

Page 302, line 13. His official title in Chinese history is Ing tsong.

,, 302, ,, 36. He was called Chang kuey.‡

,, 305, ,, 9. For sage read saga.

,, 306, ,, 19. Yen Timur was the third son of Choangur, and one of the greatest generals of the period.§

Page 306, line 30. Taché Timur is the Chaoshiyen of Gaubil; he was the son of Toto, a prince of the Kankalis.‖

Page 308, line 5. He named him institutor of the emperor.¶

,, 309, ,, 40. According to Gaubil the plot was formed by some Uighur Lamas.**

Page 310, line 32. The second reference is to page 299.

,, 311, ,, 17. The Chinese, who blame him for this, tell us he did so on the advice of Alu hoen Timur, a descendant of Ogotai. He was a favourite of his father, Kushala.††

Page 313, line 43. The second reference is to page 307.

,, 316, ,, 2, &c. For Ilacho read Ilakho.

,, 320, ,, 13. Colonel Yule chaffs me for using the term German flute, but it really expresses to English ears what I mean, although the flutes that were played in Shun ti's palace had nothing to do with Germany.

Page 321, line 31. For external read eternal.

,, 324, ,, 43. Aluhoei is the Aluwen Timur of Gaubil. According to Gaubil he went originally to assist Shun ti against his enemies, and only developed his ambitious schemes afterwards.‡‡

Page 328, line 16. Erase him.

,, 330, ,, 14, &c. For Ilacho read Ilakho.

,, 330, ,, 28, &c. For Bindshing read Bingjing.

,, 333, ,, 29. *i.e.*, the supreme Lama.

,, 334, ,, 15. For Chas Boo read Khas Boo.

,, 334, ,, 17. For Bucha read Bukha.

,, 334, ,, 44. For vocem read voce. The reference is to page 65.

,, 336, ,, 39. For Tho lie pet read Tho lie pie.

,, 337, ,, 37. For thonrs read thorns.

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* De Mailla, ix. 510. † De Mailla, ix. 522. Note. ‡ Gaubil, 288. § Gaubil, 261.
‖ D'Ohsson, ii. 546. Gaubil, 263. ¶ D'Ohsson, ii. 351. ** Op. cit., ii. 269. Note.
†† Gaubil, 271. De Mailla, ix. 562. ‡‡ Op. cit., 303.

Page 339, line 5. For Chunti read Shunti; he died in the 4th month of 1370.

,, 341, ,, 20. For Aijen fu li tha la read Ayeu fu li tha la.

,, 343, ,, 8. For Pie kiac han read Pie kia shan.

,, 343, ,, 21. For thier read their.

,, 344, ,, 11. For Kingghan read Kin Shan.*

,, 348, ,, 11. That is, the Mongol country.

,, 349, ,, 28. Khe-Emil is more probably to be identified with the town on the river Emil or Imil, which was the capital of Ogotai Khan.

Page 349, line 29. Add "of" after west.

,, 350, ,, 1. Elbek is probably the Ylenc of De la Croix.†

,, 350, ,, 14, &c. For Chuchai read Khukhai.

,, 350, ,, 15, &c. For Chung read Khung.

,, 351, ,, 27, and 352, line 6. I much doubt now if Kergud and Kerait connote the same thing, and if the Keraits were ever at the head of the Kalmuk confederacy. See *ante* note to page 22, line 13.

Page 352, line 11. Gun Timur is probably the Key Timur of De la Croix. He makes him be succeeded by Arki Timur, who is perhaps to be identified with Ugetshi.‡

Page 353, line 19. Piechipali is no doubt Bishbalig.

,, 354, ,, 7. Loku or Luku is the old Chinese name for the Kerulon.

,, 354, ,, 18. The Koloan hai is doubtless lake Kulun, into which the Kerulon flows, and not the sea of Baikal.

Page 355, line 9. Delbek is probably the Waltay Khan of De la Croix, who tells us he was lineally descended from Artichuga (*i.e.*, Arikbuka), the fourth son of Tului.§

Page 356, line 28. This is a mistake of Ssanang Setzen's; he was really a descendant of Juji Khassar. Adai is probably the Orday of Petis de la Croix, who says he was the son of Orday, the son of Malik Timur.‖

Page 357, line 5. For Keraits read Kergud.

,, 358, ,, 29 and 31. For Chung read Khung.

,, 359, ,, 17 and 22. Talan namur is perhaps a corruption of Dolon nur or lake Dolon.

Page 360, line 7. For Tching sang read Ching sang.

,, 360, ,, 33. The Athai of the Ming annals is doubtless the Aday of De la Croix. This author says that both Orday and Aday were descended from Arikbuka.

Page 360, line 35. De la Marre says that he and his officers, Torchepé and others, were persecuted by Thothopouhao (*i.e.*, by Tolobuka or Taissong Khan).¶

Page 361, line 12. Totobuka was the nominee of Toghon Khan, and it seems improbable therefore that he should have been a son of Adsai. Totobuka seems to have been the special chief of the Uleang-ra (*i.e.*, of the Uriangkuts).**

Page 361, line 38. For vocem read voce. The campaign referred to is described on page 607.

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* De Mailla, x. 72. † Op. cit., 400. ‡ *Id.*, 400. § *Id.*, 401. ‖ *Id.*, 401.
¶ De la Marre, 240. ** De la Marre, 268.

Page 362, line 20. For chief read chiefs.

,, 365, ,, 30. On these Ching sangs see further on, pages 399 and 400.

,, 367, ,, 24. For Molichai read Molikhai.

,, 368, ,, 11. For confuses read confines.

,, 368, ,, 28. On this see further page 609.

,, 370, ,, 31. For Monghol read Mongol.

,, 372, ,, 6. De la Marre says further that in the first year of Hiao tsong (*i.e.*, in 1488), "the Little Prince" wrote a letter asking that he might be permitted to do homage and to style himself Ta yuen ta khokan, *i.e.*, Tartar Emperor of the dynasty of Yuen. The Emperor allowed him to do so. Afterwards he, in company with Peyen Mongko, Hochai (prince of the northern horde), Ipulain, &c., went and pillaged on the northern borders of the Yellow River, and the different tribes supporting one another they became very formidable. Liau tung, Suen fu, Tathong, and Yen-sui all suffered. Yue was appointed governor of Kan chau and Leang chau, and at his request his command was reinforced by two divisions.* In 1498 Yue surprised "the Little Prince" at the mountain Holan. He advanced against them by three routes, drew them into ambushes, and defeated them with great carnage, capturing many thousands of camels, horses, cattle, sheep, arms, &c.†

Page 373, line 11. Jirgughan means the Six (*i.e.*, the Six Tumens), a generic term for all the Mongols.

Page 375, line 21. Darchans or Darkhans are doubtless the Terkans of Western writers.

Page 375, line 32. Insert "who" before says.

,, 376, ,, 6. This is somewhat misleading; by the Imperial Ordus I mean the ordus or tents of the ruling family. The tribe Ordus belonged to the Baraghon gar.

Page 376, line 7. The Baraghon gar was the western and not the eastern section. See page 399.

Page 379, line 32. For 1415 read 1615.

,, 382, ,, 5. Insert "name of the" before founder.

,, 382, ,, 38. For Radshapika read Radshipeka.

,, 382, ,, 43. Add a reference to Journ. Asiat., iii. 108.

,, 382, ,, 44. For dir read dir, and insert stops between the contracted words.

Page 384, line 6. For Sunides read Sunids.

,, 385, ,, 20, and 386, line 12. For Koku khoto read Koko khotan, *i.e.*, Blue city.

Page 388, line 28. For north read south.

,, 389, ,, 29. The name is derived from the fact of their living in the woods, and means literally the wood folk. The mountainous and woody country north of Liau tung and of the eastern part of Pehchehli was called Uriankai.‡ Timkowski tells us this district was ceded to the Uriankai in the year 1403. In 1445 the Uriankhan were conquered by Essen Khan of the Uirads.§

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* Op. cit., 418. † *Id.*, 420, 421. ‡ Timkowski, ii. 213. Klaproth's Note.
§ De Mailla, x. 206. De la Marre, 258 and 260.

Page 392, line 36. For land read sand.

,, 393, ,, 40. Add page 377 after *vide* ante.

,, 394, ,, 27. The Oniuds are otherwise known as Ongnigods. See page 448.

Page 397, line 10. Replace the full stop before "the valley" by a semicolon.

,, 397, ,, 34. The Abbe Huc tells a curious story about a king of the Barins. He says he was accused at Peking of having conspired against the emperor. He was tried by the supreme tribunal without being heard, and condemned to be "shortened at both ends," the meaning of this decree being that his head and feet should be cut off. The king made enormous presents to the officials who were sent to superintend the execution of the Imperial edict, and they contented themselves with cutting off his braid of hair and the soles of his boots. They reported at Peking that the order had been executed, and no more was said about the matter. The king, however, descended from his throne and was succeeded by his son.*

Page 398, lines 7 and 12. For Lian read Liau.

,, 398, ,, 15. Keshikten means fortunate, happy, blessed.†

,, 400, ,, 37. Erace the full stop.

,, 401, ,, 18. Urdu means north in Mongol.

,, 404, ,, 24, and 416, line 30. For suzereign read suzerain.

,, 405, ,, 9. Insert on between went and to.

,, 405, ,, 17. For chas read Khas.

,, 405, ,, 42. For sub vocem read sub voce.

,, 406, ,, 28. For rigorous read vigorous.

,, 407, ,, 6. For rigour read vigour.

,, 408, ,, 16. Coincide in time, *i.e.*, be synchronous with, is doubtless meant.

Page 410, line 35. For "at which" read when.

,, 415, ,, 11. For Tumen read Tumens.

,, 416, ,, 10. For Tumeds read Tumens.

,, 416, ,, 41. Insert a comma between Altan and Kilo.

,, 419, ,, 22. For Kin read Ming.

,, 420, ,, 18. Ulaghan Muren or the Red River is a northern feeder of the Hoang ho.‡

Page 420, line 29. I no longer agree with Schmidt in identifying Gun ergi with the Irgene kun of the Turkish traditions, the latter I believe was the valley of the Issikul lake.

Page 420, line 38. For Khutuktu read Khutuktai.

,, 421, ,, 14. For Khakan read Khungtaidshi.

,, 421, ,, 28. He is here addressing Altan Khan as the reincarnate Khubilai, whose chief wife was Chambui, or rather Jambui Khatun.

Page 422, line 17. Khormusda is the Indian Indra.§

,, 423, ,, 18. For Ubashhi read Ubashi.

,, 434, ,, 9. For Ordarma read Oidarma.

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* Huc's Travels, i. 170. † Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., i. 367.
‡ Koeppen, 136. § *Id.*, 137.

Page 439, line 15. Erase and.

,, 442, ,, 27. I now doubt if the modern Khorlos are descended from the Kurulats of the time of Jingis.

Page 443, line 32. On this see note on line 11, page 38.

,, 444, ,, 15. On this see note on line 1, page 25.

,, 445, ,, 1. Aru Khortshins means Southern Khortshins.*

,, 449, ,, 7. The Chinese writers make Nayan descend from Belgutei.†

,, 453, ,, 25. For Barin read Burni.

,, 455, ,, 17. Waidurya is also written Biduria. The four divisions seem to have been called from the Khan Ula (Khan Aghola) mountains, the Kerulon river, the Biduria lake, and the Tsetserlik mountains; the last of which occur frequently in early Mongol history.

Page 455, line 19. Raschid says that Khalka is equivalent to Guran, and represents the phalanx or close body of troops, which formed a notable feature in Mongol tactics. This is a very probable derivation.‡

Page 456, line 32. For Geshicte read Geshichte.

,, 460, ,, 9, 466, line 10, and 470, line 30, &c. For suzereign, read suzerain.

Page 460, line 37. That is to prevail upon them to return to their allegiance.

,, 468, ,, 16, &c. This name ought rather to be spelt Khutuktu.

,, 468, ,, 26. The He of this and succeeding lines refers of course to Lobdsan.

Page 477, line 12. According to De Mailla it was in the early months of 1688.§

Page 482, line 34. These Mongols are doubtless the small tribes enumerated on page 692 of this work.

Page 482, line 40. For assen read asien.

,, 494, ,, 31. For Mongols read Khalkhas. Dr. Bretschneider tells us that Efe in Manchu means the son-in-law of the emperor. The word is also used at the present time by the Chinese. This explains the name given to this kingdom by Huc, a name which will not be found on the map.‖

Page 496, line 16. Schmidt says the Volga Kalmuks call themselves Khalimak, and says it is unmeaning in their language, and that they have borrowed it from the Tartars (*i.e.*, the Nogays) and other tribes.¶

Page 498, line 23. On this see page 68.

,, 499, ,, 1. Pallas says Khoshote means pre-eminent hero, or warrior.**

Page 501, line 41. Utshirtu and Ablai were allied with Baatur, the chief of the Sungars, in his war against the Kirghiz Kazaks in 1643. After which, having married his two daughters, they settled on lake Saissan.†† Fischer makes them the sons of Gusi Chan, *i.e.*, of Guushi Khan. In the Mems sur la Chine we read that Orchirtu Khan and Abatai Noyen chose the country west of the Loang ho (? the Ulungku or Urunga, which flows into lake Kizilbash) for their residence, and were called Eleuth Mongols.‡‡

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* Pallas, i. 9. † Pauthier's Marco Polo, 238. Note. ‡ Erdmann's Temudjin, 678.
§ Op. cit., xii 114. ‖ Bretschneider, op. cit., 62. Note 7. ¶ Forschungen, &c., 48.
** Samlungen, &c., i. 10. †† Fischer's Sib. Gesh., 610. ‡‡ Op. cit., i. 331.

Page 502, line 18. For suzereignty read suzerainty.

„ 502, „ 33. Kizal pu is the old name of lake Saissan.*

„ 502, „ 34. These people are called the Hochetsi (*i.e.*, Khoshotes) of Erdeni by De Mailla.†

Page 503, lines 9, 14, and 15. For Kunduleng read Kundelung.

„ 503, „ 24. Erke Taishin, Dordshi, and Dalai Ubashi, sons of Kundelung, were sent on an embassy to Russia in 1659.‡

Page 505, line 12. That Kutan was a great figure in Kalmuk tradition may be gathered from the fact that the authority followed by Pallas as well as Ssanang Setzen place him among the Khans.§

Page 507, line 1, and 508, line 11. For Chambui read Jambui.

„ 511, „ 3. The old sect are styled Dukpa.

„ 514, „ 31. He is called the Taranath Lama in the narratives of Mr. Bogle and Mr. Turner.‖

Page 515, line 13. For great read Great.

„ 523, „ 25. Erase still.

„ 526, „ 23. For infect read infest.

„ 528, „ 28. For Ayuka read Ubasha.

„ 531, „ 6. Colonel Yule reminds me that he has figured both sides of it.

Page 532, line 38. For Butala read Putala.

„ 536, „ 11. For Memoirs read Memoir.

„ 537, „ 29. For tower read town.

„ 538, „ 38. Insert a comma after "before."

„ 540, „ 26. Insert us after tells.

„ 541, „ 31. For Kerait read Mekrit.

„ 542, „ 31. Kitubuka, one of Khulagu's generals, was a Kerait, and Haython, the Armenian, tells us he liked the Christians well, for he was of the race of the three kings who went to adore the Saviour.¶

Page 543, line 6. Colonel Yule corrects Si ngan fu to Si ning fu.

„ 545, „ 9. Marco Polo says the Kara Muren (*i.e.*, the upper Hoangho) came from the land of Marco Polo.** Marco Polo says Tenduch contained a silver mine in a mountain. In that portion of the district of Tathung occupied by the Tumeds there is a mountain still called the precious mountain. Polo also says that the azure stone was found in Tenduch, and the Imperial Geography mentions this stone as a product of the country of the Tumeds.††

Page 546, line 22. It is the sign of the plural, and the name is really Keri or Kara, the Khelie of the Chinese.‡‡

Page 547, line 27. Inaktzi is doubtless a corruption of Inandj.

„ 547, „ 37. Vambery says that Ong is Uighur, and means right.§§

„ 549, „ 31. The fight took place at Buker Gehreh. Wang Khan

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* Fischer, op. cit., 615. † Op. cit., xi. 84 and 89. ‡ Muller, op. cit., viii. 451.
§ Pallas, Saml. Hist. Nach., i. 21. ‖ Bogle's Thibet. Introduction, xlix.
¶ D'Ohsson, iii. 325. Note. ** Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., ii. 124.
†† Pauthier's Marco Polo, 220, 221. Note. ‡‡ *Id.*, 213.
§§ Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd Ed., i. 232. Note.

captured Kudu and Jilaun, the two eldest sons of Tukta, killed another son named Tukun, and drove Tukta himself to take refuge at Barguzin.*

Page 549, line 41, and 550, line 1, &c. Jamuka ought rather to be Chamuka.

" 550, " 4. Erdmann says he passed to Tatan Tukulah.†

" 553, " 3. For were read was.

" 554, " 11. These mountains are probably to be identified with those of Tsetserlik, where the Middle Khalkhas of Sain Noyan encamp.

Page 555, line 35. Erdmann spells this name Kussatu-Thar-Kashme.‡ Gaubil calls it the kingdom of Kutze, between Turfan and Kashgar.

Page 556, line 31. Marco Polo says that Numukan, the fourth son of Khubilai, was the joint leader with king George of the Khan's army which fought against Kaidu.§

Page 557, line 30. This paragraph is full of statements which I no longer endorse. For their correction I refer to the notes on the names Kerait, Merkit, Tartar, &c., pages 696-703.

Page 558, lines 1 and 32. On this and the following paragraphs see title on the Telenkuts, pages 23 and 24, where it will be seen I have modified my views. I don't now see sufficient evidence for following Palles and Remusat in identifying the Kiwang of Torgut tradition with Yakembo Keraiti. Keret, as I have shown elsewhere, is a common tribal name among the Turks; and as to Erket, it simply means the freemen. See page 581.

Page 558, line 34. Add they before say.

" 559, " 9. For suzereign read suzerain.

" 559, " 10. For Seugun read Sengun.

" 559, " 35 and 38, and 560, line 36. For Chuchai read Khukhai.

" 560, " 22. For that read who.

" 561. " 3. Muller says that Sulsuga Urluk lived in the land of Koko nur, and that it was his son Urluk Taisha who was called Go Urluk by the Kalmuks, and who first migrated to Siberia in the first year of the seventeenth century.‖

Page 562, line 27. For or read " and the."

" 562, " 28. In 1641 the people of Tobolsk and Tumen fought against Urluk and his sons Daitshing and Ildenei, by whom they were defeated.¶

Page 562, line 35. Daitshing married a daughter of the Sungar chief Shuker.** In 1627 he was living with his father-in-law, between the Irtish and the Ishim. In 1628 he seems to have left him and had a struggle with his own father, and was at issue with the Russians. In 1637 he was struggling with Kuisha Taisha of the Eleuth horde (he was a Derbet, see ante page 666), whom he defeated and captured. In 1646 he supported the Siberian prince Devlet Ghirei against the Russians, and in 1647 he ravaged their borders with fire and sword to revenge his father's death. In 1648 he marched against the Circassians, and in 1652 fought with the Bashkirs.††

Page 563, line 36. We are told that Punzuk or Muntshuk lived on the Yaik,

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* Erdmann, 272. D'Ohsson, i. 55. † Op. cit., 273. ‡ Temudjin, Note 161.
§ Yule's Polo, 2nd Ed., i. 353. ‖ Op. cit., iv. 284. Note. ¶ Fischer, op. cit., 574.
** Muller, viii. 305. †† *Id.*, iv. 285, &c. Notes.

where, in company with his cousin Dugar, he fought against the Torgut Taishi Zarba, whom he defeated. He and his cousin then quarrelled about the booty. Punzuk died in 1674.*

Page 569, line 19. He was no doubt the Banchen Erdeni Lama.

,, 580, ,, 35. For Shereng read Chereng.

,, 580, ,, 37. For Stamilas read Stanislas.

,, 590, *passim*. These paragraphs must be read with what I have said on the same subject in the twelfth chapter, where I have considerably modified my views.

Page 591, line 13. For Keraits read Kergud.

,, 594, ,, 32-36. In this paragraph I have again identified Kergud and Kerait, a conclusion I now think problematical.

Page 599, line 30. For has read have.

,, 602, ,, 34. For he read Essen.

,, 609, ,, 18. If De la Marre's authority was mistaken in killing Essen's brother Puilo before Peking in 1449 (ante 603), as is very probable, we should identify him with the Puilai here named, who is called Polai by De Mailla.† The Maonahai of De la Marre is not improbably the Maolihai of this paragraph.

Page 611, line 1. For Buirats read Buriats.

,, 611, ,, 7. Barskul means the leopard lake, and has, I now believe, nothing to do with the *town* of Barkul.

Page 611, line 37. Remove eaten from the next line, and insert it after have.

,, 613, ,, 25. This Abuda may be the same as the one mentioned on the previous page.

Page 613, line 38. Pallas has evidently taken his account of these matters from Muller.‡

Page 621, line 33. See Du Halde, iv. 155 and 156.

,, 621, ,, 39. For where read were.

,, 622, ,, 26. Sout kul means literally the Milk lake.

,, 630, ,, 12. For suzereign read suzerain.

,, 636, ,, 23. This is not quite right; Galdan's daughter had married a son of Bushtu Tsinong.§

Page 643, line 6. Sandship is surely the same person mentioned as Santsit chapu on the previous page.

Page 646, line 12. The gold country, whose reputation had reached the Russian settlements in Siberia, was no doubt the gold district of Thok-jalung on the great plateau of Western Thibet, between 32 and 34 N. lat. and 80 and 84 E. long., which has recently been visited by one of Colonel Montgomery's pundits.‖

Page 652, line 30. For ordered read order.

,, 665, ,, 36. For Dartshing read Daitshing.

,, 666, ,, 24. Remove the bracket to after the word Muller.

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* Muller, iv. 286. Note.

† Op. cit., x. 239.

‡ *Vide* op. cit., viii. 368, &c.

§ De Mailla, xi. 221.

‖ Bogle's Thibet, Introduction, cxiv.

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